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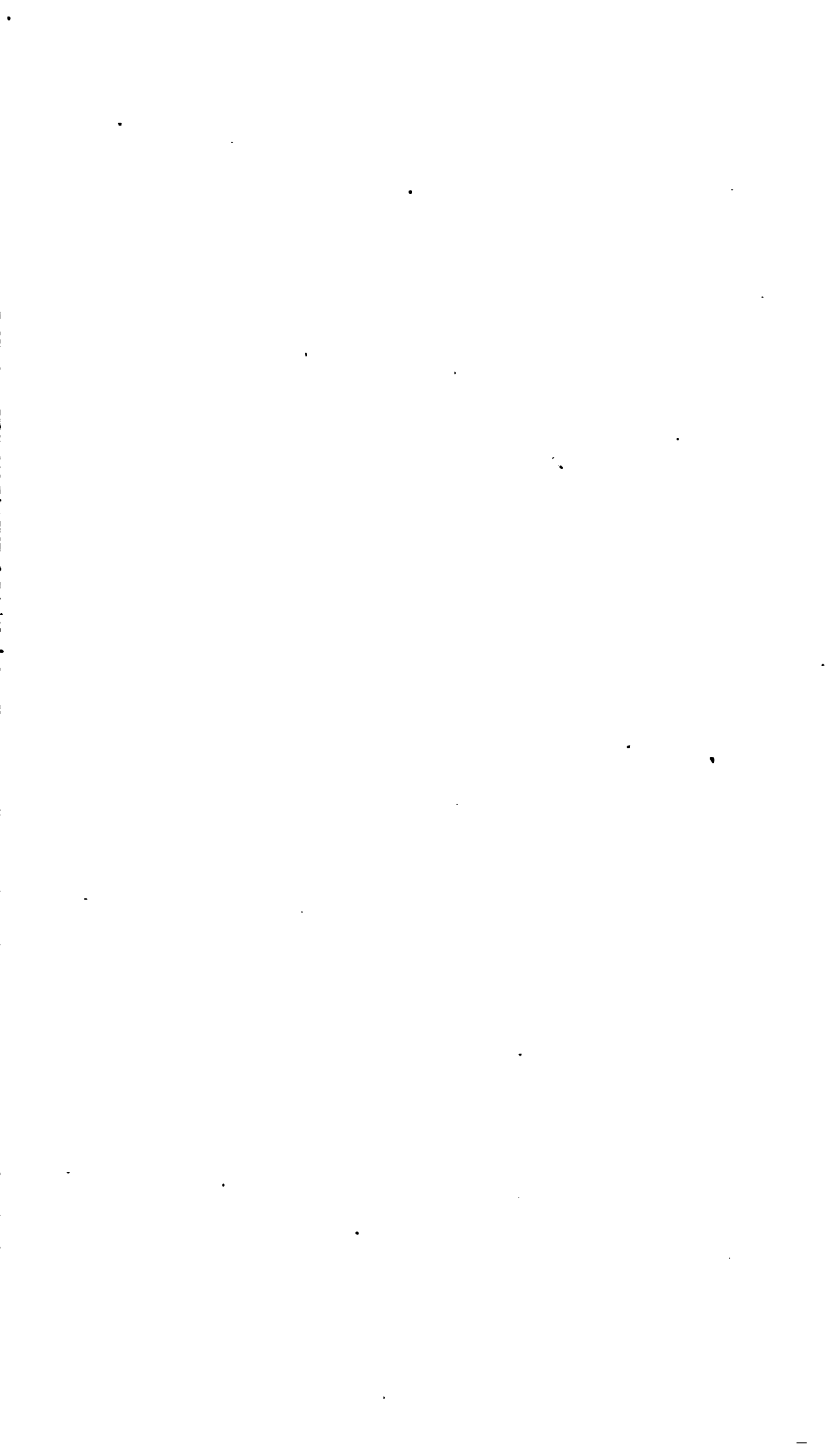
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The Republican.

VOLUME V.

FROM JANUARY 4th TO MAY 17th, 1822.

Be wise to-day, 'tis madness to defer.

YOUNG, a Christian.

Think, speak all you think, aid, but violate not the inoffensive will.

STEWART, a Materialist.

London:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY R. CARLILE, 55,
FLEET STREET.

1822.

P 331.10

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FROM
THE BEQUEST OF
EVERETT J. ...

DEDICATION
TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE VICE SOCIETY,
AND
CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION;
THIS FIFTH VOLUME
OF
The Republican,
IS
BOLDLY AND TRIUMPHANTLY INSCRIBED,
AS A SPECIMEN OF THE
RESULT OF THEIR LABOURS,
IN ATTEMPTING TO
CRUSH MORAL OPINIONS, AND TO SUPPORT IDOLATRY,
HYPOCRISY, IMMORALITY, ROBBERY,
AND ABUSES OF ALL KIND,
BY THEIR ENEMY,
R. CARLILE.

33-70 X
75

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The Republican.

No. 1. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, Jan. 4, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 1,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

DID I not know that you form a very numerous body in this Island: did I not know that the majority of the male inhabitants of this Island were in reality Republicans, I should not under the present form and state of the British Government venture to address you thus openly; but as I do know that the majority of those who call themselves Reformers, which are now full three-fourths of the people, are in reality advocates for a complete Republic, and that you constitute the majority of the whole people, I shall in future drop the word Reformer, which admits such a variety of constructions under the words moderate, thorough, and radical, and address you under the noble epithet of Republicans. The word *Reformer* has long been too vague a word to satisfy me, and as soon as I began to interest myself in political matters, and to weigh well the common words and epithets in use, I could find none pleasing to my mind but that comprehensive and liberty-like word REPUBLICAN.

Republicanism is a word not necessarily implying any particular form of Government, but it is a word of perfect security, and applies to no form of government but where the interest of a whole people is considered in preference to individual or party interest. An absolute Monarchy might be a more Republican form of Government than the present British Government, and if that absolute monarch was a mild and intelligent man, and had no private or particular interest at heart but that of the country and the whole people, that state of society would be perfectly Republican. England was a perfect Republic under the reign of Alfred, but has never been so since that time, neither have we any proof that it was ever so before, and as the chance is so many to

one, as to getting a Republican King, it is necessary that some more regular and more certain base of Republicanism should be sought and established.

That base is the **Representative System of Government**, and that system must possess a pure Executive to be perfectly Republican. Look at Spain. Two years ago a complete Representative System of Government was there established, with the exception, that it retained its old corrupt Executive; the consequence of which has been, that this corrupt Executive has studiously sought to corrupt the whole Government, and now the people of Spain find themselves driven to the necessity of accomplishing another revolution, to rid themselves of this Executive Power, and to establish one in its stead that shall emanate from Representation, and whose interests shall be felt to be in unison with those of the people.

The Republicans of this Island ought to take warning from Spain, and never attempt to form or countenance a Government that shall again leave the dangerous work of revolution to be a matter of necessity. The revolutions of Governments are very serious affairs, and ought to be avoided as far as possible: to the honest, the wise, and the good, they can never be viewed as amusements, however necessary: the desperate, the dishonest, and the wicked can alone wish for a frequent recurrence of them: That there must be a revolution in this Island is visible to all and admitted by all, and it therefore becomes the duty of the patriot and philanthropist to endeavour to bring it about in that manner, which shall not, as in Spain, leave a necessity of having, in a short time, again to pass the same ordeal. When it does take place it should be effectual to all the objects necessary to be reformed, and to assist in producing those effectual measures the pages of the Republican shall be devoted.

In discontinuing the publication of "The Republican" at the close of 1820 I expressed a hope that it would be but for a time: that hope is now accomplished, all the causes for that discontinuance are now removed, and I am again at my post with renewed vigour and determination; I flatter myself that I shall be now able to make it a journal worthy of the times, and that either in this shape or some more extended one I shall never again cease to keep up its character and title, whilst I possess the means of proceeding.

One object I have in view is to concentrate the Republicans of this Island and to make them well acquainted with each other, and that in this publication they may find the focus of their sentiments and wishes. Another object I have, is to form a phalanx around myself, such as shall be strong

enough to support me whilst I put in practice the common right of free discussion. A third object I wish for is, to gather round me some real friends who possess and can communicate to me the means of quitting my prison in November next. I wish to come out triumphantly, and to be raised above the necessity of making any kind of compromise whatever, either for myself or sister, upon the score of the heavy fines resting upon us. One-half of the support I received in the year 1819 continued to me throughout the year 1822 will enable me to face my enemies with triumph and with joy. I shall consider that I have then gained a complete victory over them. I wish to give them convincing proofs of the inutility of all further persecution, such as they have practised upon me, and this the approvers of my conduct are fully competent to accomplish, if each will but exert himself for me within the next ten months.

The Public Robbers have already seized as much property of mine as ought to cover my fine in point of value, but instead of selling this property by auction, as their own laws require, they have endeavoured to destroy it by rendering it valueless as to time, and damaged as to quality. I can safely say that I am at this moment five thousand pounds the loser by having my house and shop robbed and cleared by the Government in 1819. They took near seventy thousand of my publications, of all prices from half a guinea downwards, which they have thrown into a damp cellar, and are occasionally sending me threats that in addition to my fine I shall have half a guinea a week to pay for three years for the rent-room of this property! besides other charges for removal and care. If every atom of this property was now returned to me free of expence, I should sustain, in consequence of its removal, greater injury than if I had to pay three thousand pounds, double the amount of my fine, at the expiration of my imprisonment, without having had my house robbed. I grieve at nothing so much in this affair as at the death of that Robber Rothwell; He was the tool for the Government to work with, for I have good evidence that he received his instructions from Chief Justice Abbott, and he from Castlereagh and Sidmouth. However, I will have requital some day and somewhere, when the Revolution takes place, for the present I must call upon my friends to strengthen me sufficiently to baffle the schemes of these Robbers in power. One manœuvre I expect they are holding my property for, and that is, to draw me into some compromise with them; for although they have all this

property of mine in their possession, I expect that they will still demand cash for the whole amount of my fine, and send me to bring an action against the dead Sheriff for a robbery and misapplication of the property. We shall see: all I want is to be placed beyond their reach to lengthen my imprisonment, and to be able to scorn all compromise with them. This a hundred of my friends might do in the next ten months if they will but exert themselves for me one half as much as I intend to exert myself for them; I repeat it: there are two ways of supporting me and putting me in a condition to triumph over my enemies, by giving circulation to my publications, which almost every man can assist in doing to some degree, and by subscription. A sufficient means to proceed in my present career is all I crave; and this not for myself alone but for the welfare of the human race, and more particularly for the welfare of the inhabitants of this Island. The call I have lately made upon my friends to enable me to counteract the measures of the prosecuting societies, has been sufficiently answered to enable me to say, that it is only necessary for me to point out what should be done to have it done. I now call upon them to proceed earnestly in pushing my publications, as this is accomplishing a double object. I think less about subscription money, until I see what will be wanted in eight months time. I shall then speak out plainly as to what is needful to be done to enable myself and sister to meet the terms of our sentences. Mrs. Carlile has nothing but time to look at, as the law imposes no fines on married women, nor exacts personal recognizances, being supposed to possess no property.

The greater portion of the future pages of the Republican will be devoted to a warfare with theological or mythological idolatry. A very few aphorisms will give expression to every necessary political sentiment, but the mazes of theology are boundless, and more difficult of correct explanation. In all the items of Reform, this is by far the most important. The Priests of all countries, in consequence of their influence over the multitude, take a decisive part in political affairs, and give a tone to political feeling; and whilst this remains the case, that multitude will never possess correct ideas, but ever remain in a tumultuous disposition on political matters. They will feel the various robberies practised upon them without being able to detect the thief. It is evident that all the distresses of Ireland are occasioned by the Priests, who, instead of bringing peace and good will among men, serve to make them little better than assassins

and brute beasts of prey. It is to the account of Priestcraft alone that the miseries of Ireland can be placed. The Priests are a set of ruffians, who are hired by despots to brutalize and enslave mankind. But they are fast losing their power, and as it recedes, the reign of humanity and social order approaches.

In advocating the cause of Republicanism it will be almost sufficient to record its progress. Example is more powerful than precept, is a well known and correct adage, and we have now every necessary example to guide us. The whole continent of America is one vast Republic. No one despot under the name of King inhabits that world. The few colonies who have not yet shaken off their dependence are preparing to do so. The British colonies will be the last to do it, but it is as certain as if it was already done, for the British Government has long been too impotent to prevent any thing of the kind. A revolt in any one of the West India Islands, or in Canada, would be certainly and speedily successful. Surrounding Republics are the sure prognostic, and the best guarantee of the future independence of all the British colonies. This spirit will extend to the East Indies, and Britain will be reduced to the present condition of Spain, without a colony at her command. The destinies of Monarchies are sealed; the People of the earth WILL them extinct; and I daily expect to hear that even the Janisaries of Constantinople will abolish Monarchy and declare for a Republic. The Grecians have already declared for a federative Republic; Spain is in arms for the same object, and nothing can stop the course of the Representative System of Government. Every Monarch that has wisdom, if there be such, would anticipate the change, and pronounce it himself. If he opposes it he endangers, and justly endangers, his life.

Republican Citizens.—Can it be, then, any presumption on my part to address you under such epithets, or to advocate that system of Government which the common sense of all mankind seems now to demand. I am sure you will think with me it is not a presumption, and that I am only performing a duty as one of you. I feel, that as a disciple of Thomas Paine, I am following his instructions, and that I have the prospect of witnessing what he anticipated, by making the inhabitants of this Island acquainted with his political doctrines at such an important season. He struck the first blow at despotism in this Island, and now he is gone I will endeavour to wield his club. I have the ad-

vantage of all his labours, great as they were, to combine with my own, and I have hope that I shall witness the conclusion of all he wished to effect: **BRITAIN A REPUBLIC UPON THE BASE OF A COMPLETE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, WITH THE ABOLITION OF KINGCRAFT AND PRIESTCRAFT.**

This is a cause worth advocating. All below this is delusion, and mere momentary annoyance to the common enemy. Leave off all idle talk about sending Reformers into the present House of Parliament. If such thing can be done as a matter of amusement, let it be done, but it is an object totally unworthy of general notice, or of exciting general attention, or of subscribing money to effect. It is high time that you assume the characters of men, and not suffer yourselves to be trifled with as children. Think and act for yourselves, and support no man whose views differ from your own. Once assume the name and character of Republicans, and act upon that title, and every kind of delusion will recede from your view. No longer bawl upon the name of any man, unless you are sure his views and motives extend with your own. Reflect, compare, and examine, and see whether the actions of a man who professes to lead you be consistent with his professions: try his honesty by every test possible, and do not laud him with praises until you are sure of his good intentions; and even then, the less adulation you bestow upon him the more likely you are to keep him honest.

This is an outline of what the future pages of the Republican will contain. I shall study to make them worthy of the times in which they appear. Every species of delusion will here find an enemy; it matters not under what name it conceals itself: our maxim should be, to hold nothing sacred but truth; it shall be mine at any rate. I venerate nothing for antiquity's sake, nor bow before customs I cannot approve. To be happy upon correct and Republican principles, and to extend that happiness to others, shall be the chief aim of

R. CARLILE.

Just published, **QUEEN MAB**, a Poem, by **PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY**, with Notes, price 7s. 6d. This Publication forms another defiance to the Vice Society by R. CARLILE. They have indicted it, but shall not suppress it.

ON THE BIRTH-DAYS OF THOMAS PAINE, THE REAL ENGLISHMAN; AND THE FACTITIOUS JESUS, THE JEW.

THIS twenty-fifth day of December, being considered by Christians a festival or holy day, and, although in a Gaol, hearing much fuss made about it; in consequence of the prisoners getting a pound of beef, a few potatoes, a pint of small beer and a guinea to split among them, which serves to buy another pint, which, by the by, is the only animal food in its solid state, potatoes, or beer, or money allowed throughout the year to such as have not the means to purchase, I have been drawn into the reflection on the comparative importance of the birth-days of Thomas Paine and Jesus the Jew.

I have repeatedly said, I can find no historical proof that such a Jew, as Jesus Christ is said to have been, was ever born, lived, or died at Jerusalem, or that any such sect as Christians was ever known there prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Many Christians, and among them Mr. Justice Bailey, admit that there were no Christians remaining in Jerusalem at the time of its siege by Vespasian and its destruction by Titus; but, say they, the Christians were forewarned of the destruction of Jerusalem and they quitted it in a body to escape destruction with the Jews. But this is conjecture: it is fiction: it is not borne out by the least probability. It is much safer, upon the total want of evidence to support the book called the New Testament, to believe that the seat of Christians was not known prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that no such character as the Jesus of the New Testament ever figured there. Thus much upon this matter for consistency sake, as to draw the purposed comparison, I must admit the existence of this Jew according to the tale or fiction of the New Testament.

It was not until the Christian religion became very popular, and formed a kind of Republic to itself, that it held any festivals, and the origin of these was more to entice and make converts of the Pagan multitude, than from any other motive or purpose. It was an amalgamation of the Pagan festivals with the Christian religion, as an inducement to the ignorant to partake of them and an enticement to conversion. The season which we now call Christmas was the

Saturnalia of the Pagan Romans. This Saturnalia was a grand festival for the Roman slaves, and whilst it lasted they enjoyed a temporary manumission in which custom entitled them to use language and behave themselves towards their masters in a manner, which, at any other time, would have cost them their lives; as the life of a slave was at the will and pleasure of the master.

As the Christian religion first spread itself among these slaves, and the very dregs of the Roman People, both in the city and provinces, or such as are termed by the Aristocrats in England, the mob or order of St. Giles, and in France, the *canaille*, it was found necessary to substitute a festival for the Saturnalia, and the season was denominated the birth-time of their God, and thus appointed a festival. This was the origin of the festival of Christmas.

It certainly, in this climate, falls at the best season for festivities, when the days are short and the time unfit for labour in many professions, forming what we are justified in calling, the night of Nature, in consequence of our recession from the sun, but I think it high time to leave off countenancing this piece of folly and superstition, and substitute the anniversary of the Spanish Revolution, which is New Year's day, and the 29th of January, which is the birth-day of our real and "famous countryman," Thomas Paine, who was, and is, and will be, through his writings and actions, a saviour indeed. He will go on to save mankind from the miseries of Kingcraft and Priestcraft. A joint craft which makes a hell of the earth. This will be a salvation indeed, and shall we not celebrate his birth-day? Let us revere his memory as a Man, and the Friend of Man, but not worship him as a God nor any other idol gods.

The character drawn of Jesus the Jew in the New Testament is not altogether bad, although it contains some shades of folly, absurdity, and fanaticism. The character is Republican throughout, and it is doubtless a fiction of Grecian origin, after they had been conquered by the Romans, and who, as a matter of political safety, laid the scene at Jerusalem, at a time when it could not be contradicted, as Jerusalem was destroyed. The translation of the Jewish Scriptures by the Septuagint and their exposure of the Alexandrian Library had made them familiar to all the learned men of Greece, and it is probable, that in drawing the character of Jesus the Jew, they had more view of shewing what man ought to be, than of sketching a character who

should be deemed a God and actually become an object of worship by millions!

With some erasures, and which perhaps are interpolations on the original, the life of Jesus, as in the New Testament, may be considered a strictly moral treatise. It is just such a character, of which Plato had given the outline, of the man qualified to teach morality and useful knowledge: so that no disgrace could attach to a celebration of his supposed birth-day had not the ideal man been converted into an idol god, and made an object of superstitious worship. As it now stands, it is become far more rational, far more moral, to celebrate the birth-day of Thomas Paine.

What has Thomas Paine done that we should celebrate the anniversary of his birth, or establish it as a festival?

He wrote the pamphlets entitled "Common Sense," and the "American Crisis," which, aided by his personal exertions and example, formed the minds of the inhabitants of the United States for Independence, and directed them to the establishment of a Republic and the Representative System of Government; the fine example of which is now followed in so many powerful countries, and is opening so grand, so noble, so happy a prospect to the patriot and philanthropist throughout the earth.

Thomas Paine might be justly styled the forerunner of Liberty, and the Liberator and Saviour of Mankind from the miseries of despotic Kingcraft and Priestcraft.

He took part in every thing that was honourable to the French Nation in the course of its Revolution, and shrunk from taking part in all that was dishonourable. He laboured hard to prevent the commencement of a wanton shedding of blood in that country, and when he found he could not, he retired into privacy; refusing to be an actor in any such scenes, and had nearly made his life pay the forfeit of his humanity. As a citizen of the world he was both the common and the uncommon friend of man of every colour and clime.

In writing his "Rights of Man" he laid the basis of political wisdom in this country, in sowing its seed on good ground which is now springing forth a most productive crop, and almost ready for the harvest, of which no Priest shall take his tithe, no King his half, no legal robber an atom: Every man shall reap that which he soweth, and none shall molest him.

In writing his "Age of Reason" he gave idolatry its death blow, rescued our minds from the gross darkness of

superstition, and taught us to range in the fields of Nature. He was the first man who refused his reverence and complaisance to error and falsehood, and taught us to call things by their proper names. He not only destroyed the sophistry and hypocrisy of what is improperly called literature, but gave us a fine specimen and example of literary candour, and shewed us the very best method of inculcating correct principles.

Thomas Paine has done all this, more than this, and more than my pen can describe; therefore, I call upon his countrymen, I call upon every honest man in this Island to celebrate his birth-day. Do it openly. Avow his principles: for they alone can lead you to the goal of Reform and to political welfare and happiness.

The 29th day of January is the day. I see there is a talk about celebrating the accession of the present King to his throne on that day, but that cannot interfere with the intentions of honest men. The name of Thomas Paine is of more value and consequence than that of all the Kings on the face of the earth, and all their adherents in the bargain.

Meet then: let the name of Thomas Paine resound among you: not to burn him in effigy as I and many others have been ignorant and silly enough to do in our youths, but to speak of him as he deserves; to venerate his memory as a Republican, a Deist, a Patriot, a Philosopher, and Philanthropist. Send me an account of your number and proceedings, and I will announce them in the pages of the Republican.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Dec. 25, 1821.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSOCIATION.

MURRAY and Sharpe, the agents of these Robbers, are now outsetting their wages, by arresting my shopmen for a pamphlet of which the sale is exhausted, save what they purchase. I can fully keep them employed, even at this game, for it is evident that they cannot go to trial with any thing as long as Garratt, who is one of them, remains Sheriff, unless they can enforce an attendance of special jurors, a circumstance upon which no reliance can be placed. I

have a list of volunteers from Manchester and Leeds sufficient to keep up the game, but I also want a London list, that I may have them at command at a moment's notice.

The two brave fellows who were arrested last week, were, one from Manchester, and another from Leeds, who came to London for that purpose, and with an ardent desire to defend the principles of Republicanism in every possible shape. Dungeons cannot alarm them. Cato, the scribe of this Association, has falsely asserted that these Robbers do not arrest or annoy any individual, until an indictment has been returned true against him by a Grand Jury. This is false; for in the case of Sanderson, of Rance, and the last two shopmen, no indictment had been laid before a Grand Jury, at the time of arrest. Where is the necessity of their asking bail for the appearance of any one in my employ? Do they think there is any ground for suspicion that those persons will run from them? If they do they are much mistaken. We all glory in the game, and if they are inclined to proceed, and bring every case to trial, there shall soon be a necessity of a standing commission for that purpose. By dint of personal bravery we will put down these associations. The money they raise and spend shall be as much money spent for the propagation of Republican and Deistical principles. Every trial is equivalent to the circulation of a hundred thousand of my publications, and with this conviction on my mind, I am delighted with the game.

What avails a prosecution for a case of libel in my business? We are not alarmed at any thing of the kind. It does not stop but adds to the sale of the identical book or pamphlet. It calls for second and third editions, where one would have otherwise sufficed. It is the best of all possible supports to the cause I advocate, and is reduced entirely to a mere matter of personal annoyance and inconveniency. It keeps me poor from the very great expence, and that is all its effects. But I can write when poor, and publish when poor, and poverty will only make me more industrious. I do not complain of being in want; since I have been in this gaol I have had the means of obtaining every thing that my appetite or disposition craved, and have at this moment. In using the word poverty, I mean that, although these prosecutions increase, and very much increase, my business, they add in the same ratio to my expences, and occasionally make me feel some little pecuniary embarrassments. But I will surmount every obstacle of the kind in the present year. The thieves shall have their whole attention oc-

cupied with the weekly numbers of the Republican, and if they carry on their arrests, I will push a business similar to that I carried on in 1819. I will fee no more lawyers: every individual arrested and brought to trial shall make his or her defence in person, and no further prosecution shall necessarily cost me a farthing until the individual prosecuted be in prison: then he or she shall share whatever comforts I can obtain. This is the economical plan upon which I shall proceed in future. I will relinquish the sale of no one prosecuted pamphlet until they are out of print, and I will weekly add to the number, if the Gangs will proceed. Since writing the foregoing I have received the New Times of the 29th of December, in which I find Murray and Sharpe are still going on, but I mention this for the purpose of disavowing a placard which has been exhibited in my shop-window. It was a very foolish placard, and calculated to do me an injury. It concluded with the words "This is the Mart for Sedition and Blasphemy." From this it would appear that it was written by some enemy. No friend of mine could write such a placard with an idea of doing me a service. Although I hold in utter contempt the charges of sedition and blasphemy against my publications, still I never would have so far ministered to the views of my enemies to have used such an expression as to say, "this is the mart for sedition and blasphemy." I do not admit that I vend any thing of the kind. What I sell is consistent with truth and right reason: this is all I boast. No one has any authority from me to write placards for my window, although I have not the least objection that my friend should publish what passes by such means, if he will not mingle up his own ideas with the matter. I forbid any one to exhibit any thing in my window but plain matter of fact, without comment.

By the same Paper, I find that the Priest of the Old Times has been publishing a string of lies under the pretence of their being assertions of mine. He says, that I have boasted of bringing forward five hundred men to take my place in the shop in succession. I have never said a word about five hundred men, but I have now no hesitation whatever in making that boast. To which Dr. Slop adds a lie, by saying that I have offered twenty shillings a day to those who are confused for serving me, as long as I can pay it. This needs no answer, Slop. But the fact is, I have made no promise of payment whatever, except to George Bere, who served me without partaking of my principles.

To George Bere I promised a continuance of his wages, or twenty shillings per week, but all the others who come forward upon principle, I know, because I have proved them, will be content with gaol allowance, if I can offer them nothing further. This they have promised me: this is the tenure of their services: and upon this tenure I will find five times five hundred to serve in my shop and to sell and defend my publications.

It is asserted by Murray, or at least in the reports of his application for warrants, that verdicts have been found against the pamphlets upon which the game of arrests is now carrying on. This is false. The only one of my Addresses which has been submitted to a jury in London is the one which brought defeat on the Gang by having a few honest jurors to sit upon it. The pamphlets which are now the subject of these warrants have copied what is called the libellous part of the pamphlet upon which my sister has been condemned unheard; but every newspaper has done the same, and upon this ground I mean to justify the publication, if ever a justification be necessary.

I can assure Dr. Slop, or Stoddart, or whatever he likes to be called, that my affairs are not in a state of desperation, as he asserts. I can assure him that on Christmas-day last, when I owed a quarter's rent of £35, that including that sum the whole debt on my business did not exceed £60, whilst I have three times that sum on my books. I owe nothing but what might be considered current debts from week to week, or from quarter to quarter. I can assure him that I will beat down the Constitutional Association, even if Vansittart can spare, which I know he cannot, one half of the revenue of the country to keep them going. I am pursuing a plain, honest, and straight forward course—my enemies to a man are dishonest men. Sharpe pays nobody, I endeavour to pay every one his due, and I know that my credit is good to any amount if I like to ask it. My affairs have really gone on improving ever since Mrs. Carlile opened the shop in January, two years ago, and I will be bound to come out of this prison triumphantly, in spite of the fine upon me. There are too many men, and women too, of my principles in this country to allow any Gang of Robbers to distress me.

The victory is mine, Slop, and my shop will be open in Fleet Street when yours is shut. All kinds of schemes have been on foot to get it shut up. There has been even a threat to present it to the Grand Jury, on the ground that there are

brothels near it; and because my shop-window attracts men, it also becomes a mart for the lasses to make their bargains. Do your worst Slop, Murray, and Sharpe, I am more than a match for all such robbers, such cheats, such villains.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Dec. 30, 1821.

CASE OF MRS. JANE CARLILE.

IN the annals of religious persecution, since the use of the rack and the faggot have been laid aside, but few cases of punishment, and it may be said sufferings, have exceeded that of Mrs. Carlile.

Passing over all her anxieties, agitations, and alarms, at the situation of her husband, at various times before his final imprisonment enormous, and fine enormous, and her own Prosecutions for publishing the report of his Mock Trials, let us consider her situation at the time of his sentence.

In the last stage of pregnancy, and in the hourly expectation of childbirth, she had to bear her husband's separation, with the shock of his fine and imprisonment: his property, which had then devolved on her care, was all seized; his business stopped, and shop shut up; a bailiff in her house; the whole ransacked from the top to the bottom; her very bed, and even the basket which contained the prepared linen for the expected infant, entered in an inventory; and an hourly removal expected: here all prospects seemed blasted, and in this forlorn state had she to give birth to an infant. But few women could have survived such a shock. Her husband sent to a distant gaol; her infant children in the hands of a stranger; and her self dreading the approach of childbirth, without any one of those comforts and protections, she had been accustomed to receive on former occasions of the kind. No husband at hand to caress her for a new-born child; no children to prattle, and be pleased at the nurse's present: in this woeful state, she seemed as if the world had forsaken her, or as a person cast among thieves, who had no object but plunder, no disposition but violence towards her. A fortnight of agony passed away, whilst every look seemed an insult, every word a reproach, her

nurse, although not new, seemed strange, and every thing and person about her seemed clouded by the gloomy aspect of circumstances which persecution had brought upon her.

She gave birth to a child, a fine boy, one infant Thomas Paine had died in the spring of the year, and another now came to take its place at the breast. This she new was joy to the husband: this brought her joy. As impositions crowded upon her she derived new energies. A safe delivery in childbirth, seemed a token of brighter prospects. The robbers and ruffians who entered her bed-room, and began to pull about the bed from which she had just risen, could no longer annoy her, she seemed above their reach: her infant lay there, and she boldly told them that it contained something which was not in their inventory, and which they dared not touch. But the bed was at their command: brutally and profanely they stript the clothes from the newborn infant, and ransacked the bed of a mother just delivered of a child, upon the pretence of counting and examining its contents.—And what was this for? To pay a just debt? No. What then? To support the Christian religion! To deter all further examination of it! It was the robbery of persecution and not the just exaction of the law. Read this Christian Judge Bailey: for you have participated in the robbery. Read it pious Sidmouth; you also have participated. Robber Rothwell is gone! or he too should be called to read it. He was the instrument for villainy and persecution to work with.

The birth of her child seemed to dispel one half of Mrs. Carlile's evils, and she rose from it with a resolution to surmount the rest. In the month of December within a fortnight of her delivery, she traversed the streets of London, called upon the under Sheriff and the Solicitor to the Treasury, and demanded some determination as to the disposal of the property.

The earnestness of her manner combined with so unexpected a visit seemed to claim attention, and within another week preparations were made to remove the property from her house. But here again a fresh trial arose, to save her bed, and demolition of the house by the removal of the fixtures, almost her last shilling in cash was exacted. Fifty-five pounds was the sum she had to raise to keep the house habitable. She had to buy her own bed for the repose of herself and infant within three weeks of her delivery!!! Christians read this and hide your faces! This is the way your religion is supported! But even this removal of the

property was not made before the Robbers felt themselves almost certain that there was no possibility of her opening as a bookseller again. It was understood that she was about to leave the house for some more private situation, and some other business: and whilst they were kept in this delusion they very honestly and very humanely advised her to get out what she could of the goods she had bought, and leave the Landlord to the loss of his rent! at the same time taking care themselves to pay the Tax-gatherer all his dues out of the produce of the property!

But such villainy could not make her dishonest: the moment she felt herself mistress of the house, she saw her Landlord and promised him every exertion on her part to pay him his rent. He was satisfied with the promise and left her to do her best.

But here follows the most trying part of this woeful tale. Left with an empty house and shop; what was to be done? Husband at a distance of 120 miles in a county gaol, in a part of the country where she had no known friend or acquaintance. At a time when the roads were impassable to all the regular means of conveyance from the depth of the snow, and the mail could only be got through by the assistance of eight horses, and almost as many men to guide and preserve it from upsetting, and to keep it in the right path. In spite of all these obstacles she threw herself and infant, not yet one month old, into the mail, and directed her course to Dorchester. Every moment was a moment of terror; the face of the earth might be termed an ocean of snow: there was no beaten track, and every moment the coach was in danger of upsetting. She reached Dorchester: took a little refreshment, and whilst it was yet day was about to seek the gaol, but was told it was too late that day: the clock was four, and no admittance. What, not admit me in this state to see my husband! she exclaimed. No! the rules of the gaol can be broken for nothing or nobody. We make no exceptions. This was the answer of the Gaoler whom she knew was receiving two guineas and a half per week from her husband for three meals per day, as plain as they are served up in London in a common coffee-shop and eating-house for sixpence and one shilling a meal.

She had now to pass another night in wretchedness and painful thought, surrounded by strangers, and none to comfort her distracted mind. At nine o'clock the following morning she could pass the gaol walls. She entered: the cell of her husband was unlocked before her face: he was

not apprized of her coming: he was dumb from surprise, and she from an overpowered feeling. She wept, held out her infant to speak for her, whom she could no longer support, and sunk down in a chair incapable of uttering a word. This was the Prison scene!

Once again with her husband, she was anxious to remain in his cell. The Gaoler was asked. No! he could not allow it: the visiting magistrates must be asked: they were Priests and members of the Vice Society and would not. At four o'clock she must leave the Gaol, the next day was Sunday: no visitors admitted: to suffer a woman to see her husband, in this state of health and mind, would be a violation of the Christian Sabbath.

Monday came, and circumstances seemed to urge a return to London as speedily as possible. The snow had scarcely abated from the ground and no regular travelling had recommenced. She had seen her husband, showed him her infant, received his instructions upon the business, and she returned to London resolved to recommence her shop in the same line. Early in January she opened with the best collection of books and pamphlets she could scrape together, and the Vice Society immediately pounced upon her: not for any new publications, but for two that had passed unnoticed and uncomplained of in the former year, whilst they had sold by thousands. Seeing this, she found that she had no security in any thing, and immediately undertook to publish the Republican. She was four times arrested and held to bail: by a flaw in the Indictment she escaped the fangs of the Vice Society, and was instantly pounced upon by the Attorney General. She was marked for persecution and further suffering.

If her rent was not paid the moment it was due, her enemies attempted to make the landlord seize the property in the house, by constantly telling him that if he did not the Government would do it, on the ground of her husband's fine: although there never was a second quarter unpaid, or, in fact one, as the rent was literally paid in advance for the first. The tax-gatherer was urged to a similar annoyance, and nothing omitted that could possibly intimidate, annoy, or alarm her.

The Attorney General obtained a verdict, and the Christian Judge Bailey, with the consent of his brother Judges, sentenced her to two years imprisonment in Dorchester Gaol, when it was well known to them all, that she had acted from no other impulse or principle besides fidelity to her husband,

and love to her children, who of course, were strictly identified with their father's interest.

On the 19th January, 1820, she parted in the morning from her children, who were sent to the care of a sister in Hampshire, she went to Court to hear a verdict of Guilty against her from a packed Jury, and on her return found the landlord and broker in her house, who refused to take £26, the whole of the cash she had by her, out of £35, due at the Christmas before, although a promise of getting the remainder for him on the morrow was positively made: whilst the hypocrite was putting his hand to his bosom, talking about his Christian feelings, what pain it was to him to distress her, but he had been informed from authority that if he did not then secure his rent, there was no further prospect of his doing it as every thing would be again seized, and the Government would keep the shop shut up.

After sentence, on being taken to the King's Bench Prison, her infant, who was scarcely weaned from the breast, was taken ill, and its recovery seemed hopeless: and here every idea was absorbed in the one of taking a dead infant to her Gaol with her, which was her determination if it had died. In this state of the health of her child she was obliged to walk from the King's Bench Prison to the Saracen's Head Inn, Snow Hill, before day-break, in a cold, wet, and windy morning, in February, and travel to Dorchester: almost at a moment's notice. On reaching Dorchester Gaol she was first denied an interview with her husband, and kept several hours in a state of suspense, whether she was to see him or not, during her confinement; but on displaying some resolution in refusing to go quietly to any other place, and being again overpowered by an hysteric affection, she was after a struggle of six hours allowed to go into his apartment where she has ever since continued.

Her sentence is one of the most infamous since Algernon Sydney was sentenced to death by Jeffries. That she acted entirely from the instructions of her husband, and without any political or theological feeling of her own, is now evident, as the shop has been still managed in a similar manner by others who have followed her.

She has now nearly filled out twelve months of her imprisonment, and no visible object or reason does there seem for extending it. She may return to the shop of her husband it may be said. If she does not, others will, but her recognizances would prevent her from being useful in her husband's business.

What has she done to deserve an incarceration of two years? She has done nothing of herself. She has been a subordinate agent. She has done the duty of every wife to her husband. She is again in an advanced state of pregnancy, and dreads the idea of child-birth in a prison, where she can obtain no proper and necessary attendance. Where, if the time of her delivery should happen in the night, she may perish before any assistance could be obtained for her. This is the past and present case of Mrs. Jane Carlile. Would the Christian Religion be in greater danger by giving her liberty?

ADDRESS OF MRS. CARLILE TO THE COURT,
ON RECEIVING ITS JUDGMENT.

(Never before Printed.)

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

In standing before you, to receive the judgment of the Court, for having published a number of the Republican, I can but repeat that I had no controul over the contents of that publication, and in issuing it to the public I was guided entirely by the instructions of my husband. I did not feel myself a competent judge to decide on its propriety or impropriety; as, having been brought up as the daughter of a humble cottager in a sequestered part of Hampshire, I had reached the years of maturity without any the least education.

In the opinions which my husband has espoused, either political or theological, I have no participation, further, than feeling it my duty to follow his instructions, where from his conduct and zeal he appeared to me both mentally and morally right. If he be in error, I am certain he is not aware of it; for I have ever found him the decided opponent of every species of delusion and imposture.

But I beg leave to assure your Lordships, that if I could have foreseen any error or impropriety in what he requested me to do, I should have resisted it whilst I was acting apparently as a principal. In proof of this my last assertion, I would remind your Lordships, that I have resisted the most urgent requests of my husband to publish the Report of his Trials, since your Lordships convinced me I was wrong by granting a criminal information against it.

It is usual with persons in my situation to lay before your

Lordships affidavits of former good conduct or moral character. I have abstained from this rule, because I have considered it a mere matter of form, and I do not feel that my moral conduct or general character has been impeached by this prosecution in the least instance. A proof of moral conduct or general good character is not to be made by affidavits. I must leave those to judge of my general character who have had an opportunity of examining it.

Neither can I make any protestations of sorrow before your Lordships: if I did I should only act the hypocrite and the liar, a character I am not disposed to play, and, I should hope, your Lordships have no disposition to witness.

I have acted entirely from a sense of conjugal duty, without consulting my own interest, or my own ideas of right and wrong. I stand before your Lordships as the instrument of my husband in this publication. I know that he would gladly meet the Attorney-General on any subject it contains, and that he would as gladly bear any punishment that may fall upon me; but if this cannot be the case, I must be content to share his sufferings as I have shared his prosperity. For better, for worse, is the motto of the altar, and I am happy in giving my husband this instance of my regard and affection.

I have already suffered all the misery that can befall a wife and a mother, and I have to entreat that your Lordships will not further agonize my mind by separating me both from husband and children.

The answer of the Court to this, was two years imprisonment in Dorchester Gaol, a period that exceeds her husband's imprisonment by nearly three months!!!

THE PROTEST OF MARY ANN CARLILE,

Against the Judgment of the Court of King's Bench, in her Case, intended to have been delivered to the Court, but could not be got ready to meet the breathless haste of the Judges to dispose of her.

In standing here to receive the judgment of this Court, for having published a pamphlet, entitled "An Appendix to the Theological Works of Thomas Paine," I feel that I have no further duty to perform towards myself than to enter a pro-

test against the whole proceeding as a violation of law, and all the recognized forms of law: I feel that I have neither deviated from the path of virtue or morality, nor have I violated any known and just law, and under this assurance I had much rather be the object for punishment than the person with power to inflict that punishment; for under the circumstances which have brought me here, no punishment can be inflicted, if there be a spark of honour in the bosoms, or justice in the dispositions, of the Judges of this Court.

I have been condemned unheard! I was prepared to defend myself against this Indictment with a chain of legal, historical, and argumentative facts and precedents, such as must have carried conviction to every intelligent and honest mind, as to the propriety of my conduct in having published the pamphlet in question. I am not ashamed to say I did publish that pamphlet. It is a mild, moral, and a harmless pamphlet, such as no honest person whether Christian, Jew, or Pagan, would wish to suppress. I am not ashamed to say, that I glory in having so done, and I must hear something very different to what I have yet heard to convince me, that in so doing, I have done any thing either legally or morally wrong.

My Defence was most unfairly stopped: it was stopped in the middle of a sentence before any fair construction could have been put upon the pretended exceptionable words: and with the exception of the repetition of the same words in two or three other instances, I do not think that Mr. Justice Best himself could have found a clue for silencing it. But it shall speak for itself: the whole is printed: and the highest of tribunals, the People, shall judge; whilst, if I am to suffer any punishment, I shall content myself, in the interim, under the idea that I am the victim of injustice and oppression, and not the criminal at law, nor the offender of public morals, as has been falsely imputed to me.

The alleged objectionable expression was, that the Common Law, on which it was pretended that I was to be tried, was a common abuse, and I cannot think it would have disgraced the administration of justice, if Mr. Justice Best had listened to an explanation of the expression, however objectionable the phrase might have been to him in an abstract point of view.

I would ask your Lordships whether many things in that Common Law have not, by the lapse of time and the change of opinions, from the progress of intellectual knowledge, been proved common abuses? Was not the Common Law which

punished even with death such old women as had the misfortune to be considered ugly and ill-favoured on the pretence that they were witches, sorcerers, and agents of that mischievous creature the Devil, a common abuse? How long is it, I would ask your Lordships, since a statute has passed to repeal that law, to prevent any modern Sir Matthew Hale, or any prosecuting association, from wreaking their vengeance upon such unfortunate old women. Now-a-day we believe nothing of witchcraft or sorcery, and the more intelligent part of mankind have annihilated even the craft of the devil. Thus it is that the Common Law becomes a common abuse. It is founded on matters of opinion, and opinions are constantly changing.

Were not the trials by ordeal a part of the Common Law, and was not that part of the common law a common abuse? Why was the wager of battle in cases of appeal for murder lately repealed by statute? Was it not because it was considered in our days a common abuse, an abuse of law, of justice, and of natural truths? Was it not, because opinions have changed, and we cannot now believe as our ancestors did, that, a supernatural power would interfere to save the innocent and destroy the guilty in such a combat?

In the days of the Stuarts, William Penn was indicted at Common Law for a riot and breach of the peace on having delivered his sentiments to a congregation of people in Gracechurch Street: he told the Judge and the Jury that Common Law was an abuse, and no law at all; and in spite of the threats, and the fines, and the imprisonments, inflicted on his Jury, they acquitted him upon this plea. William Penn found an honest Jury; mine were subservient to the nod of the Judge.

As there are no general rules without exceptions, so also my assertion, that the Common Law, was a common abuse, must be allowed its exceptions, that principle of the Common Law which says no person accused shall be condemned without being heard in defence is an exception, but that part of the Common Law, which was favourable to me, the accused, has been violated by those who are sworn to administer it in justice, in equity, and impartiality: in my case it has been violated by your Lordships.

It has been repeatedly decided to be Common Law by this Court, for centuries past, that, it is illegal to condemn an accused person unheard, and now your Lordships have given a practical proof that the Common Law is a common abuse; that it is nothing more than the mere passions and dispositions of different Judges; for you now contradict

what former Judges have decided, from the celebrated Lord Chancellor Fortescue, in the Reign of Henry the Fourth, down to the time of George the Fourth.

The word abuse is defined as an improper use of any thing, and if I was not before justified in saying that an improper use of Common Law had been made in my case, your Lordships have afforded me that justification. You condemn me unheard. I plead not guilty, and you assert my guilt without giving me an opportunity of addressing my proper judges,—a lawful jury. This is the Star Chamber practice in reality. This exceeds any thing that even a Scroggs or a Jeffries has done before you. Even Russel and Sidney were not condemned unheard. In the very worst days of the Stuarts, and the still worse days of Cromwell; the State Trials, although they abound in very coarse epithets, and in language much more objectionable than any thing I have offered to the Court, yet, they afford no precedent of condemning an accused person unheard.

My Counsel, in moving for a new trial, was even frowned into silence, and was not allowed to enter fully upon the main point of his motion, that I had been condemned unheard. Your Lordships talked about my defence being a vehicle for blasphemous expressions, whereas, nothing of the kind has been shewn to the Court, nothing of the kind can be shewn. The whole proceeding has been an evasion of justice by those who have sworn to administer it, and a manifest and flagrant infliction of injustice upon me the accused and condemned unheard.

I now leave it to your Lordships to finish this foul play: with a mind serene and unconscious of guilt, either in a moral or a legal point of view, I can despise the power that shall punish me, because it is unjust and oppressive, and I shall submit with complacence under the idea, that I am the victim of persecution and oppression, and not the criminal at law. I have been condemned unheard.

MARY ANN CARLILE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, December 30, 1831.

JUST as I heard of your luminous exposition of law, logic, and religion, on the case of my sister, I had finished reading

your notes on the book called the Book of Common Prayer, and your commentary on, and comparison of, what Idolators call prophecies of the Jew Scribes. I determined to open a correspondence with you, just to shew you that you are in mind neither honest nor sane. I shall therefore, as long as you live, and I remain in this Prison, write you a weekly letter just to shew you that I hold your law, your logic, your religion, and your persecuting power in perfect contempt. For the present week I make way for a letter from a Correspondent.

It is my intention in addressing you to review this Book of Common Prayer, as well as your notes and observations, and to make further efforts for the abolition of the Christian Idolatry.

I am, Sir,

RICHARD CARLILE.

TO THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE BAILEY.

MY LORD,

"EVERY man is entitled to hold his own opinions," was the expression of your Lordship, in passing Judgment on Mary-Anne Carlile, for publishing a book disputing the truth of Christianity. Whether or not your Lordship considered this an important discovery, the merit of which belonged to yourself, I cannot determine. That the expression should have been pronounced and heard with any thing like gravity is at least somewhat surprising.—"Every man is entitled to hold his own opinions"! Wonderful discovery! your Lordship might as well have said, "Every man is entitled to die." For they are both privileges (perhaps the only ones) from which mankind cannot possibly be excluded. No human power, no earthly contrivance, no torture however exquisite, no imprisonment however long, no fines however enormous, not all the malice, the envy, the hatred, or the ingenuity of man, can preclude us from holding our own opinions. What an inestimable boon then has the Government granted, and your Lordship published. The existing Authorities have passed what laws they pleased, imposed what penalties they pleased, laid what restraints they pleased, on liberty, free discussion, and toleration, and because they have not prevented what they could not possibly prevent, your Lordship steps forward, and claims the merit of "allowing every man to hold his own opinions."

Your Lordship then proceeds to make an assertion, equally true though not so superfluous, the first:—you say that "men are not enti-

bled to publish their opinions"; for the truth of this assertion, I believe your Lordship may safely appeal to all those persons in every age who have had occasion to fall under the rod of Despotic Governments: they will fully coincide with your Lordship. That all men should be at perfect liberty to publish all sorts of opinions, no reasonable person will go to the extent of affirming. There are limits, it is true, beyond which discussion, should not be allowed to range. I willingly admit that the press may become either so corrupt, so licentious or so extravagant, that the peace and well-being of society require a wise though cautious restraint upon it; but this point demands such a refined degree of wisdom, prudence, and delicacy, as no Government has yet sufficiently displayed. If it were asked whether the licentiousness of the press on the one hand, or the prejudice, the corruption, and the tyranny of those who have framed its fetters on the other, have been productive of the greatest evil; there is little doubt but the answer would be in favour of the former.

The propagation of truth and knowledge depends almost entirely upon the freedom of the press. Who will dispute the truth of this? or, Who will deny that the press ought to be free from all restraint, but that which is absolutely and indisputably necessary for the preservation of social order? But upon the question as to what operates towards a breach of social order, there are various opinions. One thinks one way. Another thinks another way. One religious sect declaims loudly against the impious tendency of another; while at the same time that other sect returns the attack with equal vigour. Mahometans, denounce Christians; Christians, denounce Mahometans; Deists, dispute with both; and Deists in their turn become the objects of attack and persecution. On which ever party fortune bestows the power, the Freedom of the Press is sure to suffer; and the prejudice or superstition of the reigning sect, be it Christian, Mahometan, or Pagan, generally raises the rod of power to crush the spirit of enquiry. Is this liberal? Is it fair? Is it politic? Is it just?

To the Christian I would say, Does not the spirit of your religion teach you to do unto others as you would be done unto? Why do you deny the Deist that liberty of discussion which you are so desirous of enjoying? Where is the power of your religion that notwithstanding its omnipotence, its irresistible proof, and its desired influence, you must still call into your aid the power of persecution to crush a system which you declare to be as inferior to your own, whether in point of expediency, truth, or of intrinsic excellence, as the light of a candle to the blaze of the meridian sun? why refuse to meet your adversary with the same weapons, and on the same ground, the ground of fair discussion? Oh! illiberal, unjust, cowardly adversary, you first meet your opponent and then (as if conscious of your own weakness of argument) stopping his argument by mere physical force, claim to yourself the victory, although you have had nobody to dispute with but yourself. You allow the whole country to be filled

with disquisitions in favour of your own opinions ; you burn and destroy every line of your opponents reasoning ; you claim the conquest. Oh ! well earned laurels ! Oh, famous champion ! Go forth and tell the world of thy achievements ! Let the trumpet of Fame spread around the universe the honourable means of thy glorious victory !

Shall I be told that the law only denounces those who abuse and vilify Christianity, while it leaves the field of discussion open to those who dispute with decency and moderation.—I deny the assertion, and will venture to affirm that the persecution of the law extends to all who deny the truth of Christianity, whether with moderation and decency, or with vilifying and abuse. According to the statute, the 9th and 10th of William and Mary, no body is at liberty under the penalty of persecution to dispute the truth of Christianity in any shape or way. Your Lordship is a lawyer ; and if I mistake, the law can set me right ; but I challenge you to do it. Here then is the point, on which, were it not from the apprehension of an illiberal prosecution, I would say that this particular law is unfair, uncharitable, unjust, and tyrannical ; not because it forbids gross and unnecessary abuse of Christianity, (for nobody would object to that) but because it absolutely and unequivocally forbids all discussion of the question with whatever propriety it be conducted. What imaginable reason can be assigned in support of so inquisitorial a measure ? Perhaps your Lordship will say that the morals of society require the suppression of such discussions : but this is not only absurd in itself but inconsistent with your own argument, for your Lordship contends that the issue of the discussion would, from the paramount strength of your own side of the question, be triumphant to Christianity and destructive to infidelity. I ask then, would such an issue be injurious to the morals of society ? If on the other hand you suppose the issue of the discussion would be triumphant to infidelity, why then you libel your own religion : but your Lordship is too ingenious to suppose such a case. Here then is a dilemma : let your Lordship choose for yourself. But perhaps the professional subtilty of your Lordship will induce you to say, that although in the eye of truth and wisdom the event of the dispute would be victorious to Christianity, yet the minds of the vulgar are illiterate and weak, that the plausible reasonings of infidelity must nevertheless, in despite of truth, have an injurious effect on their minds and moral conduct. Absurdity upon absurdity ! where then is the searching and divine influence of Christianity ? where its omnipotence ! where its irresistible and blazing truth ? where its obvious and unanswerable evidences ? that thus you can suppose it to maintain an unequal conflict with a system accused of being as impious as destitute of evidence. One story is good till another is heard : This, my Lord, is an old saying, the truth of which you in particular must be convinced of, on account of your judicial situation : yet how strange and inconsistent are the ways of men. A maxim so generally admitted, is still contradicted in its application. Why is it, my Lord, that (with

this experimental truth staring us in the face) we are only allowed to hear one story? Is it the proof of an enlightened age, or the continuation of a barbarous custom, that mankind are forced to swallow the reasoning of one set of disputants, without being allowed the opportunity of looking at the other side of the question? This unnatural uncivilized restriction has all the appearance of owing its origin to ages of savage ignorance and prejudice, rather than to the age of fair and equitable toleration. Has your Lordship forgotten the story of the Two Knights and the Shield, one side of which was gold, and the other silver; or will you (with the moral of the tale fresh in your recollection) venture to hazard the assertion that a man can form a correct judgment from one side of the question without listening to the other side. Yet this is what we are to understand from your Lordship's expressions. Important and intricate as is the question of the truth or falsehood of your religion, an impartial examination of both sides is absolutely essential to forming a correct judgment; and what proof is there of the evil consequences of such a discussion. In looking at the question fairly, in discussing first the probability in favour of Christianity, and then the probability against it, and in expressing conscientious conviction either one way or the other, what possible evil is there in all this? Can your Lordship prove any evil from it; or can you assign any reasons in justification of a law which strikes at the root of liberty, by suppressing the spirit of fair and impartial inquiry.

It is not difficult to conjecture what are the real motives of adopting this vigorous course. Christianity is incorporated with the Government of the country. The temporal and the spiritual authorities are intertwined with each other; and to the present religious system the crown is indebted for no inconsiderable part of its power and influence. Independent of this, another feeling consisting of a medley of honesty and prejudice has helped Christians into the persuasion, that to stop the mouths of those who think differently to themselves is a very laudable and proper measure, quite consistent with the mild spirit of toleration and freedom. At the same time that I am ready to give many Christians credit for their honesty, I am not afraid to accuse them of a blind and stupid prejudice which causes them now to advocate the very persecution, which, before the scales turned in their own favour, they themselves condemned. When the reign of Romish superstition proscribed the publication of Protestant principles, the Protestant smarting under the lash inveighed against the intolerant spirit that held free discussion in chains. But then they were out of power. Now they are in power: and inheriting the power, they also inherit the spirit, of their predecessors. Then they had to climb to ambition's summit, that required them to advocate toleration. Now they have reached ambition's summit, but they no longer advocate, they destroy toleration.

It is singular, my Lord (and it is worthy of serious reflection) to observe how closely Christianity treads in the steps of other reli-

gious systems, I mean of those systems which Christians themselves consider as founded in corruption, and upheld by corrupt means :— we have beheld Mahometanism defended by coercion, Roman Catholicism defended by coercion, Protestantism defended by coercion. We have beheld Mahometans prohibit discussion, Roman Catholics prohibit discussion, Protestants prohibit discussion. The Mahometans after grasping the power found the means of retaining it by stopping the mouths of their adversaries : this was their interest : it was the interest of the Roman Catholics ; it was the interest too of the Protestants. We have heard Mahometans declaim loudly against the impious and evil tendency of permitting their religion to be denied. We have heard Roman Catholics declaim as loudly : and Protestants louder than all : What then does all this mean, my Lord ? Are we to suppose that Christians are not governed by the same feelings and passions as other men ? admitting, for arguments sake, that Christianity be founded in truth, still can measures in themselves confessedly evil be justified, because they are adopted by Christians ? Is there to be one rule for them, and another rule for all the rest of the world ? Do you justify Mahometan tyranny ? No. Do you justify Roman Catholic tyranny ? No. Then how can you justify the tyranny of Protestantism ?

In conclusion I would say to Christians in general, if as you contend the truth of your religion be clear, its proof irresistible, its support omnipotent, what more powerful weapons does it want to blast the attacks of its enemies ? think not that your puny efforts (puny at least compared with the above qualities) can have any other effect than creating a suspicion that Christianity really does stand in need of those efforts, than which, no suspicion can be more fatal to your purpose. If, on the other hand, Christianity be destitute alike of proof and of the protection of omnipotence ; be not so infatuated as to imagine that any means within the compass of human conception can compensate the want of those advantages. In either case, suffer the spirit of enquiry to remain unmolested, for it is always the friend and not the enemy of truth. Preserve at least your consistency. Deny not to others the privileges which you yourselves would enjoy. Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

A FRIEND TO FREEDOM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR,

The Editor of the "Times," with the same native modesty with which he termed his Paper "The Leading

Journal of Europe," has been calling a few rhymes of his a *treat* to his readers. "We will treat them," says this sweet bard, "with the following parody:"—

O sure a pair were never seen
 So fitly form'd to fight by Nature!
 Carlile, a Jacobin so keen,
 Murray, a furious loyal creature,
 O how well met are two such foes,
 What kindred virtues they disclose!
 His blasphemy
 Was made for thee
 So like thy piety it flows.

So wild your acts, the world from thence,
 May early learn to hate his duty;
 With thee be loyal through pretence,
 Or blur with him Religion's beauty.
 O how unhappy to inherit
 Such grisly grace, such rancorous spirit!
 So while you live
 May Fortune give
 Each blessing equal to your merit.

Doubtless, on completing this great performance, the "Modest Poet saw his work and blush'd!" I have taken the freedom of repeating the "treat," with a few requisite alterations:—

O sure a pair were never seen
 So fitly form'd to *cant* by Nature!
 As Doctor Slop, an ultra keen,
 And Walter's Scribe, a servile creature.
 O how well met are two such foes,
 What kindred virtues they disclose!
 Slop must imbibe
 From Walter's scribe
 His *feign'd devotion* as it flows.

From two such base Times-serving knaves
 The world may learn to hate its duty;
 Free souls degenerate into slaves,
 And bow to nymphs devoid of beauty.*

* The ladies who (according to report) dictate to the worthy hiring of the "Times" behind the curtain, are certainly as deficient in personal as they are in mental charms, otherwise their vanity would draw them from their obscurity.

O how delightful to inherit
Tit bits of such calumnious spirit!
 So while they live
 May Fortune give
 Slop, and his Rival, all they merit.

THE SEA OFFICER.

A SEA officer was prevailed on, for once, to accompany a friend to a certain assembly of modern fanatics. When he arrived, the first thing which struck the son of Neptune, was the prayer, in which the noisy orator, with foaming vociferation, and the countenance of a fury, set forth himself and congregation as the vilest sinners; and in such opprobrious terms, as induced the honest tar (convinced by the earnest manner of the preacher, that all he said was literally *true*) to whisper to his companion,—“ Jack! d’ye hear what d—d scoundrels we are got among? Come, let’s get off, before the roof comes down upon our heads, and sends the whole crew to the Devil!

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The CHARACTER of the JEW BOOKS; being a Defence of the Natural Innocence of Man, against Kings and Priests, or Tyrants and Impostors. By Do.

AT a Meeting held at No. 11, Middle Row, Holborn, on December 13, 1821, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

1. That it is highly expedient and necessary that a Society be established in this Metropolis for the purpose of propagating Deistical Principles through the medium of Lectures, Discussion, Publication of Tracts, &c. &c.

2. That all persons of eighteen years of age and upwards, of good character, should be eligible to become members.

3. That as soon as a sufficient number of members are enrolled, a monthly subscription of 1s. each member shall be paid to defray the incidental expenses—establish a library—open a suitable place for Theological Discussion, and provide a fund for the relief of those who may suffer persecution for the honest and conscientious expression of their opinions.

4. That books for entering the names of such gentlemen as wish to be enrolled as members be opened at Mr. Carlile's, 55, Fleet Street, at Mr. Wm. Mason's Printing Office, 21, Clerkenwell Green, and at Mr. J. Griffin's, No. 11, Middle Row, Holborn.

APHORISMS OF CONDORCET.

It is even apparent, that, from the general laws of the developement of our faculties, certain prejudices must necessarily spring up in each stage of our progress, and extend their seductive influence beyond that stage; because men retain the errors of their infancy, their country, and the age in which they live, long after the truths necessary to the removal of those errors are acknowledged.

Are we not arrived at the point when there is no longer any thing to fear, either from new errors, or the return of old ones, when no corrupt institution can be introduced by hypocrisy, and adopted by ignorance or enthusiasm; when no vicious combination can affect the infelicity of a great people? Accordingly, would it not be of advantage to

know how nations have been deceived, corrupted, and plunged in misery?

Priests.—A class of individuals uniformly affecting insolent prerogatives, separating themselves from the people, the better to enslave them.

They taught not what they believed to be true, but what they thought favourable to their own end.

But frequently a king surrendered himself to the impulse of personal vengeance, to the commission of arbitrary acts of violence, frequently, in these privileged families, pride, hereditary hatred, the prey of love and thirst for gold, engendered and multiplied crimes, while the chiefs assembled in towns, the instruments of the passions of kings, excited therein factions and civil wars, oppressed the people by iniquitous judgments, and tormented them by the enormities of their ambition and rapacity.

In other places, these kings, surrounded with minions, because they had arms and treasures to bestow on them, exercised an absolute authority: and such was the origin of tyranny.

A mutiny of the guards, an insurrection in the capital, may be fatal to the despot, without crushing despotism. The general of an army, by destroying a family rendered sacred by prejudice, may establish a new dynasty, but it is only to establish a similar tyranny.

Genius might display all its energies, without being fettered by the pedantic observances, the systematic hypocrisy of a sacerdotal college. All men possessed an equal right to the knowledge of truth. All might engage in the pursuit of it, and communicate it to all, not in scraps or parcels, but in its whole extent.

The Republican.

No. 2. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, Jan. 11, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 8,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,

A WEEKLY Address you will receive from me with such information and observation as I can make successively, upon such matters as interest you under the title and appellation of Republicans. I will record each event and incident that weighs either for or against us, pointing out such means, from time to time, as will give strength to our body, as an appropriate leader to each successive number of "The Republican."

One object I have in view, is to examine and weigh well the expressions commonly in use with the persons denominating themselves Reformers, from the Moderates to the Radicals, and to endeavour to bring them forward to an avowal of definite principles on all points. I shall do this in the spirit of fair inquiry and without any intention to give personal offence. Whilst I endeavour to inculcate sound principles and such as will bear the light, I will studiously avoid all offensive personalities. My object is union, but I seek to produce it upon sound principles, where it can be alone durable. We avow ourselves Republicans, the advocates of the Representative System of Government, with an Elective Magistracy, where the executor of the law shall be as much the choice of a majority of the people, as the legislator. Without this, a system of Government cannot be Representative, and to this point I mean to bring the attention of all those who call themselves Reformers, and talk about a Representative System of Government.

The press of other matter necessarily shortens my Address this week, but in the next number I shall bring into view, the objections which Mr. Cobbett, our first political

writer, has frequently taken to Republican Government, and endeavour to shew that his expressions on this head are not so clear and intelligible as some of his very important exposures of our governmental systems of finance, and the various projects and schemes of its supporters. In doing this I trust I shall be able to shew how questions of importance should be discussed between persons who differ in their views of attaining the same object. I have no motive to quarrel with, no desire to impeach the expressions of Mr. Cobbett on this head; he has first *publicly* called my attention to the point, and I should be wanting in honesty and candour to shrink from a full defence of the political principles of Thomas Paine, whom I will call the Father of every Representative Republic and all sound Republican principles.

I challenge fair discussion upon this point; and if there be no political reformer to shew me that my views are wrong upon the matter, then I shall feel it my duty to call upon every lover of liberty to avow himself to be of my side and principles.

Legislation proceeding from the real representatives of the majority of the people, and magistracy, or executors of the law, elected by any plan that such representatives shall adopt, form my political principles, which I have imbibed from the political writings of Thomas Paine. If any man can shew me that they are not the best, I shall feel obliged to him, and if he attempts to do it and fails, I will treat him courteously.

R. CARLILE.

CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTH-DAY OF MR. CARLILE, AT LEEDS,

THE Friends of Rational Liberty in this place celebrated the 8th of December, as the birth-day of Mr. Carlile, by a public dinner at the Noah's Ark. About 7 o'clock, about fifty persons sat down to a good substantial dinner, and the greatest harmony and hilarity prevailed till a late hour.

As soon as the cloth was drawn Mr. JAMES WATSON was called to the Chair, who addressed the meeting as follows:—

Gentlemen, I am sorry that in your selection of Chair-

man, you have not made choice of a more competent person to fulfil its duties. When I look around me, and behold myself surrounded by so respectable a company as this, and men of much superior talents to my own, I cannot imagine why you have conferred upon me so great an honour. Though young in years, I hope I have the principles of the immortal Paine and Carlile so engraven on my heart, that the iron hand of corruption will never be able to erase them.

In times like these when the columns of almost every newspaper and journal are teeming their abuse, and propagating their damnable doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance to the divine omnipotence of kings and priests, need we wonder at the calumny and slander laid upon the backs of those who have the honesty to expose and resist such servile and infamous falsehoods. To the man of virtue and reflection these attacks of the interested and dependant will pass by as the wind that bloweth, and never warp them from the high and honourable ground they have taken. No, it will only fix them with a stronger basis round the immutable standard of public liberty. Let us propagate individually and unitedly those principles which are so abominable to servile courtiers and priests, for nothing can give us a better idea of their utility and goodness than the slander of those demons of corruption. We are charged with wishing to entail upon our country those infamous proceedings which deluged France with blood, but to them I would say, whose blood was it that drenched the streets of France, and who were the instigators of that blood being spilt? To British gold it may be attributed, lavished by that demon Pitt, and his association of blood-hounds, and which the promulgators of his hellish doctrine are using every exertion to put a second time in motion. And again I would ask, who were the greatest sufferers in those arbitrary proceedings? You, who have read of those inhuman butcheries, will find that the advocates of a pure Representative Republic, were its greatest victims. But it is the interest of the banditti of public paupers to impregnate the country with lies, and to the statement which Mr. Carlile has caused to be circulated of those butcheries, in publishing the Works of the immortal Paine, may be attributed this unwarrantable and his unheard of persecution; for, in their eyes truth is a libel, false as hell. Let not the slanderous representations of our enemies be an obstacle to our exertions; but let truth be the morning cause of all our

proceedings towards attaining that freedom which is the birthright of every man. Let us not suffer our labour to be relaxed until we have gained that pearl we have been so long contending for. For without liberty we are like a ship in the tempestuous ocean, without even a rudder or a pilot, and are obliged to suffer the buffeting of every association of licensed tyrants. Let us unite, for unity is strength; then we have some chance of coping with the civil and religious despots of our country: for without unity and co-operation we are as nothing, and to the want of unanimity we may attribute the cowardly and unmannerly attacks which are made upon us. Let us arouse from that lethargy which has so long held us with its massive chains, and openly advocate the principles laid down by our great and enlightened countryman, Thomas Paine, and which have received the sanction of the bold and energetic but persecuted Carlile. By his strong and sound reasoning, he has proved that Republicanism is the only system of government upon which we can build our freedom with safety, and be protected against the encroachments of civil and religious despotism. Let us from this day protest by the almighty voice of reason, that he will obtain for the persecuted and incarcerated Friends of Liberty, retribution for the injustice they have received, and which hath been too long denied them. And let us say to the enemies of our country, that the hour will come when the sceptre of equal justice shall again bear the sway in our land, and the infernal hand of tyranny shall not hinder its progress.

Know, miscreant Statesmen!

The hour will come, when fraud's short triumph past,
A people's vengeance shall strike home at last.

Let the manly and patriotic stand which Mr. Carlile hath made against the citadel of corruption be a rallying point for our exertions, let us no longer see tyranny feasting its voracious appetite on the last particle of our remaining rights and liberties, but unite ourselves under the standard of him who dares to resist tyranny in all its shapes, and who has declared that his voice, his heart, and his pen, shall always be found in the ranks of those who have liberty, happiness, and virtue in their view. Consider the hosts of foes he has to contend with! A wife and a sister confined within the walls of the same borough-mongering Bastille as himself, and inconveniences flowing through a thousand channels with which we are unacquainted. You are all

aware that the Bridge Street Horde have avowed their intention to shut up the shop in Fleet Street. It remains with us whether this infamous practice be executed, I hope we have sufficient patriotism to stop this hellish inquisition. It is our interest as well as our duty to step forward, and give him that support necessary for its final overthrow. The poorest amongst us may contribute something, and though ever so trifling it will be thankfully received. The only thing necessary is perseverance, for we fight not to enslave, but set our country free. Victims to tyranny, we well know there must be, but let us not suffer their incarceration to be exaggerated for want of our assistance. No, we should be unworthy the name of men, and particularly freemen, to see such injustice and oppression practised openly before our eyes. In conclusion let us never deviate from the ground we have taken, but let us hope that the morning of a new era has at length dawned, and that with truly Representative Republics, the interest and happiness of all will for the future be attended to, when the prison doors will be opened, and the persecuted advocates of liberty again breathe the open air. When corruption and tyranny shall no more be heard in our land, so that men may speak, write, and publish their opinions freely. Government to be just should produce happiness at home, be honest and beneficent to all the world, which if it does it is valuable and ought to be supported, if it be otherwise, rendering the people corrupt, depraved, and miserable, oppressive to its dependents and neighbours, it is an injury and a curse, and mankind may and ought to treat it as such. In conclusion I shall give you the health of Richard Carlile, the intrepid Champion of Truth and Reason. (Four times four.)

Mr. JOSEPH BRAYSHAW then rose and spoke as follows: Gentlemen, We have already drank the health of Mr. Carlile; and as I consider that we ought not to be deterred on account of name and country if we are in pursuit of truth, if we are in pursuit of those things which will be beneficial to mankind, we ought to take within our view all ages and all men who have written for the benefit of mankind. On that account I beg leave to propose the name of one of the most celebrated authors that ever appeared on the face of the earth. "THE CELEBRATED MIRABAUD." To those who are acquainted with the writings of Mirabaud, it is sufficient that I should mention his name. His writings, when once they have been perused, strike the mind in such

a manner as must bring conviction to the mind of every one who can so far divest himself of his early prejudices as to be induced to peruse them: I do not say every man may come precisely to his opinion; but as a philosophical writer, as a man in pursuit of truth, as a man whose object is to promote the happiness and welfare of human nature, I beg leave to propose

“The Memory of the celebrated Mirabaud, author of the *System of Nature*.”

Song.—Mr. Kershaw Crowther—“Come, and let us join in Chorus.”

“The Immortal Memory of Thomas Paine.”

“Mr. Joseph Brayshaw.”

Mr. Joseph Brayshaw's health being drank, he rose and said:—

Gentlemen, The honour which you have already done me in drinking my health, necessarily calls upon me to return you my most sincere thanks; but in so doing, as it is well known that I, in many respects, differ from the celebrated character whose birth-day we are met to celebrate, it is necessary that I should give some explanations of these differences of opinion.

I would state that all matters of belief rest upon probability. The only thing of which any man can be certain is, that of his own existence, every other point must be measured by a proportionate degree of probability. I am certain, by the conviction of the whole of my senses, that I exist myself, but I am not equally certain of the existence of all around me; but as all the senses which I am possessed of conspire to strike conviction upon my mind of the existence of other objects around me, the existence of these objects arise in the first scale of probability. Our belief or sentiments must depend upon matter of evidence, all those things which are capable of actual demonstration to the whole of our senses, may be classed under the highest degree of probability. Then, next to this, comes the principles that arise from reasoning upon the nature and properties of things; but here we are aware that many differences of opinion may exist. Men, by different degrees of experience and observation, may be led to form different conclusions. From a variety of circumstances in which we may be placed, our ideas naturally differ as much as our complexions. But because this is the case, should men go to persecute one another on account of difference of opinion? If we should not on scientific subjects, how detestable

and abominable must it be, to persecute a man on account of opinions, or on account of opposing a system, which merely depends upon the assertions of men like ourselves. Subjects proposed for our belief in this kind of way, may be placed in a different scale of probability. Who shall determine what we are to believe, and what we are not to believe? Who shall be able to satisfy us that one particular point is true, and by his bare words strike conviction to the mind of all mankind? That which a man has once seen himself, that of which he has ocular demonstration, is to him in the highest scale of probability, but let him go to a distant nation where the same phenomena does not take place, the inhabitants of a distant nation have but his word, and, consequently, the probability of its truth is weakened. If we find that a number of different persons have been witnesses of any particular phenomena, in order to examine the degree of probability which is to be attached to their assertions we instantly come to inquire into the motives by which they are actuated; Whether they may have any particular interest to serve? Whether or not they may have some darling prejudice to gratify? But if we find they have their passions and prejudices to gratify; that their honour, interest, and livelihood, depends upon supporting this assertion; at once we see the scale of probability is much weakened. In this scale of probability, I consider then, we may place the generality of what is termed religion; not that I myself disbelieve every system of religion; but, I say, there are many probabilities both for and against every system; and this I will say, if any system of religion be true, Carle will do that religion much more service by bringing it to the test of reason and truth, than has been done by all the priests in the world. Why is it that we are induced to disbelieve the systems of faith taught by the Gentoo or Mahomet? Is it not that these are supported by power, and that a horde of priests depend for their support upon their lies being believed. What is it that leads men of science, reason, and reflection to reject or suspect the system of Christianity? Does not one of the greatest of these arise from our having many thousands of priests, who depend upon supporting a corrupt system for their livelihood. I speak in this way of the system, not because I reject Christianity, but because I consider priests are the greatest enemies to Christianity that ever existed. It is well known to most of the company, that I profess myself to be a Christian, and I would just observe that though

Mr. Carlile says, that if I am a Christian I am only half a Reformer, I believe the system of Christianity will lead me to go further in the principles of Reform, than has ever been proposed by Mr. Carlile, and I believe myself that if Christians can be found they will be real Reformers, but, I must needs say, I am in many respects short of the character of a Christian, neither have I ever found a man who could justly lay claim to the character. I consider priestcraft, tyranny, and oppression, are the greatest possible opponents to Christianity. Christianity, if acted upon, would make all people as one family, with one united interest. Now the same principles of reasoning which satisfy me, may not satisfy another, am I therefore to quarrel with him, because he supposes the whole of it may be a fiction? No, but if the system have in it any thing beneficial to mankind, I ought to invite the whole human race to partake of its advantages. But, perhaps, I shall not be found even on these subjects to differ so widely from Mr. Carlile, as I once did, but I would beg leave to pay a due honour to the character of Mr. Carlile, and to the character of Paine, as political writers; their pure system of Representative Government is the only rational system of Government that can be devised. But I say we must carry our reformation even further than the system of Government. If we reform the great tyrants and leave the minor corruptions undisturbed, the system of Government will soon be corrupted again. Let any man but examine the daily circumstances that take place around him, and he will see that under the present system of society, no system of Government can possibly exist free from corruption, because men are continually quarrelling one with another on account of every man's interest being opposed to the interest of his fellow man; on which account he will endeavour to serve himself, without regarding the general interests of mankind. On this ground I say we must reform not only the great tyrants at the head of the state, but the lesser tyrants likewise. It will not do only to carry our system of Reform to the choice of Representatives of Government, we must add to this an Elective Magistracy, and beyond that we must endeavour to establish our own independence and maintain it. We must have no longer to crouch to those around us, nor bear their oppressions; and beyond that determine not to be oppressed by others, nor to oppress one another. These are the points that I consider absolutely necessary to be attained in the system of Government. By these means men

being brought to have but one united interest, to form but one family, in which no individual should have an interest opposed to the interest of his fellow men; when society is brought to this state, tyranny and superstition will die away. Tyrants would sink into insignificance if they had no flatterers or supporters. Are we weak, tyrannized, and oppressed, whose fault is it? Is not the ox and the horse reduced to servitude by man? Yes, and sometimes slain for his use. Why do we do this? Are they different to us? Is our lives and liberties more dear to us than they are to these quadrupeds? No, but though we have less strength we have more cunning, and we say in this case, that the union of strength and cunning constitutes right, on this ground we oppress the quadrupeds. Well, priests and governors have got cunning, if they have not got strength, and by this they devise means of setting the interests of mankind in opposition to one another, and make use of the strength of one part of the community, in order to oppress another. We see, as I have already stated, that the tyrants, the men in power, it is a matter of no importance whether you call them the national government, whether they are the magistrates of a town or county, or a man who oppresses those who are employed by him, or whether it is a poor man who oppresses another; the oppression of all these classes is equally unjust, and equally inconsistent with the happiness of mankind. If we would eradicate oppression, let us not seek to eradicate it in the higher spheres alone, but let us eradicate it at home; let us exert ourselves to procure such an unity of interest as will prevent it. I stated that I did not perhaps differ from Mr. Carlile upon theological points so much, as I did the last time I had the honour of addressing part of this company. Very probably the reason will be that Mr. Carlile has changed his opinions as much as myself. Though I consider Paine as one of the greatest political writers; I have not that high opinion of him as a theological writer. Now as Mr. Carlile has differed from his system of theology, we shall perhaps be found nearer of the same opinion which arises from one consideration; that with regard to nature, when we view the various objects around us, I consider that we have no proof whatever of any power independent of nature. If there be any superior power, our proof must rise not from nature or from science; but it must surely depend upon that superior power having communicated or revealed himself to man.

Mr. Carlile has referred to science upon this point, but for my own part, I will say that science teaches me nothing upon the subject. I am not much acquainted with the sciences, with the exception of chemistry, and the science of chemistry teaches me that nature is undergoing continual changes, continual compositions and decompositions, that the matter which forms my body, may perhaps another day, at no very distant period, form part of some other body. The science of chemistry teaches us that all nature is in a perpetual change, but by what cause these things are accomplished it does not teach us. If we come to the science of optics, it tells us clearly the Priests have deluded mankind with gods, devils, and spirits, and which delusions may be made palpable to man. By the concave mirror, or the magic lantern, we may produce the appearance of a burning god or a glorious god; by these means we may produce an image of a deity, and place a person behind a wall to speak in his name; and if it is necessary we may amuse and deceive the fool by shewing him the places denominated heaven and hell. If we come to the science of astronomy, which is considered the most wonderful of the sciences, we perceive the world upon which we exist, we are enabled to determine its motions, the motions and magnitude of the various bodies, their distance one from another; but how they came into existence we know not. We see likewise a vast number of stars scattered over the surface of what we usually denominate heaven at an immense distance; and the telescope shews us that their numbers exceed our powers of calculation; but how they came there, whether they are the work of one God, or three, or thirty thousand, or of none, the science of astronomy never informs us. We know, I say, the motions of the solar system; we know this earth is at least nearly five millions of miles distant from the sun; and we know that Sirius, the nearest of the fixed stars, is at least eighteen thousand times more distant; by this means we are enabled to say, that the idea of a place above the stars, usually denominated heaven, is an invention of Priests to deceive mankind. By the revolution of the earth upon its axis, we know that the notion of a heaven above and a hell below, is one of the most absurd, ridiculous, and foolish stories that ever was devised by man. By the principles of science we may satisfy ourselves of the motion of the heavenly bodies and of their present situations, of the immense distance of the stars, that the notions of heaven and hell are delusions, and that it would be ridiculous to suppose that

man should leave this earth to become the resident of any other place; but when we come to the origin of these things science teaches us nothing; here we are left in the most profound darkness. We know that they now exist, or, at least, their existence is placed in the highest degree of probability. Then we know that they exist; we know their motions; and we know that they have existed for a number of years, but how long, whether one thousand years, six thousand, eighty thousand, one hundred thousand, or whether at any period they are brought into existence by any cause within themselves, or by any superior governing power, or whether they have eternally existed under a superior governing power, or under more than one, say three, or thirty thousand, we know nothing of it. When we examine these points, science leaves us in the most profound ignorance, therefore, we are in the most profound darkness; and whether we shall state the system to have been created many thousand years ago, or whether it has eternally existed, or whether we shall suppose that it is of itself self-existent and eternal, we cannot tell. Here we may say we are perfectly ignorant, and if any superior power exist, whether he created the universe (as some say) out of nothing, or whether it has eternally existed under his government, or whether it be self-existent and eternal, governed by the laws of necessity, or whether governed by an intelligent power, equally subject to the same laws of necessity, or by any cause independent or separate from nature, if any independent or separate cause do exist, by the principles of science we know nothing of him. If we know any thing of him we must know him by having revealed himself to men; if he has not revealed himself to men, science teaches us to disbelieve the existence of a superior power. Though no system is without objections, Christianity without Priests or ceremonies, or otherwise, an universal disbelief of all systems of religion are the most rational systems. (*Loud applause.*)

I would beg to propose, "May the whole of the human race speedily form but one vast Republic, and Man be free of the whole."

Mr. BYERLEY then addressed the Meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—After the eloquent speech that has been delivered by our worthy friend, Mr. Brayshaw, it may appear rather bold in me to attempt to say any thing; but I trust the part I have taken in support of Mr. Carlyle's principles will afford a sufficient apology for offering myself to your notice on the present occasion. Being

but an indifferent speaker, I must claim your indulgence, as I am desirous of stating what our object was for assembling as we have done on the present occasion, which I shall endeavour to do in as brief a manner as possible. The persons who have taken an active part in getting up this dinner were of an opinion that every honest man who has made himself acquainted with the unparalleled injustice and tyranny that has been exercised against Mr. Carlile, must view it as odious and detestable in the fullest sense of the terms, and must wish to have an opportunity of coming forward to subscribe a mite to enable that undaunted advocate of liberty and truth to oppose his and our oppressors. He has said that whatever is subscribed for him shall not be appropriated to any pecuniary wants of his own, but shall be expended in diffusing knowledge to mankind. Another object we had in view was this—it has been said by our pretended friends, or rather our secret enemies, that the subscribers to Mr. Carlile were falling off, and that they were divided among themselves: this was another reason why it was thought necessary to assemble as at present, and in my opinion, they will need no stronger proof than this night's proceedings to shew that although they are not united, we are. We are all aware that the idea of having a public dinner on this occasion has been scouted. But why should we let the opinions of such men cause us to go either to the right or the left? No, my friends, ours is a straight-forward course; we have nothing to fear; let perseverance be our motto, and Republican principles our guide; let us pursue them with vigour in an open manner, and with our great ally, the Debt, called National. I, for one, have no fear of living to see the whole of the present system of Church and State tyranny crumble into dust. The immortal Paine says, our financial system will destroy itself. I am of the same opinion in regard to Church affairs; that the Christian system of delusion will fall I have not the least doubt, and the sooner the better, for I think it serves every purpose of both knave and fool. You cannot but have noticed how Mr. Bains has handled the case of Mary Ann Carlile. He professes to be a Christian; I will leave you to judge of what kind he is, for I do not think either him or I could tell you. I hope you will not forget that he says, that he had rather see No. 55, Fleet Street, shut up, as he considers it a public nuisance. As our time grows short, I now propose that each individual gives his mite to aid that noble and intrepid champion of liberty, although he is incarcerated; and as he

says whatever may be given to him shall not be applied to any pecuniary use of his own, but to diffuse knowledge to mankind, I hope that each friend will give what is in his power.

The subscription was immediately carried into effect.

Song.—Mr. Dean—"Man was born for a purpose."

Song.—Mr. ——"In these disastrous, dismal Days of Riot, Laws, and Libel."

Toast.—"Mrs. Carlile, and may we live to see the Day when the Heads of five wicked Priests shall be sold for one Penny."

Mr. Whincup, jun. then proposed the health of Mr. Crowther.

Mr. KERSHAW CROWTHER.—Gentlemen, you have this night honoured me with your approbation, and for what I am at a loss to discover, for in the whole course of my life I do not know that I ever did any thing in the cause of freedom which merited your approbation. However, since you have been pleased to favour me with your approbation, I have come to this conclusion, that it is my duty to return you my most sincere and heartfelt thanks. The best way, however, to evince my gratitude to you will be in future to exert myself to call forth all the energies of which this feeble frame is possessed, in the cause of freedom. I know of no other method of conveying my gratitude to the public than this; and be assured, that the cause of freedom lays so near my heart, that I shall for ever (that is, I mean to say while life lasts) continue to be engaged in this cause, which above all others, appears to me to be the most important and the most interesting to the human race. Life! what is it without freedom? Better resign it. Let us, therefore, my dearly-beloved friends, endeavour by every means in our power to cultivate a spirit which always ardently and perseveringly prompts us to overthrow the tyrannizing hand of oppression; and while we are endeavouring to further the cause of freedom, let us not forget those persons who have ventured their all in that sacred cause. Numerous have been the advocates of liberty, and they have, according to their respective abilities, endeavoured to secure, not only for us, but for our children, the offspring of our bodies, the darlings of our hearts, that glorious, that thrice glorious object, freedom, both in a civil and religious point of view. I say, let us never forget that dungeon-proof Reformer both of Church and State, Richard Carlile, for never did man exert himself in the cause of freedom as he has done. His-

tory, so far as I am acquainted with it, never furnished us with an account of a more noble hero in the cause of freedom than that intrepid champion of both civil and religious liberty, Richard Carlile, who, I assure you, is placed the highest in my estimation. Not a man within the circle of my acquaintance rises so honourably in my mind's eye as he does, and the reason is obvious, because notwithstanding the vile calumnies and reproaches which have been heaped upon his head, I venture to assert and boldly to declare, that since I became acquainted with his writings, I have become a better husband and a better father; and this I conceive is more than a six years apprenticeship to Christianity was ever able to produce. Six years I was a member of the old connection of Methodists, but never was my mind in the course of these years inspired with such noble ideas; never, I say, was I prompted, impelled, and excited to perform the relative duties as a parent and husband as I have been since I read these *scouted* works of Richard Carlile. Let the Priests take this home, let them take this as a specimen of the utility of the doctrines which they preach, and let them know, let them feel, let them experience a chagrin in their inmost souls, when they hear that a poor illiterate man such as I am can boldly and conscientiously and experimentally declare that the utility of their doctrines has been superseded by the doctrines of the brave Carlile. Having said thus much in favour of Mr. Carlile, I shall sit myself down in the hope that garlands of glory will ultimately be entwined round his head, notwithstanding all that his oppressors and our oppressors can with their combined force do against him. (*Loud applause.*)

Mr. RICHARD WHINCUP then addressed the company in a speech of considerable length, the purport of which was, to shew that Mr. Carlile's end and aim was to benefit mankind; and that therefore it need not be thought a thing uncommon that he was persecuted, as from time immemorial wherever a man was found who had the real interest of his fellow-men at heart, he became a persecuted man.

SONG.

Composed for the occasion and sung by John Smithson.

Tune—"Black-eyed Susan."

YE friends of REASON raise your heads,
On this our *Hero's Natal Day*,
Whose mind is bent to free mankind
From *Superstition's* deadly sway.

Yes, let *State Robbers* use him as they will,
He can't help writing TRUTH and REASON still.

Bishops and *Priests* are all enthral'd,
By TRUTH and REASON's mighty power ;
When brave CARLILE his pen does wield,
'Tis then Corruption's trying hour.
He proves their doctrines all of little use,
Till they their *patents* and their *proofs* produce.

Though BASTILE WALLS and HEAVY FINES,
His NOBLE FAMILY do molest,
He knows the *Bridge-street Gang* would fail,
If put to REASON's trying test.
Give him but REASON's aid, he'll ask no more,
To drive *Corruption's Monks* from Britain's shore.

Their puny efforts are but weak,
Compared to TRUTH's all-powerful sway ;
The *Vice Society* may rage,
While we revere his *Natal Day*.
We'll let the friends of *Priest* and *Kingcraft* see,
That *though our limbs are chained our minds are free*.

We'll shew earth's sterilizing horde,
That nature formed us to be free,
Till *fear made Gods*, and *knaves made Priests*,
To barter for impunity ;
And all their dreams and supernatural lore,
Is but a fiction, form'd to rob the poor.

Sometimes they talk of want of faith,
And say our unbelief's a crime ;
Man can no more change his belief,
Than he can stop the march of time.
All faiths are to their own believers just,
For none believe, because they will, but must.

All sects proclaim their rights divine,
Though all their doctrines disagree ;
Though each adopts a different creed,
Yet all revere *one Deity*.
Jews, Turks, and Christians, various tenets hold,
Yet *all one God adore, and that is gold*.

Then let us aid our champion's toil,
And prove we've minds as well as he,
Till *one Republic fills the earth*,
And every man that breathes is free.

Lets to our haughty *Priests* and *Tyrants* say,
This is the people's will, ye must obey.

Then let our hearts and voices join,
On this our *Hero's Natal Day*,
Let TRUTHS respond from mind to mind,
Till fell Corruption dies away.

Let REASON's voice resound from shore to shore,
Till *Superstition* curse mankind no more.

"The health of all those who have been and now are engaged in the cause of human liberty:—Mary Ann Carlile; the persecuted Thomas Davison; Mr. Wooler and Sir Charles Wolseley; Major Cartwright and John Knight."

Resolved—That the thanks of the company be given to Mr. Watson for his open, worthy, and manly conduct in the chair.

The following Resolutions were proposed and read by John Smithson, and unanimously agreed to, after which the company separated in mutual satisfaction on a well-spent evening:—

Resolved,

1st, That it is the opinion of this company, that the honest support which Richard Carlile has given to the liberty of the press, and the rights of all men in society to speak, write, and publish their opinions on whatever subject they may think proper, as the only means of discovering truth and detecting error, entitles him to the respect and admiration of every friend to the liberty and happiness of mankind.

2d, That the heavy sentences of fine and imprisonment which he and his worthy family are suffering under, and the total absence of any thing like proof to convince him that he has been promulgating falsehood, sufficiently proves, that his opponents have no argument left but force to keep up their fraud.

3d, That when we consider that it is not the man, but the opinions he has promulgated, and the facts he has elucidated, against which the deadly shafts of Kingly and Priestly Despotism have directed their aim; when we see the off-scouring of society united in a deadly phalanx to utterly destroy every man who dares to hold up the MIRROR OF TRUTH before the BIGOTED EYES OF SUPERSTITION, we feel it a duty incumbent upon us, at this important crisis, when a single arm is of consequence in aid of the general cause, to second his efforts, in a general diffusion of those political truths, and of that philosophical knowledge, by which alone man can attain any thing like a proper knowledge of himself, and of the place he ought to hold in society; or rid himself of that prejudice which is the bane of every social comfort, and calculated to perpetuate the slavery and degradation of the human race.

SONG

ON THE OCCASION.

SINCE the days of old Adam and old Mother Eve,
Strange things we've been taught and strange things we
believe;

We believe their religion is what they have made,
In order to live by the humbugging trade.

You black-coated locusts, wherever you be,
For once give attention and listen to me;
Richard Carlile is our object in view,
And we'll do our endeavour to give him his due.

This Noble of Nature, to London he went,
To do good for the people it was his intent;
He saw that religion was a cause of distress,
And profits only the Priests who wear the black dress.

Thomas Paine's Age of Reason he quickly sent down,
With the rest of his works into country and town;
For he saw that they were too valuable things
To be smother'd and murder'd by Parsons and Kings.

He attacked the fortress of which they all boast,
With Archbishops and Bishops and all the whole host;
These worst of all reptiles, who plunder this isle,
Will curse while we bless the natal day of Carlile.

But mark the result of this brave-hearted Deist,
The fittest in Europe to handle a Priest;
Three years in Dorchester Gaol he's to stay,
With one thousand five hundred pounds sterling to pay.

And shall we forsake him, our guide and our friend,
We've followed thus far, let's pursue to the end,
And see what man-tigers, called Christians, will do,
To support all the rest of the humbugging crew.

On the 8th of December this Noble was born,
Henceforth and for ever that day we'll adorn,
And boldly step forth and support him through life,
Not forgetting the infants, his sister, and wife.

The production of a Shropshire Deist, who once believed all
that an Anabaptist pleased to fob him up with.

Vol. V. No. 2.

THE FOLLOWING SONG

*Was Composed by JOHN SMITHSON for the Celebration of Mr.
CARLILE's Birthday.*

Tune.—“ Shall rebel Frenchmen, Sans Culottes.”

YE Statesmen all, by Priestcraft steel'd,
Attend to what I write,
To arm 'gainst *Reason* is to yield
Ere you begin to fight;
To persecute yourselves forbear,
You've yielded to a youth;
'Tis not a libel that you fear,
You only *fear the Truth*.

If you could prove his writings false
You'd use no gaol or fine,
Why don't your bishops now advance
To prove *their truths sublime*,
Their conduct proves their cause is weak
And all their creeds untrue,
Or you would ne'er your vengeance wreak
On one you can't subdue.

For brave CARLILE has fairly proved
Beyond all doubt or fear
That more you persecute the *truth*
The brighter 'twill appear;
And more your minions persevere
Their wretched ends to gain,
The more the people will revere
CARLILE AND THOMAS PAINE.

Though *holy Leagues* and *Courts* combined
Beset poor Truth around,
The *press* with Truth and Reason join'd
Will all their rage confound;
All must confess the force of Truth
And bow to Reason's will,
No Act or Bill can change its worth,
Reason is Reason still.

Then cease to talk of Noble Lords,
And Noble Statesmen too,
Unless you've got some nobler deeds.
Than Reason to outdo.

And cease to talk of heavenly powers
 On whom your doctrines hang,
 You've proved your Gods can't help themselves
 Without a BRIDGE STREET GANG!

A NEW SONG

*On the Incarceration of RICHARD CARLILE, the Dungeon-proof
 Reformer of Church and State.*

BY KERSHAW CROWTHER.

COME, and let us join in chorus,
 Sing of brave Carlile oppress'd,
 May the noble muse of Horace
 Now inspire the poet's breast:
 Sever'd, see the tender parent,
 From his home and children dear,
 Mark excessive grief apparent,
 See the falling parting-tear.

Then in close confinement view him,
 Think upon his fate severe,
 Fix'd in order to subdue him,
 Knaves and priests to free from fear.
 Yet his heart remains unfetter'd,
 Still our wrongs he bears in mind,
 Cries your state may still be better'd,
 Rise and break the chains that bind.

Ah! ye Bonzes, where's your mercy?
 Where's your tenderness and love?
 Surely it has fled to Jersey,
 Or perhaps return'd to Jove.
 Ye may boast of pious plunder
 Till fair Freedom's flag's unfurl'd;
 Driven then to Gods of Thunder,
 This will be a happy world.

He will fight Priest, Whig, and Tory,
 Till the hydra thrall is dead,
 Garlands let us weave of glory
 Twine them round the hero's head:
 E'en his chains and griefs are waging
 War against the monster vile;
 See, it gasps in death, 'tis raging,
 Shout the fame of brave CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

FELLOW CITIZEN,

Leeds, Dec. 26, 1821.

FOR such is the style I find most agreeable to my own feelings in addressing, for the second time, one of the most useful men of this age. Such we consider you, and as such, we find ourselves bound in common honesty to give you all the support in our power. Enclosed you will receive the sum of five pounds, which we are glad we have in our power again to offer you. We are only sorry that it is not in our power to make it as many hundreds. Though the sum be small, we hope to repeat it often, and to the best of our means.

When we take a retrospective view of the prosecutions and persecutions that have been heaped upon yourself and family, we cannot help thinking that even your enemies must admire the manly perseverance you display in refuting their delusive dogmas, and opposing and exposing their hypocritical and persecuting spirit. Every move the groveling vermin make to stop the march of Truth, is on their part a retrogression. To us, the contrast appears obvious. You, Sir, and your exertions in enlightening your fellow men, we behold as the meridian sun rising in all its wonted splendour, diffusing light and knowledge, whose good effects will be found for ages to come: your persecutors, with their sanctimonious hypocrisy and priestly insolence, appear to us as black as the coats they wear, and as false as the doctrines they pretend to advocate. For my part, I am totally at a loss to know how any reflecting man can reconcile their conduct with the Christian creed of forbearance. We have in your case an admirable proof of what their servile minds would stoop to, in order to enslave in body and mind their fellow men. I am of opinion that the opposition and exposition they have received from you, have been such as to reach the inmost recesses of their vile hearts, and to tell them, in a language most unpalatable to their pampered feelings, what they really are. It is likewise my humble opinion, that every honest man, who lays any claim to the title of a Reformer, must be disgusted with their proceedings, and as such, ought to come forward and publicly avow his sentiments, and subscribe according to his circumstances to enable you to treat them as they deserve. I am glad to inform you that we did ourselves the honour to celebrate your birth-day, where about fifty of your friends sat down to a substantial plain dinner, and I have no hesitation in stating, that if every artifice and intimidation had not been used to prevent it, we should have had nearly double that number.

In the parcel that contains this, we send you a report of the proceedings of the Meeting for the Celebration of your Natal Day, which if you would publish, we shall feel obliged. Our

views in holding a meeting and having a dinner on that day were that we thought it would form a rallying point at that time, and in future, for all your friends to assemble. It has got noticed in all the Leeds newspapers exactly as we expected; that is, by heaping abuse on you and us. The publicity they have given the matter, we hope, will be productive of the best effects, by increasing the number of your friends in all parts of the kingdom. That the principles you advocate will finally triumph we have no doubt; as for our parts, in advocating your principles, we had made up our minds to share with you the scurrility and abuse of all the servile part of our countrymen, and their press.

I conclude, in behalf of the Whole,

Your ardent Admirer,

R. W. BYERLEY.

TO MR. R. W. BYERLEY, LEEDS.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 3, 1822.

THE Spaniards have assumed this epithet, or appellation for address, and I henceforth purpose to address all my friends as Republicans and Citizens: and I believe that I have now thrown off the last vestige of kingcraft, priestcraft, and aristocratical custom.

I acknowledge the receipt of, and thank you for, the sum of five pounds, as a continued subscription for the support of free discussion. As my friends have now shewn me that they are determined to act a decided part in conjunction with me, I will strain every nerve in the course of the present year to shew them that such support shall not be given in vain. My campaign is planned, my arrangements all made, and I will go to battle at once, and take no rest until I drive the enemy from the field. I will endeavour in this year to exceed the campaign of 1819. I now know the strength of the enemy; in 1819 I did not, although I was in no instance deceived in my calculations. Before I ever sold a book or pamphlet, I made up my mind for some years of imprisonment. I have exceeded all my own hopes and expectations, and in the career of an advocate for free discussion on all subjects, I have felt nothing like disappointment.

The report of the proceedings of the 8th of December I will publish as you request, because I know no other person will do it. I view it as a bulletin, and as such I will exhibit it to friends and foes. I admired the speech of Mr. Brayshaw, but I see, like too many others, he substitutes the word Christianity for morality. With this one slight exception, I believe we are as near alike in opinions, in all matters of importance, as it is possible for two men

to be; the only real difference is, that we apply different words to express the same ideas. I dislike the word Christian and Christianity as an expression of moral virtue, because these words are not sufficiently pure. They have their basis in the code and doctrines of the book called the New Testament, and that book has not only many absurdities in it, but many exceptions to moral virtue; consequently, the words Christian or Christianity, as words implying morality, are not without taint.

I am, Citizen,

Yours in civic affection,

R. CARLILE.

The following is a List of the Names of the Friends of Mr. Carlile in Leeds, with the amount that each person has subscribed since the 10th of September, 1821, the time the last sum was sent off, and acknowledged by Mr. Carlile by letter dated September 17th, 1821, addressed to R. W. Byerley.

	£. s. d.		£. s. d.
R. W. Byerley	0 2 0	William Warr	0 0 6
James Warbottom	0 2 0	Thomas Linley	0 0 6
Thomas Steel	0 3 0	Joseph Gill	0 0 6
George Lee	0 2 0	John Perkins	0 0 6
William Driver	0 2 0	John Horrecks	0 0 3
James Watson	0 3 0	John Baxter	0 0 3
S. Booth	0 3 0	— Dunwell	0 0 3
Humphrey Boyle	0 5 0	S. Ingham	0 1 6
Thomas Evans	0 2 0	John Wincup	0 3 0
Edward Ripley	0 2 0	A Friend	0 0 6
Joseph Hurtley	0 1 0	Do.	0 0 2
John Wood	0 1 6	— Dovener	0 0 6
A Soldier in Arms	0 1 0	William Liddle	0 2 0
Joseph Shiers	0 1 6	A Soldier in Arms	0 1 6
Henry Horrabain	0 0 6	James Ellis	0 3 6½
John Finley	0 2 0	A Female Friend to	
Joseph Bentley	0 3 0	Liberty	0 3 0

The following Sums were subscribed at the Celebration of Mr. R. Carlile's Birth-day.

R. W. Byerley	0 2 0	James Watson	0 2 0
John Horrecks	0 0 3	William Driver	0 2 0
John Mann	0 0 6	Joseph Hurtley	0 2 0
Thomas Linley	0 0 6	Thomas Evans	0 1 6
W. S.	0 0 6	Joseph Bentley	0 0 6
John Perkins	0 0 3	Joseph Halderson	0 0 6
— Ainsley	0 1 0	John Baxter	0 0 6

	£. s. d.		£. s. d.
J. A.	0 1 0	Edward Booth	0 1 0
James Goldthorp	0 1 0	Robert Hollinworth	0 0 6
W. A.	0 1 0	A Friend	0 0 6
John Walsh	0 0 6	James Warbottom	0 0 6
John Jones	0 1 0	John Finley	0 1 0
Joseph Ratcliff	0 0 6	S. Ingham	0 0 6
Marmaduke Wormald	0 0 3	A Friend	0 1 0
John Wood	0 0 3	A Christian without Priests	1 0
John Stead	0 0 6	James Buckley	0 2 6
Kershaw-Crowther	0 0 6	A Friend	0 0 6
John Mortimer	0 0 6	Do.	0 0 3
W. B.	0 1 6	Do.	0 0 6
James Gill	0 2 6	William Ellis	0 0 6
George Lee	0 2 0	James Longbottom	0 0 3
John Berry	0 0 6	A Deist	0 1 0
John Smithson	0 3 6	A little further than a	
John Driver	0 1 0	Deist	0 0 6
John Wincup	0 1 0	A Friend	0 1 0
Robert Walker	0 1 0	No Hypocrite	0 0 6
James Walker	0 0 2½	Mr. Oats	0 0 6

Total £.5 3 1½

STODDART, Dr. MURRAY, AND SHARPE, *versus* THE TEMPLE OF REASON.

THAT Dr. Stoddart was one of the principal instigators of the Constitutional Association, with all its plans and schemes, is not doubted by any one. I hear that his office in Fleet Street forms a barracks and retreat for the spies and informers who are hired to beset my shop. Longueville Clarke, I am told, is Commander-in-Chief of this little Banditti, and daily reconnoitres my shop-windows, and after making an attack, he sends his brother to Murray and Sharpe in Bridge Street, and they hie off to Guildhall or Mansion House for a warrant. At the time of writing this, I understand, there are four persons in prison arrested by warrants obtained by Murray and Sharpe without any name upon them. They are not there for want of bail, as no individual has yet been asked to bail them, but they shall be all bailed at the commencement of the Hilary Term, or as soon as they are called upon to plead, and plead a misnomer; and I wish any friend of mine, who

does not fear to give his name, and to bail any one or more of them, would send it to the committee of my friends, sitting at Fleet Street, to manage the subscription, and to give me all the assistance in their power. I should observe, that Longueville Clarke is some placeman, the son of Dr. Staniers Clarke, the present Librarian and Chaplain to the King; and I have very little doubt but that Mr. George Guelph, our present Chief Magistrate, gives this Association in Bridge Street, his sanction and support, and interests himself about all its movements. However, the Press is our battery and defence, and we fear no combination, by whatever names or influences supported, or however powerful. The Press is our Omnipotent.

In my last week's observations on the proceedings of the Constitutional Association, I disavowed a placard which had been written and put into my shop-window, upon the arrest of my two friends from the country, as it concluded with the words, "This is the Mart for Sedition and Blasphemy." The writer of the placard has written to me to say that he is sorry the expression should have suffered such a misconstruction in the public papers, but that in the original placard the words were put between inverted commas; which signified, that the expression was one of our enemies and not of our own, but that we were not ashamed to borrow it of them upon their own construction. The expression was as much as to say, that "This is the shop where is sold what Kingcraft calls Sedition, and what Priestcraft calls Blasphemy." Upon this sense of the matter I retract my disavowal of the placard and give it my decided approbation.

Since my last went to press we have thought it prudent to resort to stratagem to defeat the schemes of the Gang in taking out every new hand from the shop by a warrant. We now sell all publications to suspicious and unsuspecting customers through a hole in a part of the shop, where it is impossible for the purchaser to identify the seller, as there are always two or three serving in the back-ground, none of whom can be seen or heard to be identified individually. These persons are frequently changed, so that, even if the enemy resorted to burglary and house-breaking upon the strength of any warrant, the seller of any pamphlet or pamphlets could not be identified. Where the statue of Paine stood, we are about to caricature the defeat of Murray and Sharpe, and make them watch the hole through which the money and the pamphlets pass without being able to prevent it.

There are fifty stratagems by which I could give full effect to the sale of my publications, as well as if they were sold openly, and which would defy prosecution, as the vendor could not be identified. I dislike this mode of doing business; I like open, fair play; and I now make a proposition to Stoddart, Clarke, Murray, and Sharpe, that I will do every thing openly, and give them the name of every individual in my employ from time to time, if they will confine themselves to the professions they have made through Cato, their scribe, and not arrest until a Grand Jury have found a true bill against the individual. If they will not accept this proposition, they shall arrest no more, and my business shall go on just the same. I tell them, for their comfort, that the pamphlets sold daily through the hole have doubled the number of those sold openly heretofore. Public curiosity they have excited, and I am reaping the benefit. They cannot put me down. I will put them down. Let the result bear witness.

My friend in the enemy's camp and councils has my thanks for his valuable information. He will perceive that all his information and instructions have been acted upon.

55, Fleet Street.

R. CARLILE.

P. S. I hear that the Constitutional Association can no longer support themselves in Bridge Street. I do not assert it, nor doubt it.

CASE OF MARY ANN CARLILE.

In our last Number we inserted the protest of this prisoner of judicial corruption against her punishment, and we shall now go on from week to week to make a full and fair exposure of her case, to see whether any of the talkers about law and justice in or out of Parliament will take it up, and carry a further judicial inquiry upon the matter. Of all the perversions of law, and corruptions of our judges, in the cases of the late persecutions of Reformers, this case stands pre-eminent. We have no hesitation in saying, that the Defendants present fine and imprisonment is entirely owing to her having had an irritable and intemperate Judge at the time of trial. If Chief Justice Abbott, or Bailey, or

Holroyd, had presided, they would not have found a sentence in the Defence to have objected to, much less to have rashly stopped it altogether. It is one of the most wanton acts of judicial corruption and villainy that has occurred. It has no parallel in the annals of the Court of King's Bench, and far exceeds the case of Penn and Mead at the Old Bailey, because they had some honest jurors who resisted the corruptions of the Recorder and would not be tampered with.

It might be asked, why the other Judges of the Court acquiesced in the conduct of Mr. Justice Best and refused the defendant a trial? It is evident: they are the tools of higher powers, and those powers stand in need of such a man on the Bench as Best to support them. If the other three Judges had quashed the verdict as impure, and ordered the defendant a fair trial, Best must have resigned, and the matter would have formed ground of impeachment, which must have been taken up in Parliament. There was no room to plead error in judgment; it was a wanton act of illegality and judicial corruption. No excuse, no extenuation, nothing that can weigh a feather on the behalf of the Judge can be offered; and if Mr. Cooper, for the Defendant, had supported his case with the same spirit as he did the case of Davison, he might have defied the other Judges to have refused a trial. He might have dared them to commit the act upon the strength of precedent upon precedent. He might have shewn that there had been no trial, and that the verdict was null and void. He might have convicted Mr. Justice Best of the falsehood which he (Best) attempted to throw upon him (Mr. Cooper), and might have shewn that the assertion of the Judge as to his having repeatedly complained of and checked the former part of the defence, or the preamble that was read in the Court, was a gross falsehood; as none the least interruption occurred until that first and last, where the Defendant said the common law, on which she was to be tried, was common abuse. Mr. Cooper, or no one else, could have been prepared for that assertion of Mr. Justice Best, because it was altogether a falsehood, and an invention for the moment, to aid his cause, and screen himself from the consequence of his former rashness: but ought not Mr. Cooper to have required time to get his affidavit amended upon the strength of that new and unexpected feature in the case? Ought a defendant to suffer because a rash and corrupt Judge will lie to cover his guilt?

This mere outline of the matter is thrown out here under the presumption that the public are well acquainted with the particulars embraced, and as a prelude to Defendant's Petition to the King. We shall proceed next week to comment upon the whole case from the beginning.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

THE Petition of Mary-Ann Carlile, late of London, bookseller, now under sentence of fine and imprisonment in your Majesty's Gaol of Dorchester, humbly sheweth :

That your Majesty's Petitioner has, in the course of the present year, been exposed to two Indictments obtained against her by two prosecuting associations established in London, denominating themselves, the one a Society for the Suppression of Vice, the other a Constitutional Association; the former attempting to suppress all theological discussion, under the vague and hypocritical pretence of suppressing blasphemy; the latter warring against every public journal or pamphlet that calls in question the conduct of your Majesty's servants, under the tyrannical pretence of suppressing sedition, and evidently aiming jointly to stifle every species of complaint against existing ill-founded faiths, opinions, rules, practices, and authorities.

And sheweth: That your Majesty's Petitioner, after having been harassed by vexatious arrests, and having given bail to appear to answer to the aforesaid Indictments, pleaded—Not Guilty to each, in the Court of your Majesty's Bench, in Easter Term last, and on the twenty-fourth day of July appeared in Court again to defend herself against the charge of having published a blasphemous pamphlet, being prepared with a full and effectual defence, partly written and partly printed; but which defence was most illegally stopped, and not allowed to go to the Jury, by Sir William Draper Best, Knt. one of the Justices of the Court of your Majesty's Bench, in consequence of its containing an expression that the Common Law, upon which it was pretended that your Majesty's Petitioner was tried, was common abuse, which expression the suppressed part of her defence fully explained and bore out, and which must have

convinced any honest and unprejudiced Jury of its propriety as matter of fact and matter of defence; by which your Majesty's Petitioner was deprived of a lawful defence in answer to the Indictment, and the Jury were called upon by the Judge to return a verdict of Guilty, which they accordingly did, without hearing one-tenth portion, or any more than the mere preamble of Petitioner's defence.

And sheweth: That, on the same day, your Majesty's Petitioner, not being prepared to defend herself against both Indictments, employed Counsel to defend her against the charge of having published a seditious pamphlet; which Counsel, having manfully withstood the frequent attempts of the aforesaid Judge to interrupt him and suppress his defence, and having obtained a full and complete hearing, succeeded in convincing eight of the Jurors of Petitioner's innocence, who persisted in that conviction, after having been locked up with their fellows near twenty-hours, and who were subsequently discharged without returning a verdict, the Counsel for both parties having agreed to enter a *nolle prosequi* upon the case, as its issue; which circumstance, as far as your Majesty's Petitioner was interested, was equivalent to a verdict of Not Guilty: and your Majesty's Petitioner verily believes, that had she been lawfully allowed to make her defence in the former case, the result would have been similar, or a verdict of Not Guilty would have been returned, as the pamphlet indicted was particularly mild and harmless, and the milder of the two, and such as has not been selected for prosecution since the Stuarts were expelled from the throne of your Majesty's realms; the passages indicted being nothing more than plain matter of historical fact and moral notoriety.

And sheweth: That as it is a maxim of the laws of England, more common and notorious than any other maxim of our law, that no person accused shall be condemned unheard, and as this maxim is distinctly recognized in *Magna Charta*, and has been asserted again and again to be the very essence of our law, by different Judges, from the present up to the time of King John, and to be as valid and important as Trial by Jury itself, whenever the Government has been settled and free from civil dissensions, your Majesty's Petitioner submits to your Majesty's knowledge and consideration, that this first and best principle of our law, which your Majesty has so lately sworn to see justly executed, has been violated in her person; first, by Sir William Draper Best, Knt., and subsequently, by all the Judges of that

Court, in refusing your Majesty's Petitioner a fair trial when duly applied for by her Counsel.

And further sheweth: That a further violation of another of our best laws has been made in the case of your Majesty's Petitioner, by the Judges of the Court of your Majesty's Bench (in which the law supposes your Majesty to be always present), in having passed a fine of five hundred pounds upon her, and twelve months imprisonment, and further imprisonment until such fine be paid; whereas, your Majesty's Petitioner never possessed any other property than her own labour and industry, on which, from the age of sixteen years, she has been dependent for a livelihood from day to day, and even from hour to hour, whereby she is precluded from the means of making her appeal to the House of Lords against the proceedings of the Court of your Majesty's Bench, and has no view of a release from imprisonment but from public charity, or your Majesty's knowledge and merciful consideration of her case.

She further submits to your Majesty's knowledge and consideration, that the imposition of such a fine upon a person never worth ten pounds, is a violation of the Declaration of Rights, agreed to by King William the Third and Queen Mary, which says, that excessive fines shall not be imposed, or such fines as an individual is notoriously unable to pay, and the support of which Declaration of Rights forms your Majesty's best title to the throne of these Realms, as the deviation from the law and principles of this Declaration of Rights was the ground on which the male line of the tyrannical family of the Stuarts was justly expelled from that throne, at the glorious Revolution of 1688, and which led to the calling over from Hanover your Majesty's ancestor, George the First.

Your Majesty's Petitioner therefore prayeth, that, after your Majesty shall have ascertained the truth of the statements of this Petition, your Majesty will be most graciously pleased, either to order her liberation from this unjust and illegal imprisonment, or to instruct your Majesty's Attorney to bring her case under review in the House of Lords, that her inability to meet the expence of such an appeal may not debar her from justice.

And may it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's Petitioner,

as in Duty bound, will ever pray,

MARY-ANN CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, December 4th, 1821.

MY LORD, *Dorchester Gaol, Dec. 4th, 1821.*

I BEG leave to lay before your Lordship a Petition to his Majesty, as the proper channel and most speedy method of having the same conveyed to his Majesty; and I flatter myself that its reception will be sufficiently gracious to procure me the object of its prayer, so as to preclude the necessity, on my part, of any appeal to Parliament.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

MARY ANN CARLILE.

To Lord Viscount Sidmouth, Secretary
of State for the Home Department.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

THE Committee for promoting and receiving Subscriptions in aid of Mr. Carlile, his Wife, and his Sister, now immured in Dorchester Gaol, with the infliction of an enormously oppressive fines, deem it incumbent on them publicly to thank those numerous, enlightened, and liberal supporters of full and free discussion on every topic connected with Religion or Politics, who have so handsomely given their contributions to enable Mr. Carlile to withstand the deluge of persecution against himself and his family. The real character of the two Associations of Conspirators against the Freedom of the Press, is now become notorious and infamous. The public are now aware they are composed of those, who, by means of tythes, church emoluments, sinecures, grants, pensions, places, &c. revel in luxury on the produce of the labour and industry of the population; and who to support the system from which they derive all their usurped power and gorgeous opulence, would rivet the chains and perpetuate the miseries of the people. These conspirators have attacked Mr. Carlile with their united forces, determined to crush him as the champion of free discussion and rational liberty. The Committee feel unlimited confidence in the discrimination, the generosity, and patriotism of the Public, and are convinced the cause of Mr. Carlile will be identified and supported as the cause of the oppressed and insulted population.

The Committee would also consider it a dereliction of their duty, were they to let pass unnoticed the handsome manner in which the Editor of "The Examiner," has so ably defended Mr. Carlile against the malignant and unchristian attacks of the hired and prostituted journals of the day; but more especially against the abusive insolence of "The Times," newspaper, the outrageous conduct of which in stigmatizing a man, who is "honest enough to be bold, and bold enough to be honest," is in direct opposition to the mild precepts of Jesus, whose religion this impious Editor, so strenuously and hypocritically pretends to uphold,

RESOLUTIONS.

The following Resolutions were passed unanimously at a public and respectable Meeting of the Friends of Mr. R. Carlile, held at the Paul's Head, Cateaton-street, on Monday, the 12th of November :—

1. That Liberty, civil and religious, is the natural and inalienable right of mankind.
2. That an infringement of such Liberty is an undue exercise of power, an act of injustice to the individual, and destructive of the best interests of society.
3. That this Meeting beholds with indignation and abhorrence an unconstitutional, illegal, and wicked conspiracy, by a few factious, selfish, and designing men, embodied in a society for the evident purpose of suppressing all free discussion, political or religious, except in behalf of existing corruptions and official abuses.
4. That no real liberty or security can exist in a community, in which the most humble citizen may, by the notorious and flagrant persecution and oppression of a factious conspiracy, be overwhelmed with ruin, without a chance of legal redress.
5. That it is therefore the essential interest, and the most sacred duty of the people, by all legal and practical means, to support and protect such of their fellow-citizens as are suffering under the censorship and malicious prosecutions of so base and malignant a conspiracy.
6. That this Meeting, as friendly to universal liberty and the right of free discussion, willingly embrace this opportunity of avowing their disapprobation of all attempts made by organized bodies to ruin any member of the community, for having honestly and conscientiously declared his sentiments on subjects connected with systems of religion and politics.
7. That the trial and imprisonment of Mr. R. Carlile, for the alledged charge of blasphemy (a charge which no human tribunal

is competent to decide,) is an usurpation of the right of conscience, and an infringement of that inestimable liberty which all men by nature possess.

8. That Mr. R. Carlile is entitled to the support of every sincere friend of civil and religious liberty, for the firm and undaunted manner in which he has uniformly advocated the right of free discussion, and for the manly and independent manner in which he has stood forward in support of the liberties of mankind.

9. That this Meeting appeal with confidence to the Patriot and Philanthropist of every denomination, and to every liberal unbiassed citizen, for his subscription in aid of Mr. R. Carlile and family.

10. That a Subscription, in furtherance of the object of the preceding Resolution, be immediately entered into, and promoted in every district throughout the United Kingdom.

11. That for the greater convenience of Subscribers, persons be appointed to receive Subscriptions in various parts of the metropolis.

12. That the money so raised be paid into the hands of the Committee, who sit every Monday evening, at Mr. R. Carlile's, 55, Fleet-street, from six to ten o'clock.

N. B. The expences of the public meeting, and all other expences incidental to the proceedings of the Committee, are defrayed at their own cost.

For the amount of part of the Subscriptions already paid to the Committee, see Mr. Carlile's 6th "Address to the Reformers of Great Britain," under the head "London."

THE BATTLE.

Bridge-street against Fleet-street, in battle array!

Say, who with the conqueror's wreath shall be crown'd?

Shall Murray and Sharp win the glorious day!

And the banks of old Thames with their triumphs resound?

No, never! nor shall their more saintly compeers,

Who for virtue profess such superlative love,

Awaken, for one transient moment, our fears,

For Freedom and Reason victorious must prove.

W. R.

The Republican.

No. 3. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, Jan. 18, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 14,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,

AGREEABLE to the intimation of my last Address, I now take up the subject of inquiry, whether Mr. Cobbett has any just grounds to express a disapprobation of the Republican form of Government, upon any principle or view of liberty. I promised that my inquiry should be made in good temper, and I now feel it of the greatest importance, for I have no hesitation in saying, that I hold Mr. Cobbett to be the first political writer of the day, and the last, the lash of whose pen I would venture to provoke. It is because I know that he has more hold upon the public mind as a political writer than all the others put together, that I venture to question the propriety of the frequent objections he has taken to the Republican form of Government; and as I have never seen him accompany his objections with any of those weighty and convincing reasons by which he is in the constant habit of supporting all other points in his discussions, I wish to call them from him, or to shew his admirers, that, in this one instance, he suffers a sort of national pride and prejudice to guide his feelings, in preference to what, to me, appears to be honesty and right reason.

I have been told that Mr. Cobbett's expressed disapprobation of the Republican form of Government should be viewed only as temporary expedience, or as a political manœuvre, to give weight to the various other points he is in the constant habit of discussing. I cannot receive it upon any such terms. He seems too positive upon the matter for me to draw any such conclusion. He has asserted it whilst writing from America; he has asserted it verbally in the Court of King's Bench; and although his American Registers have exhibited expressions respecting the members of our Royal

Family somewhat different from the tenour of his English Registers upon the same subject, still I have never seen, from any of those that have come under my view, any thing like a disposition to prefer the form of the Government of the United States to the English form of Government. In speaking of the American and the English Registers, the former is not meant to express the Register which was written in America and printed in England, but a distinct one, printed and published entirely in America, and not, to my knowledge, ever sold in this country. I have seen but very few numbers of it. It may be deemed a phenomenon in the annals of literature that a man should address weekly the inhabitants of two nations, many thousand miles apart. But this has been done by Mr. Cobbett.

If nothing that I have said can justify me in the attempt to elicit the grounds upon which Mr. Cobbett disapproves the Republican form of Government, I certainly have that justification since he has publicly questioned the propriety of my giving the epithet Republican to a weekly publication. This was done in the tenth number of his fortieth volume, whilst treating upon the Slave Trade now carried on in the United States of America, wherein he promises to reprint a little volume upon the subject, and to send me a copy of it, for the avowed purpose of shaking my attachment to the epithet *Republican*.

I beg leave to acknowledge and to return thanks for the little volume, and to say that I believe the whole narrative of Mr. Jesse Torrey to be strictly true, and that I could not read it without a painful emotion; but I cannot see why it should induce me to relinquish the epithet Republican, or a love for the Republican form of Government. The principle upon which I have been called so to do is, that the inhabitants of the United States are Republicans, and that they countenance this horrid traffic in slaves. Now, I would reply to this by asking, is it likely that if the people of this Island established the Republican form of Government, they too would turn slave-dealers and make this Island a slave-mart? I think not. Or I would ask, has slave dealing originated in the United States since the Republic has been established, or rather was it not a sort of inveterate habit and lost of gain established there by the contrasted English Government during its power over the States as colonies? Why mingle up the principle of slave-dealing with the Republican form of Government, when it is notorious that it is a vice that has originated with monarchy, a vice that is still

supported by monarchies, and that the Republican Government of the United States has sought to check and root out the deep-rooted vice which the English Monarchy has entailed upon it? Search through the writings of Thomas Paine, and see whether he countenances any thing like negro-slavery. He was the founder of the American Republic, and if the slave trade could be justly connected with that foundation, we might have expected to have seen Paine its advocate. Paine's humanity would not allow him to countenance any thing of the kind. Not one sentence of his writings tends to its support.

I detest and abhor the slave trade, and view the master as equally degraded with his slave. I am not one of those who think the white man a superior being to the negro. From all that I have read and witnessed, I infer that the inhabitants of Africa have mental capacities equal to the inhabitants of Asia, Europe, or America. There are shades of difference among the inhabitants of each quarter of the globe; but St. Domingo is a case in point that the negroes are a race capable of mental cultivation. Viewing man, as I do, to be nothing more than an animal, existing upon the same principle as every other animal does, and to perish by death as every other animal does, it cannot for a moment be imagined that I am an advocate for any kind of animal slavery. But am I less like a Republican for this, or rather, is not my disposition that which alone can be worthy of being denominated Republican? Is it, or can any man consider it a blur upon Republicanism, because the inhabitants of the United States have continued to make a gain of what from father to son they have been taught to consider a marketable property? May I not fairly ask why Mr. Cobbett did not employ his almighty pen to write down negro-slavery whilst enjoying and praising the hospitality of the inhabitants of the United States? Why come back to England to complain of the slave trade of the United States? Where, I would ask, but in that land of Republicanism, could Mr. Cobbett have found shelter in 1817? Can he mention another spot on the face of the earth that would have suited his purpose at that moment? And why was this? Need I say it was because the United States of America formed then the only Republic, and that it possessed nothing of that blur upon mankind called Monarchy. Will Mr. Cobbett say I am wrong in this conclusion? If it ever becomes my lot to be thrown upon the hospitality of the inhabitants of the United States, I promise to attack

be no further extended to increase the revenue? To talk about restoring the days of our grandfathers is a great delusion, and a shirking of the grand question: Whether a nation, or the majority of the people of a nation, have not a right to change the form of Government, and make it what they please, without reference to any precedents. Certainly taxation and misery were not so great in the reign of the first Guelph, as in that of the fourth, but the basis of all our present evils was then laid, and has been unremittingly acted upon—a taxation without representation. It was then, for the first time, that the people of Britain were called upon to obey laws in which they had not the least voice in passing. Sir Robert Walpole finished the corruption of the Commons' House, and his plan has been undeviatingly acted upon to this day.

I know of no period in the history of this Island worthy of being referred to, as a precedent for the guidance of the people in the present day to reform their Government. I hate this lawyer-like mode of doing business, or of not doing any thing without being able to find a precedent for it. It is a chaining of the human mind and forbidding its improvement and expansion: an act not less impious than that of the servile courtiers of Canute, who advised him to sit on the Southampton shore, and bid the waves not to approach him. If Mr. Cobbett sticks to these notions, without giving us strong reasons (for the necessity of such conduct, we must leave him behind, and think and act for ourselves. He will find the mind of the people of this Island just as unceremonious as Canute found the waves of the sea. It will go beyond his orders or wishes.

Republicans of the Island of Great Britain, I know you will join me in calling upon Mr. Cobbett to shew us why we are not to have the right to choose our own magistrates as well as our own legislators, and where it is not equally important. As a political writer, as an advocate for reforming the present Government, I yield to him the palm of superiority, but I wish him to be as explicit on the points here stated, as he is upon the funding system and all matters of finance, and as he is upon all matters of domestic or family economy and morality. Mr. Cobbett owes this explanation to us, who, at present, feel a pride to call ourselves Republicans. We ask it in a respectful manner from him. We rank among his supporters upon every point but this of the form of the future Government when reformed: I have no hesitation in saying, on your behalf, that, in case

of a revolution in the Government, we, the Republicans, shall step forward and forbid any men, or faction of men to establish any Government, upon former precedent. It therefore previously behoves Mr. Cobbett to shew us that we are in error as to our view of public good. We will never stand by and see such a game, such a cutting and slicing as occurred at the last revolution in 1688. We will demand a National Convention, as the only just authority to form a new Government. We will direct our claim upon that Convention to establish, first, the right of choosing our own legislators; and secondly, the not less important right of choosing our own magistrates.

R. CARLILE.

REFLECTIONS MORAL AND POLITICAL.

THERE is no subject on which the opinions of men differ so much as on that of the government of a country; and on no other subject is the difference of opinion so dangerous to the happiness of mankind.

If we enquire the cause of men's differing so much in opinion, we shall find that it is generally because they do not clearly understand the matter on which they differ. For instance, if a piece of plumb-tree wood were shewn to a large number of individuals, and they were asked whether it were wood or iron, they would instantly answer wood; if they were asked whether it would swim if thrown into the water, they would instantly say, yes; but if they were asked what sort of wood it was, they would then differ in opinion; they who understood the nature of wood, and particularly the plumb-tree, would know it, and would not differ; but those who did not would probably declare it to be of some other kind. Hence it appears, that the cause of different opinions is our ignorance of the matter in dispute.

But it will not apply in all cases, that ignorance of the matter is the only cause of disputes. There are other causes which strongly operate on the bad passions of man; selfish interest, and the love of power: and when once these feelings get implanted in his breast he will stop at nothing, however bad, that will tend to promote his ambitious views.

These ambitious views are the rank weeds that have sprung up with civilisation, and which will always impede its growth, unless the government be capable and disposed to act the part of a gardener, whose business is to root them up.

But notwithstanding the many evils which have sprung up with civilization, it has produced many advantages, and many luxuries, that were not enjoyed by our less refined progenitors. It is the grand spur to industry, the bringer of ease, comfort, and riches. It has produced all the degrees in society that we now witness, and if those degrees are produced and maintained by a just principle, we have nothing to fear, but if the contrary be the case, we have much to fear.

When we consider the wide distinctions that civilization has made in society, and when we reflect on the two extreme points, the rich and the poor; the former satiated with splendour and luxury, the latter reduced to rags and wretchedness, surely we shall then feel disposed to trace out the cause. And when we see that a man's riches form his rank, power, and respectability in society, we are led to enquire whether this is the right principle which will go on to increase the happiness of all mankind.

If riches give the right of power over the poor, if through them man can obtain the highest honours in society, and the choicest bounties of nature, can we wonder that he should be unjust to his fellow? For when he sees that it is not whether he has been just or unjust, wise or unwise, that will add to his self-interested views; but that it is the possession of property which will promote them; while he sees this, can we wonder that he should wish and endeavour to obtain it even at the injury of another? For riches can be obtained by a bad principle, and often have been, as easy as by a good one: therefore, property alone ought not to make the distinctions in society, for it is holding out an encouragement to bad passions, selfish interest, and improper motives.

Yet, when we consider the motive that induces man to strive for riches, we shall find that it is a desire for happiness and comfort; if it were not, no man would wish for them. Property is the right and proper stimulus to industry, and without it man would be but little better than the brute creation. This, then, will lead us to believe that civilization is not devoid of right principles, but that the work is, as yet, incomplete.

Before, however, we can clearly comprehend the work of civilization, we must first understand the nature and disposition of man. Nature has formed in man a peculiar organization that produces the powers of speech, reason, and reflection; and having these advantages, he must apply them to some purpose. It is not in the nature of things for man to have the power of accepting or rejecting these gifts of nature; for if that were the case, he could obstruct, disarrange, and change the designs of that all-creative power. Although there appears to be much disarrangement and disorder in her works, things wonderful and unaccountable; yet when we do discover any part that has long been a mystery, it is by finding out the principle which sets it in motion, governs, or directs it; and wherever mystery or disorder prevails, it is because the first principle is not discovered.

Now we find that men in some ages and countries have brought into action but few of their natural powers. And why? Because they have not yet discovered the principle which causes them to act. Reward is the main spring of civilization. What man would labour more than another; who would desire to be more virtuous than his neighbour, or who would cultivate his talents for the benefit of society, unless he had a hope of reward?

This, then, is the principle that sets in motion all those useful qualities which nature has given to man. But the reward must be just, or else the principle is lost. The gradations in society are the just rewards, for they give emulation. But what should form them? Not property alone; if that were the case, he who had the most riches would rank the highest, and this example would create avarice and oppression.

The gradations in society must be open equally to all, before we can boast of much civilization. But they should be formed by the man's worth in society, and not by the property he possesses; he who is of the most value to society should rank the highest. This would create a stimulus in man to noble and virtuous actions; it would make it the interest of all men to promote the welfare of their fellows: he who possessed the greatest share of talents, virtue, and honesty, he who exercised these qualities for the benefit of a nation, and that in a superior degree, should so rank in society.

There is a disposition in man always to respect his superiors in talent and virtue, but he must feel that they are so, or else it can only be a pretended respect. If he be told that it is his duty, and custom enforces it, to submit himself lowly and with respect and obedience to a rich man, merely because of his riches, although he possibly may possess but few of the qualities that will command a real respect, how can he be otherwise than a deceptious being, acting contrary to his principle and his will?

If, then, the basis of government is founded upon a principle which is in opposition to the natural principles or feelings of man, must it not shew the wickedness or folly of that government and its supporters?

Nothing can be more clearly perceived than that it is the nature of man to respect his real superiors. If as a mechanic he excels others in his profession, he is looked up to as their head; if as a physician, a scholar, or a statesman, his judgement will be respected, his services valued, and his merits properly appreciated. And a man whose general character is virtuous and philanthropic will be always considered a worthy member of society; as indeed will also the man who becomes rich by his own fair exertion: for if by his own honest industry he acquires wealth, and it adds to his comfort, he sets an example to society which will be sure to create a stimulus in others to follow it, and exhi-

bids the pleasing spectacle of industry accompanied by its just reward.

But when it now appears that man is a being who is envious and tyrannical to his fellow, that he makes him his slave, and feels no sympathy for his affliction; we are almost led to believe that he is naturally bad in his disposition. Yet, if we reflect a little, we shall conclude that he is not so, but that this disposition is occasioned by some unnatural cause. If we examine the nature of man we shall find that one of his greatest luxuries consists in doing a good act to his fellow. Even the wickedest of the human species, he who is sunk in the grossest vices, often seeks to enjoy that luxury.

Surely, then, we cannot be so lost in folly and ignorance as to believe that the evils in society are to be attributed to the naturally bad propensities of man! for if this belief be well founded how can man be blameable? The fault is not in him, but in his maker! But when we find that the object of all is happiness, and that every one would gladly obtain it if he could, when we find that we are beings who associate for our mutual benefits and comforts, surely we must conclude, that if we miss our object it is because we have been pursuing it upon a wrong principle.

Vain, indeed, must be the notions of men who believe that it is in the nature of some not to have feelings of sympathy for the unfortunate and wretched. Where there is such a want of feeling there is some cause or other that occasions it, and when we find out the cause, its removal only will produce a remedy. The great extent, or the constant sight of wretchedness and misery, is likely to be the cause. For the first sight of any thing cruel always shocks the feelings; but by the constant habit of seeing it the shock is removed, and the cruelty is no longer felt. The rich are so constantly seeing and hearing of the misery and wretchedness of the poor, that their feelings are no more moved at their sufferings than a doctor's at his patient's groans. Therefore, it appears that by reducing the quantity of misery we may destroy the cause of this hard-heartedness and give to man his natural feelings, which will alone produce real happiness. For, have not all men a desire to promote their own happiness? and what will add so much to it as a friendly feeling towards each other? Man's only enemy is man; his happiness and his troubles are occasioned by man. Contention and war produce trouble and misery; union and friendship, pleasure and happiness.

The principle which will command unanimity and friendship is that which will combine all in one interest. Where men's interests go hand in hand, a natural and friendly feeling goes with them; but where such is not the case, envy and strife are the certain consequences.

If we look at the present state of this nation, for instance, we

see it divided into parties and sects, each having interests opposed to the other; and while such divisions remain how can harmony exist? Each party or sect will always be contending for that which will be the most productive to its own partial and immediate good.

If we enquire the cause of a nation having been for ages divided against itself, we shall find that it is because it has not been governed by its own will. That it is because it has been governed by an ambitious party, whose only notions of happiness centered in the possession of supreme power, to obtain and preserve which they have practised every species of craft and deception.

But before we can know what are the rights of a nation, we must understand what a nation is. A nation then, consists of a people distinguished from another people; not by such distinctions as are made by one sect calling themselves Quakers, and another Jews, and another Catholics; but a people that are living on a certain territory, within a certain boundary, under the same government; and every different sect, party, or person, that is living under this dominion, forms a part of the nation.

A nation, then, must either have rights or no rights. If it has none, where is the power over it, seeing that every individual forms a part? If it has rights, what are they but its will?

The will of a nation to be its law would never be wrong, nor unjust, to any member; protection and happiness to all, would alone insure its peace. It is as much the interest and wish of a nation to protect every member belonging to it, as it is for a man to protect every member of his body: if any part of his body is injured it affects the whole frame, therefore he is always careful to protect every part. So it is with a nation; when one part is injured by poverty and distress, does it not agitate the whole? and were its will its power, would it not prevent it?

But although there appears to be a great resemblance between a man's will to govern himself right, and that of a nation, still the difference is great: for a man's first stage in life is that of childhood. His knowledge and disposition are acquired by the example he has had set before him, or the education he receives; consequently, he is generally the mere creature of circumstances. His first impressions, whether right or wrong, are oftentimes his guide through life: and this is the reason why it so frequently happens that man has not a good government over his own conduct. This also shews the dangerous consequences which would result from one man, or one class of men, having the power to make laws for the government of a nation. But how different is a nation. Never in a state of childhood; never without experience; but always in possession of such knowledge and experience as can only be found in the highest state of manhood. But if the laws for the government of a nation were once to emanate from ALL those who are arrived at a mature age, they would never

fail to create and preserve a constitution which would give ease and happiness to all its members. Individuals do sometimes fail to support and preserve their own constitution and happiness, because they are subject to false impressions when young in years and experience, or are the slaves of bad examples and bad habits.

From this brief enquiry into the nature of mankind, it may be fairly concluded that the object of all is happiness; that man is not naturally bad and prone to evil; but that where evil does exist, it arises entirely from the want of due attention to, and consideration of, the rights and duties of man: that the laws of governments in general are founded upon wrong principles, and therefore, insufficient for their professed purposes.

Whenever the laws of a nation are in opposition to the laws of nature, they will be sure to create contention and distress. Cunning, craft, and force must be used to make men submit to them. Ignorance, vice, ambition, and indolence, are the fruits. Divisions into classes, sects, and parties, will spring up; each having separate interests, each will be continually opposing the other, to gain power and profit: and by such a combination of circumstances a whole nation will be thrown into a state of confusion: the minds of some men get initiated into wrong principles, many others are born and bred up in them; others, by a false system of religion, will be almost driven into a state of insanity, and then rave out their confused ideas, charging the God of Nature with having created in man all those wicked and deadly evils which have corrupted his mind and made him infinitely worse than the brute creation.

But the cause which produces divisions and distress in a nation must be ascertained before a remedy can be applied: and that the inequality of rights, and the different interests in society are clearly the cause, is evident, for whenever the interest of one part is opposed to another, it is sure to produce dissension; and where all have an interest, all have a desire to promote it.

The equality due to every individual is that which would allow to all the right of co-operating in making the laws for the government of a nation. And were that the case, all would have one interest in protecting and maintaining the laws and government which they themselves had established for their mutual benefit.

It is urged, that all cannot exercise equal rights in making laws for the government of a nation, because there is such an inequality in property and the gradations in society, that it would be unjust to allow the same right to the lowest as to the highest; but if we suffer ourselves to examine a little further, we shall find that we have not only an equal right, but an equal interest, in establishing good order, and such good regulations in society, as would produce peace and good will to all mankind.

If we take the two extreme ranks in society, the rich and the

poor, we shall then see the matter clearly. The rich claim a superiority of right to make laws for the government of a nation; and the foundation they build that right upon is property; for it is that alone which now makes the distinctions in society. Property does not change the nature of man; he is precisely the same person in every respect; it only gives the means of obtaining all the luxuries and all the pleasures that are to be purchased.

The reasons given why the rich should be the law-makers are these: First, that property procures them a superior education: Secondly, That having all the conveniencies and luxuries of life without labour, they have time to apply their knowledge and education for the benefit of the poor: Thirdly, That having immense wealth without the probability of becoming poor, they are out of the reach of bribery and corruption. And lastly, That in proportion to the value of property, or stake which they have in the country, ought their power to be in making the laws. That is, if the property of one man amounts to fifty thousand a year, and all the property of one thousand men does not amount to more, his interest in the government of a nation is equal to that of theirs; consequently, the voice of the one thousand ought not to have more power than the one whose property amounts to as much as theirs.

Surely, these reasons why the rich ought to make the laws, and the poor to perform no other part but to obey them, must appear so absurd and so unjust, that such a state of things can hardly be believed to exist. What! the labouring poor, being the majority of a nation, to have no voice in making the laws! They who are less fortunate than the rich, and because they are so, they are not to have a voice! It is they who have the greatest stake; for he who has got but little runs the greatest risk; he that has much can spare a little, but he that has but little and loses that, has lost his all. It is they who ought at all times to have the right, in common with the rest, to make the laws. And shall it be said, because they are not educated they cannot be competent to judge? Is this not a great cruelty to deprive them of the means of education, and then, instead of pitying or remedying their misfortunes, declare them to be incompetent to judge of their own rights and duties as men? The uneducated have the most need to be represented, for he who has acquired education knows not the want of it, but he who has not, feels the deficiency; consequently, his desire would be to make that which he feels to be essential easily attainable to all.

Is a man, because he is poor, not to have a voice, on the pretence that he may be easily bribed? Where does the bribe come from? not from the poor, for they would not, if they could, bribe others to keep them so; it must come from the rich, and from what motive, but that of power and profit? Then is not the tempter worse than the tempted? Is not he who gives a bribe

worse than he who accepts it? Who, then, so fit as the poor to have a voice? They cannot bribe the rich, for they have not the means; so that if any are to be excluded on account of bribery, it ought to be the rich, for it is from them the corruption flows.

Now, can any thing be more unjust than to exclude the industrious poor from an equal share in making the laws, and upon no other ground but because they have not an equal share of property in the country? Is not the professed object of all laws and governments to protect the weak, the oppressed, and the needy? and who need so much protection as the poor? Those who have got a large proportion of property are in less, or perhaps, no danger; consequently, they have less need of protection, and feel less inclined to enable others to be on an equality with them. But those who have no property would be anxious to make such laws as would, by their industry, enable them to procure some. And if they made such laws as would enable them to obtain it by frugality and industry, would they not take special care to protect such property? Who would even strive to obtain the comforts of life if he were sure to have them taken from him? or, Who would make one law which would produce comfort, and another to destroy it?

Nothing can shew more folly or injustice in society than that system of government which is formed and regulated by property; of which system I will endeavour to shew the defects, by a comparison between a small society acting on it and a nation.

Supposing a society to be formed for the purpose of building forty houses, each house to be a separate share; there would then be forty shares, and we will suppose each to pay two pounds a month until the whole expences of building the forty houses was paid. Now it would make no difference to the society whether one member took two shares, and another three, and another four, or whether they had all one each, so long as every person had only one vote in making or altering their laws; but if the shares had the votes, then the difference would be great; because those who held the most shares would have the greatest power; and it might be to their interest to make such laws as would be opposed to the interest of those who could only afford to hold one share. If in this society four members were to hold four shares each, and one three, and one two, these six members could always regulate the society as they thought proper, because they would always have the majority of votes. Now the remaining nineteen would be entirely under the direction of the six, which, contrary to all well regulated society, would be the minority ruling the majority. And although it may appear that whatever would be the interest of the six would be also the interest of the nineteen, still we shall find that it would not be so; for if the nineteen members were poor, and could only pay the two pounds a month, they would never make a law to pay four instead

of two, and that for the only purpose of getting the houses sooner built and paid for. But if the six were rich, and had money unemployed, it would be to their interest to make such a law; and, having the power, they probably would do it: the consequence would be that the nineteen members would be obliged to sell their shares, perhaps at a great loss, and the six reap the benefit by purchasing them.

(To be continued.)

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR,

Edinburgh, Dec. 12, 1821.

To prevent any approach to sectarianism, we have denominated ourselves the Edinburgh Freethinkers' Zetetic Society, and we are resolved to support you as far as our abilities will admit. We have also adopted a new and regular plan of conducting our meetings on Sunday, which I think bids fair to succeed. As many of our members as choose, and who consider themselves qualified, produce an essay or a lecture in succession each Sunday, on any subject they think proper, and we have already had some excellent discourses delivered before us; then, as soon as the essay or lecture is over, the member that delivered it comes from the chair, which is immediately taken by the persons who read the Sunday before, and who acts as president for that day, then all the members of the Society have liberty to address the president and comment upon what was delivered, and after they have made their observations; the person that read the essay or lecture makes his reply, after which the president offers his observations, and closes the proceedings of that day. As I mentioned to you before we have a library of good books; and intend to purchase a pair of globes and an orrery as soon as our funds will admit, and probably at no very distant period, we may become a large scientific society; and I am persuaded, that if people of our opinions would form themselves into societies of the same kind throughout the country, it would be a proper means of uniting them, and be attended with the most happy results; as both women and children might attend as well as men.

The Christian Religion has long been renounced by many although they profess it, there are several of my own acquaintance who are confirmed Deists, but I am sorry to say they still wear the mask of Christianity, merely because they think it corresponds with public opinion. Such duplicity I despise. Deism only needs to be avowed by its admirers, who are sufficiently numerous to render it popular and of course respectable; and I hope, Sir, that you will continue to use your powerful exertions in its behalf: but I exhort you, at the same time, to use the utmost caution in selling such books as you know are likely to be prosecuted; because the fiends of corruption will do all in their power to fleece you and your supporters by repeated fines. It appears that they are only guided by fanaticism in their proceedings against you, and the cause you advocate. They are sensible of the weakness of their own cause; and they are determined to use their last convulsive and expiring efforts in its defence; therefore I would have you bear up against them with firmness guided by prudence, as you know your friends are not as yet properly united, and many of them who have honesty enough to profess Deism, are not in a condition to pay large sums towards your assistance; whilst to lose you, would be to lose our main spring. I am sorry to see there are many who ought and who have the power to assist you, who allow a false notion of respectability to hold them back: but I think I see them sneaking forward, after the struggle is over, with their hypocritical cant, professing to have been the secret friends of the brave veterans who have exposed themselves, their families, and their interests, to the malevolence of the persecuting Christians.

I have read your Fifth Address and Correspondence, and I am glad to see the animating effects of your noble exertions. I hope the Republicans and Deists, through the whole Island, will form themselves into societies to support you in a regular manner, either weekly or monthly, or as circumstances will permit, as there is nothing wanting but union and perseverance to accomplish our emancipation.

The praying and persecuting Christians have completely betrayed their own weakness; as they are continually thundering in our ears that their religion is founded on the rock of ages, by the omnipotent God of Nature; and that it will bear all the scrutiny of sceptical Freethinkers, whose investigations will only tend to prove its divine origin; What then is their reason for prosecutions? Do they not

wish its divinity to be examined by us? No, because they perceive its crumbling fabric shake before a goose quill! then has the pen of Mirabaud, of Voltaire, of Volney, of Hume, of Paine, and of Carline, made it tremble to its foundation, although it is supported by Popes, Bishops, Priests and Kings, Learning, Riches, Power, and Persecution. If the very shadow of truth was on its side with all these powerful supporters; it might be supposed to be able to stand an investigation; but as that is not the case, it must ultimately fall before the standard of reason and common sense; therefore, it is the duty of every Deist to come forward with his support, and rally round you as his standard-bearer, that we may, at last, be recognized by the law, as well as any other denomination of men. Let us, therefore, unite as a body, and persevere with firmness and caution, because the moment our enemies can single out one individual, they will rush upon him in their holy zeal, and in the zenith of their fanaticism, will deal out the merciless fury of their meek and holy religion, but let us be courageous, for it is the sure sign of a bad cause, when persecutions or prosecutions are resorted to in place of reason and philosophy. We have dared them to the combat with the pen, but they have shrunk back crest-fallen like a person detected in a base action, and have applied themselves to brute force.

I have read your Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters, and I think you have handled him well. The abominable canting priest-like creed, which he has put forth as the belief of Deists, is utterly contemptible. He has manufactured it on purpose to suit the plan of his Letters. He has made a God, like a king seated upon a throne at the head of the universe, (perhaps a king was his patron and the above allusion intended as a piece of flattery) but sure am I that no such absurdities ever entered the head of any rational Deist. To hear a scientific man canting about the head of the universe, is enough to convince the world he is an arch-hypocrite! and from such reasoning we may justly infer that he would have his readers believe, that there is another great being, the Devil, seated on a throne at the foot of the Universe, thus personifying Good and Evil, he would divide the whole of space into two great kingdoms; the one governed by his abstract God, and the other by his abstract Devil! Such nonsense can only be advocated by priests, and men whose judgments are warped by interest; and such things can only be believed by fools who cannot

think, and by hot-brained enthusiasts who will not think reasonably on any subject. Several of the Christian writers have been very obliging in forming creeds for the Deists; most of which are contrary to their opinions, and particularly their opinions concerning the Deity. When we contemplate the world and the wonderful existences that inhabit it: when we survey the solar system, and revolve in our minds the admirable order and harmony of its motions; when we launch our ideas into the immensity of space, and as it were travel from planet to planet, and from system to system, and when we conceive that boundless ocean studded, at proper distances, with innumerable systems and planets that are no doubt peopled with an endless variety of animated beings; when, I say, we contemplate all these things, we are convinced of the existence of a Great Principal in Nature, that maintains the order by which the whole of the wonderful and stupendous fabric of the universe exists. But, at the same time, no Deist will ever attempt to personify that Principal! nor will any man of common sense, ascribe to it attributes and qualities peculiar to the animal man; nor can any person prove that it has more analogy to the animal, than to the vegetable and mineral parts of the universe. It is, as yet, impossible for us to determine whether that Great Principal be diffused over all Nature, and mixed up with every particle of matter, but certainly no man capable of reasoning can for a moment believe that it is a being abstracted from Nature, and seated upon a throne like a king at the imaginary head of the universe.

After laying down in my bed, the other night, and thinking upon the disputes I had with a Christian in the course of the day; I fell fast asleep, and dreamed that I was wafted to a beautiful country in Asia, and got into conversation with one of the natives; who told me that a powerful king, a great despot, lived in that part of the world, who contrived a plan to place his subjects in such a situation that he knew they would inevitably incur his deep displeasure; and afterwards he came upon them like a merciless tyrant, demanding satisfaction, that he knew they were not able to give; and in a paroxysm of rage he determined to destroy them all. But after calming a little, he relented, yet was still determined to have a bloody satisfaction. He voluntarily offered his own son, *his only son*, as a sacrifice for the assumed guilt of his subjects. The son was first made to suffer poverty and ignominy at the hands of these

guilty subjects, and to appear as one of them for the space of three years when a few of them were ordered to put him to death. The son was actually put to death to satisfy the blood-thirsty, implacable and unrelenting father, as an imaginary atonement for guilt that he himself had produced. Here then, said the animated Asiatic, was the innocent son sacrificed, not for the guilt, or the benefit of the poor vassals; but for the folly of the despot, who knew the consequences of his system, and that his vassals could not act otherwise than by the plan he had laid down. Methought I answered, with a degree of agitation, that I did not believe even such a monster was in existence; to which my informer replied, that he was not only in existence at the present time, but actually made an object of worship, by his poor deluded and degraded subjects. Whilst pondering on the matter I awoke, and on comparison found my dream to resemble the origin of the Christian Religion.

I have enclosed an acrostic on your name, done by an acquaintance of mine who is a great admirer of your conduct and principles. I shall write to you again immediately after our annual meeting, on the anniversary of T. Paine's Birth-day. Consider me,

Dear Sir,
Your Friend and sincere Well-wisher,
J. AFFLECK.

TO MR. JAMES AFFLECK, EDINBURGH.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 5th, 1822.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

I APPROVE the style and title of your Society, and think it the best that could have been adopted. "Freethinkers' Zetetic Society" I understand to mean nothing more than a Society in search of truth by free inquiry and free discussion. You have certainly hit upon a title and a procedure that will place you above all sectarianism. I never met with the word *zetetic* before, but I find it defined as a *proceeding by inquiry—a seeking after truth*. No honest man of any sect can object to your conduct.

I am of opinion that astronomy is a science which as early as possible we should fully comprehend, but chemistry is the grand science wherein to search for truth. It is the science of Nature. It developes all the first principles of

Nature, and, doubtless, will lead on to a discovery of the first and chief, from which all others emanate. Combine a study of chemistry with a study of astronomy, and you will be delighted with the endless beauties and varieties of Nature that will be unfolded to your view. I wish you all pleasure and social comfort in your pursuits, and I will endeavour to stimulate our friends in other towns to follow you. Both in London and Leeds preparations are making for it upon the avowed principles of Deism, or with a total rejection of every mythology. In the former place many such Societies have long existed; but all their proceedings have been private, from a fear of persecution. Philosophical Institutions are now increasing in all our populous towns, which will necessarily lead on the inquirers to a rejection of the Christian and every other mythology, although there is no professed object of the kind. I saw quite enough two years ago to say that "Science was the real Antichrist," and from every inquiry I have been since able to make, that conviction has been strengthened. In my "Address to Men of Science," which I shall shortly revise, and print a second edition, I stated that it rested entirely with them to puff out the Christian Religion instantly, or to let it linger until others more honest shall make themselves acquainted with the sciences for that purpose. The moment I get out from this dungeon I shall devote every hour I can possibly spare from business to dive into the various parts of those sciences I think or shall find applicable to my purpose and desire of destroying Priestcraft.

You exhort me to be cautious as to what I publish to expose myself to further persecution, on the ground, that the enemy will be powerful enough to keep me poor by repeated fines. Caution is well in most things, but here it avails nothing, as the object of Priests and Despots is to strike at all discussion; and however far short the most forward might be of what I am at present, the same persecution would fall upon him. There is no criterion, no certainty in the matter, as to what point you can escape persecution, if you dissent from their views; therefore, I have resolved to bid them defiance on all points and upon the extreme of free discussion. By taking this extreme I secure all others who are below me, and bear the whole brunt of the persecution; but I perceive that I can go on and triumph by dint of personal bravery, as the common enemy is daily losing whilst I am daily gaining strength; and the time must approach, when, from necessity and want of means, that enemy must

yield. I feel as certain of this as of my present existence. It is a matter of perfect indifference to me whether I write to you from London or from Dorchester Gaol; the communication is the same, whilst the latter situation gives weight to every assertion and profession.

As far as I am any advantage to the cause of free discussion, be not afraid of losing it; nothing shall deter me; no power shall keep me from a procedure. The game of arrests and persecutions has been my constant gain and amusement. Every fresh record of the kind in the public papers affords me pleasure. I hail it as an advantage: it excites discussion; and it is discussion that we challenge. We seek it, our enemies dread it; whilst they increase it by the very means they use to crush it. If my life extends to another dozen years, of which all present appearances seem to favour the probability, I will as certainly establish free and open discussion on all subjects in this Island as I am now in Dorchester Gaol. My views and exertions all centre in this one point, and whether it be profitable or unprofitable, I will pursue it.

Yours, with esteem,

R. CARLILE.

AN ACROSTIC ON RICHARD CARLILE.

Roused by the thought of worth in Paine,
I call the Muse to aid again.
Can fiery persecuting zeal,
Holy! (false call'd) be for our weal?
And men, afraid GOD'S cause should fall,
Report themselves the prop of all;
Dangerous tenets those we call.

Come, fellow men, with tongue and hand,
And aid in driving from our land
Rank Superstition's cursed reign,
Long have we borne the galling chain.
Isles, and each shore, let catch Truth's fire,
Let joyous youth and aged sire,
Efforts in common make, to make the common foe expire.

WILLIAM SKINNER.

Edinburgh, Dec. 8.

RENUNCIATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MYTHOLOGY.

Be it known to all whom this may come or may concern.

TO WIT,

THAT I, Amariah Batty, Dyer and Threadmaker of Castleton, in the parish of Danby, North Riding, Yorkshire, having arrived at the age of 28 years, and feeling quite competent to think, judge, and act for myself, do hereby renounce from this day, the Christian religion in all its various creeds, and all further belief of the Jew books, commonly called the Old and New Testament, being sacred or divine or any thing more than human writings. I also protest against the Ecclesiastical Laws of Great Britain, and all human laws relating to matters of religion, as impure, unjust, and oppressive, and hereby declare that I will not yield obedience to any of them.

I have examined all the religious creeds commonly known in this island, and I renounce them all. Moral virtue shall be my future religion: my God that great incomprehended power, commonly called Nature, or the God of Nature. Every other kind of worship or religion I hold to be idolatrous and mythological. The Universe shall be my future temple; and the only volume in which I will deign to look to meditate on Deity.

As my friends and relatives, who reside in Leeds, and in different parts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, may look upon my renunciation of the Christian Religion as something extraordinary, I have to observe that should any of them be disposed to censure my conduct or motives, or to dispute the matter with me, either publicly or privately, I am ready and willing to meet them, on any ground they will choose, with plain and candid reasons.

The cause of my change of opinion has been, that in consequence of the discussion which the trial and persecution of Mr. Carlile occasioned at the close of the year 1819, Bishop Watson's Apology for the Bible having accidentally fallen in my way, I was induced to read it. Before that time I solemnly declare that I never doubted or suspected

the truth and divinity of the books called the Old and New Testament; neither did I know that they had ever been questioned until I found the Bishop's book was a professed reply to Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*. My curiosity was excited: I read the book through; and from that time my chief business has been to examine the Bible for myself, and not blindly to trust to the representations of others. The Bishop's Apology for the Bible had opened the way for doubt, and as I went on to examine it fairly those doubts were strengthened, and I became anxious to possess Thomas Paine's "*Age of Reason*." This latter book I obtained in the course of the past summer, and I found it calculated to penetrate and dispel the thickest clouds of ignorance. My mind now began to soar above its former narrow sphere, and I eagerly sought the works of the most celebrated Deistical, Moral, and Philosophical Authors; among whom, I return, with pleasure, my sincere thanks to Mr. Carlile, for his own works, and the publication of some of the most sublime writings ever offered to the British Public. By a farther perusal of the writings of Mirabaud, Volney, and Voltaire, with various other French and English Authors, every doubt on the subject of religion has been driven from my mind, and I now know in what true happiness consists. It must be sought in Nature: it can nowhere else be found.

It cannot be considered that I am any way prejudiced against the books of the Old and New Testament: they have had a thousand times greater opportunity to win my affections than Mr. Paine's "*Age of Reason*." The former have been accompanied with the influence of education, long habit, and example; whilst the latter has had every difficulty to surmount. In me Mr. Paine's Works have had to contend with three Gods, and the constant battery of twenty thousand preachers.

I have now not a doubt but that religion is a chief cause in a nation's demoralization. Like thousands of others I have frequently justified my conduct from precepts and precedents in the Bible, and I now see there is not one vice but may find a precedent for its support from that book.

So great is the difference between true and fabulous Theology, that to use metaphorical language, the one circumscribes every thing, the other nothing; and morally speaking, the former is a blessing the latter a curse to mankind.

To reflect on the horrid darkness in which the priests of

all ages and all countries have too successfully immured mankind is painful in the extreme. Neither apology nor recompence can they make for past miseries inflicted; whilst profit still prones them to support the cheat. I shall hereafter stand in no need of their nonsensical assistance, as I feel myself completely relieved from those corroding fears which destroy the happiness of man.

As I have no faith in, or respect for, the ecclesiastical laws, I have made provision for a family burial ground, and can sufficiently satisfy myself in giving names to my own children.

Castleton, Jan. 1, 1822.

AMARIAH BATTY.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

I SHALL give you no other title: you are neither worth it nor deserving of it from me: perhaps you will think it the best and the highest, but I mean it as a mark of contempt and an expression of insignificance, combined with a charge of dishonesty and hypocrisy. I shall not this week meddle with the Book of Common Prayer, rendered still more ridiculous and contemptible by your note and commentary, but address you on your conduct on the Bench, in connection with your corruptly grave, and hypocritically learned brothers. Methinks I see the whole four of you on the Bench, and myself, or a member of my family, on the floor of the Court. Best, I will call an emblem of the most choleric despotism: you, an emblem of bigotry, fanaticism, and superstition: Abbott, an emblem of the most subtle treachery and the most refined hypocrisy: and Holroyd, what shall I say? An emblem of a washer-woman? No; but of every thing that denotes a blind acquiescence in right or wrong and imbecility; a creature who would be harmless if surrounded by the influence of good men, but who, on the other hand, is made to partake of and to administer all the bad qualities of those about him. I see all the Wigs on the Bench grinning at the one, two, and three-tailed Wigs at the Bar, and those in return nodding assent and displaying a servile and dependent smile. This is not stretching or caricaturing the picture; for during the whole time that you were deliberating on what sentence to pass

upon Mrs. Carlile, you were all in almost what is called a horse-laugh; and when you, Sir, began to pass sentence, you commenced by saying, that the Court had been taking her case into consideration; upon hearing which, and wondering what you had to laugh about, she had an impression that you were about to send her back to her children; and so great was the disappointment when you pronounced the words, "two years imprisonment in Dorchester Gaol," that, she assures me, she felt it like a thunderbolt; although she had previous to your laughing consideration made up her mind for six months imprisonment somewhere. This was one of your refined modes of inflicting mental torture.

You did not laugh when you passed the sentence of the Court on me, though I dare say you thought you had done more for the Christian religion than all the previous bigots together: but, in your preparatory observations to that sentence, you stated what I believe to be a wilful falsehood, upon the strength of your Court etiquette, when you knew I should have no immediate opportunity of contradicting it. You said, that if I had published Bishop Watson's Apology for the Bible, and some of Soame Jenyns and Lord Lyttelton's Works, it would have been an extenuation of my offence; by which, the presumption of your observation was, that I had not done it. Now it was notorious, and you knew it, that I had published Bishop Watson's Apology for the Bible with the Age of Reason, and it was the only professed answer of any note: therefore, your falsehood and hypocrisy was of the most barefaced kind, as you put it forth as an excuse for a sentence which you knew to be infamous and illegal, and a settled scheme to rob me of what little property I had accumulated as a necessary prop to your divine and omnipotent religion.

Having now taken a full view of you, and introduced all I have to say at this moment about Mrs. Carlile and myself, I shall come to the case of my sister, a case you shall find a thorn in your side as long as you live. *Ditto* to Abbott, Best, and Holroyd.

By way of commencing the case fairly, I will say, that in the year 1820, was published at 55, Fleet Street, with the imprint of Mary Ann Carlile, a pamphlet, entitled, "The Theological Works of Thomas Paine;" and, doubtless, you will be surprized when I tell you, that neither I, or any member of my family, ever saw the contents of that pamphlet before it was printed; nor did we give any orders for the printing of the pamphlet; nor were we consulted

upon the matter; because, if I had seen the matter in manuscript, I should not have thought it worth printing as a separate pamphlet. I was, in fact, displeased at seeing it printed as a pamphlet. The case was this: in the year 1820, we were reprinting a new edition of the Political Works of Thomas Paine, from which we excluded all his theological discourses. A Mr. Clark, who has since published Shelley's *Queen Mab*, had just returned from the United States of America, where he had been picking up every scrap of the writing of Thomas Paine that he could discover. He offered them to me for sale and I purchased; and among them were these scraps, which, agreeable to the original intention, were excluded from the Political Works, and which the printer, upon his own authority, and without any instructions whatever, formed the pamphlet which has been the subject of prosecution, not dreaming for a moment that there would be found any thing in it liable to prosecution. So that, if you can believe what I here state, you will see that my sister is really suffering, not only an illegal sentence, but for an act upon which she was never consulted, nor ever had the least controul. This is no business of yours I know; but I mention the fact as it occurred, as putting a new feature on my sister's case. Upon the same principle was printed at the same time, a still more paltry pamphlet, and at which I was quite enraged when I saw it, entitled *An Appendix to Paine's Poems*, which were a few scraps of poetry of the same collection, but which I think are very doubtful as to being the effusions of Paine. Now, Sir, you must not misunderstand me, as saying that had it not been for this accident my sister would not now have been in gaol. I think no such thing; for I know that the Prosecuting Gangs would have pursued her upon some other pamphlet if she had sold but two only. I know their plan and motive, and I might add your plan and motive, for I have seen the name of Mr. Sergeant Bailey in an early list of the members of the Vice Society, and I think it very likely that Mr. Justice Bailey has continued a subscriber, if we could but get at a list of the Secret Gang. I know that a person disposed to assert the right of free discussion, must not trouble about what is or is not likely to be prosecuted, which has been uniformly my maxim, but go straight-forward with the publication of a chain of truths, heedless of immediate consequences where the final result must inevitably be good.

In this Appendix to the Theological Works of Thomas

Paine, a name which the pamphlet hardly deserves, is contained the following article, which has led to its indictment.

“ OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

“ Archbishop Tillotson says, ‘ The difference between the style of the Old and New Testament is so very remarkable, that one of the greatest sects in the primitive times, did, upon this very ground, found the heresy of two Gods, the one evil, fierce, and cruel, whom they called the God of the Old Testament; the other was good, kind, and merciful, whom they called the God of the New Testament; so great a difference is there between the representations that are given of God in the books of the Jewish and Christian religion, as to give, at least, some colour and pretence to an imagination of two Gods.’ Thus far Tillotson.

“ But the case was, that as the church had picked out several passages from the Old Testament, which she most absurdly and falsely calls prophecies of Jesus Christ, (whereas there is no prophecy of any such person, as any one may see by examining the passages, and the cases to which they apply,) she was under the necessity of keeping up the credit of the Old Testament, because if that fell the other would soon follow, and the Christian system of faith would soon be at an end. As a book of morals, there are several parts of the New Testament that are good; but they are no other than what had been preached in the eastern world several hundred years before Christ was born. Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, who lived five hundred years before the time of Christ, says, *Acknowledge thy benefits by the return of benefits, but never revenge injuries.*

“ The clergy of the Popish countries were cunning enough to know, that if the Old Testament was made public, the fallacy of the New, with respect to Christ, would be detected, and they prohibited the use of it, and always took it away wherever they found it. The Deists, on the contrary, always encouraged the reading it, that people might see and judge for themselves, that a book so full of contradictions and wickedness could not be the word of God, and that we dishonour God by ascribing it to him.

A TRUE DEIST.”

I have said on the behalf of my sister that there never was a pamphlet such as this prosecuted before since the days of

the Stuarts. It is particularly mild and moral throughout; and as a proof that the pretended blasphemous libel is a plain and palpable truth, I will insert here a paragraph I have found in *The Traveller* newspaper, which corresponds with part of the suppressed defence that should have gone to the Jury if the Judge had been honest.

"THE BIBLE.—As a few degrees of latitude make a virtue of a crime, so do a few centuries make a merit (as in the case of the distribution of Bibles) of what was formerly subject to punishment. In the time of Henry VIII. the Bible was absolutely forbidden to be read or expounded in our churches; but the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, *Captains of the Wars*, Justices of the Peace, and *Recorders of the Cities*, might quote passages to enforce their public harangues, *as had been accustomed*. A Nobleman or Gentleman might read it in his house, *orchards, or gardens*, yet quietly, and without disturbance of good order. A Merchant also might read it to himself privately, but women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, and labourers, were to be punished with one month's imprisonment as often as they were detected reading the Bible, either privately or openly, "Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the King's instructions." 32 Hen. VIII. c. 39. Such, however, was the privilege of Peerage, that *Ladies of quality* might read 'to themselves alone,' and not to others, 'any chapter in the Old or New Testament.' This has the air of a sumptuary law, which indulges the Nobility with many articles of superb finery, that are interdicted to those of inferior degree. It is probable the *Duchesses and Countesses* were eager to read this good book, when it was made inaccessible to three parts of the nation. How it may be now, since the vigorous attempts of Societies to make it vulgar remains to be proved."

It is not necessary that in addressing you I enter into particulars about what passed at the time of trial, or when the trial should have taken place; suffice it to say, that in honester times, and under a less corrupt Government, the Judge would have been hanged for such conduct as Best has displayed in this matter. I shall come at once to the proceeding before yourself, when Mr. Cooper moved for a trial, and the quashing of the former verdict. But let me first remind you that Jefferies thought himself equally secure, and was equally insolent, until James was kicked out of the coun-

try; when he had that justice done to him which he denied to others: he murdered many unjustly, but was himself justly killed, in getting his head broke by the sovereign people at Wapping, and was glad to escape to the Tower for shelter, (where he had committed so many others to be murdered by his course of law,) and to lay down and die quietly from the effect of his bruises. Beware; similar causes produce similar effects. Mankind are always the same: it is the influences by which they are surrounded alone that change.

In Mr. Cooper's moving for a trial, he stated to the Court, that there had been no defence made in consequence of the interruption of the presiding Judge, because the defendant stated that the Common Law, on which it was pretended she was to be tried, was common abuse. Chief Justice Abbott observed to Mr. Cooper, "Do you think that ought to have been read?" Mr. Cooper hesitated, and was afraid to answer the question: but I think he ought to have answered yes, or to have told the Defendant on presenting him her affidavit that he could not support the motion for a trial upon such an expression as she had made. He was in duty and in honesty bound to have done either the one or the other; and in not doing it he has shewn himself somewhat servile to the prejudices existing both at the Bench and the Bar. On Mr. Cooper's refusal to answer the question, you, Sir, observed, "One of the reasons why gentlemen are placed in that honourable situation in which you are, is, that they should exercise their own discretion and judgment, and be watchful that the decency of a Court of Justice be not violated." You were correct in this expression; and it was a very proper rebuke to Mr. Cooper, who then went on to say that he was only stating the Defendant's affidavit. If Mr. Cooper considered this his only duty, his fee might have been saved, for the Clerk of the Court could have done the same gratuitously, and such should have been the case if I could have anticipated that Mr. Cooper could have shirked a case in such a manner. He absolutely did nothing but read the Defendant's affidavit, when he had one of the finest opportunities for a display of honest eloquence, which he might have supported in the true lawyer-like style by quoting precedent upon precedent and decision upon decision of the same Court, to shew that there had been no trial, that the verdict was impure, and that every principle of English law allowed the Defendant a complete hearing, even if her defence was an improper one, and that it had been violated in her case. An improper defence could never injure any one but

the Defendant; particularly if it was free, as in this case, of all personalities. It was the truths of the defence that alarmed the corrupt and irritable Best, and not the indecencies or improprieties. It contained none of the latter, although insinuated by you on the motion for a fair trial.

As to Mr. Platt's offer to examine and correct the defence, it was an impudent intrusion on his part; for it is well known that a lawyer's ideas of right and wrong are seldom consonant with common sense or common honesty. No lawyer, in the present state of the Bar, the Bench, and the Government, would make any thing like a fair defence where the charge was the publication of a blasphemous libel. This was the reason why Mr. Cooper was employed in one case and not in the other; and that such a step was right on my part, his subsequent conduct has fully evinced. There are many men at the Bar, and I believe four-fifths of them, who feel no more attachment to Christianity than myself; but they are educated in certain prejudices, and to consult existing prejudices is their trade and profit. Mr. Platt was a perfect stranger to my sister; and it would be a very natural impression on her mind that he was an officious enemy. However, you shall have men and women before you in future who will not need Mr. Platt's instruction or advice, and who will treat with contempt every attempt of Best or any other Judge to interrupt them. They will come prepared for the game, and well instructed how to baffle and bid defiance to all your dirty and illegal schemes and projects to suppress their defence. You shall have two or three days work with some of them. We will have nothing more to do with any lawyers: and hear us you shall.

The most infamous part of this business was, that you, and Best, and Abbott, should all say, that the object of the Defendant was to make her defence the vehicle of seditious and blasphemous expressions. This was a base falsehood, which any person may see by examining the printed defence; and Mr. Cooper, as an advocate for the Defendant, might take shame to himself for not rising to contradict your assertions, as I understand the original, or a printed copy of the defence, was in his possession, and had been for some days previous to his reading the affidavit in Court. He must have known that you were stating falsehoods, and had he been as bold as honesty required, he might have driven you all from the Bench upon that case.

You have been already well handled for the contempti-

ble jargon you uttered in passing the sentence of the Court on my sister, and you will hear more of it yet from quarters calculated to distort the muscles of your hypocritically grave countenance. "Every person has a right to hold what opinions he pleases, but the law will not allow that he should impeach the faith of others." Then what business have you to impeach my faith? Do you or do you not subscribe money to send out missionaries to impeach the faith of other nations? For what purpose did you support the Vice Society? Answer these questions, contemptible hypocrite, and give us, the next time you pass sentence on any person from my shop, another law and logical lecture on your own consistency, and on the clearness of your own ideas upon political economy and religious toleration.

There is another point which demands my animadversion. You seemed gladly to catch at and echo the lying assertion of Mr. Gurney, that I and my family had no other motive in publishing those works than sordid gain. You said you hoped it was not so, but seemed to give it your belief. Come down the Western Circuit at the Spring Assize, spend an hour with us, and be convinced from what you might see and hear. You have been in our apartment before we got here; come again, and let us see who has the best of the argument as to which is right and which is wrong. I shall not be afraid or ashamed to visit you when it becomes your turn to be in prison for some of your misdemeanors, of which you are not altogether free: and I really think it will come to your turn.

In passing sentence on George Bere, you held out a threat, that whoever came after him upon the same score, should be treated with severity. You might now see that I have shopmen and even women who hold your threat and your power to torture in perfect contempt. I will throw into the shade the pretended constancy of your Christian Martyrs; whilst Bailey and his brother Judges shall rank in the page of history with the Neros, the Domitians, the Caracallas, the Bonners, the Gardiners, the Scroggs', and the Jefferies'.

I have now done with addressing you on this subject for the present; and any person but yourself might see that all your efforts to prop your idolatry, and to prevent my exposure of it, are as puny, as must have been Captain Joshua's, when he ordered the sun and the moon not to move, but to continue him their light that he might finish the massacre of his enemies. What has been the effect of

your sentence on me? What the three years imprisonment, the fifteen hundred pounds fine, and, what was the worst of all, the robbery and removal of all my property in Fleet Street, done for the purpose or with the hope of preventing any further sale of such publications? Look round and see what it has effected towards the object in view. You have been playing my game, and, like a hog swimming against the stream, cutting your own throat. If I were to-morrow, or in November next, to leave this prison naked and pennyless, within six months you should find me going on as brisk as ever. Your trade is the support of falsehood and corruption, mine its exposure and destruction. The more you kick and stir the worse you make it for yourself, and the better for me: whilst every exertion on my part brings its proper reward. Imprisonment has benefited me mentally, and it was there I most needed improvement. You shall find that you have made a rod for yourself in sending me to a prison. You shall have no peace. I will be continually stirring up the guilty corrodings of your mind, whilst I myself enjoy, and shall continue to enjoy, a perfect complacence and peace of mind, with a joy-inspiring conscience, and confidence that I am both mentally and morally right, and that my enemies are mentally and morally wrong.

I would be much rather looking through my iron bars than see myself in your wig and robes. If I am fettered without, you are galled and fettered within, which is by far the worst of the two. I really wish you to come down and see how happy I am. You shall not be insulted: you shall need no protection: you may come alone. My hospitality shall be like that of the Arab to his enemy—it shall be sacred; although if you still oppose me I will war with you the moment you are gone. Come down. Visit your prisoner. Love your enemy. Do good to them who despitefully use you. Act up to the professions of your Christian Creed. Do the deed without the profession, and not the profession without the deed.

Your robbed and happy prisoner,

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 7. 1822.

The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 21,
Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

NONE but Republicans can deserve that name, the advocates of Monarchy, limited or unlimited, are the advocates of slavery, and cannot lay claim to the title of citizens, or free men with free minds. Is there a man in Britain who would now rise in a public assembly and denounce Republicanism as visionary? If there be, I would point the attention of that man to the two continents of America. Let him read the following beautiful speech of Simon Bolivar, the Republican of Columbia, and from that learn how to make speeches fit to be addressed to an assembly of free men, or men wishing to be free. This speech too, was made on the very important occasion of pledging himself to fulfil with justice the office of Chief Magistrate, not under the odious and blood thirsty name of King, but that of President of a nation of Republicans. It may be first proper to state that Simon Bolivar has strenuously objected to the propriety of his being elected Chief Magistrate of his country, whilst that country was engaged in war with the enemies of liberty, and whilst he wore the sword as a general of her armies. He has done every thing that a man could do to relinquish one of the two offices, but the both have been forced on him by his grateful countrymen. This is as it should be. I do not speak of the propriety of joining two such offices, but if there be a man of extraordinary virtue in a country, the people of that country have a right to demand that he shall be their chief magistrate as long as they may think proper.

Simon Bolivar has eclipsed all the Republican heroes that have gone before him. The name of Washington dwindles into insignificance before that of Bolivar. He is the only

true model of a true Republican at the head of a nation, which history has recorded. Attend to his speech. Learn every word of it. Teach it to your children. Write it on the portals of your doors; over your fire-places; in every place where it can be constantly catching the eye, and reminding you in what a true Republican consists. Simon Bolivar spake thus to the Representatives of the People of Columbia, when invested for a further period with the office and power of Chief Magistrate:—

“ I AM THE SON OF WAR, THE MAN WHOM BATTLES HAVE RAISED TO THE MAGISTRACY. THIS SWORD WILL BE OF NO USE ON THE DAY OF PEACE; AND THAT SHALL BE THE LAST OF MY POWER, BECAUSE I HAVE SWORN IT WITHIN MYSELF; BECAUSE, I HAVE PROMISED IT TO COLUMBIA; AND BECAUSE, THERE CAN BE NO REPUBLIC WHEN THE PEOPLE ARE NOT SECURE IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR OWN POWERS. A MAN LIKE ME IS A DANGEROUS CITIZEN IN A POPULAR GOVERNMENT—IS A DIRECT MENACE TO THE NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. I WISH TO BECOME A CITIZEN IN ORDER TO BE FREE, AND THAT ALL MAY BE SO TOO. I PREFER THE TITLE OF CITIZEN TO THAT OF LIBERATOR, BECAUSE THIS EMANATES FROM WAR—THAT FROM THE LAWS.”

Buonaparte was a fool, a rogue, and a despot when compared with Bolivar. His name will not deserve mention in the same page of history with the latter. The former may be ranked with Alexander, with Tamerlane, and with Jenghis Khan, but if Bolivar pursues his present line of conduct through life, he will establish quite a new character, as an example to future generations of men. He will combine the Philosopher with the Patriot, the Philanthropist with the Soldier, and the whole with the Republican, such as no man ever did before him, and will shew us how every character and disposition should yield to that of the virtuous Republican Citizen.

As a few days will bring with them the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine, and as you will assemble on that day, as far as possible, as a mark of respect to his memory, and gratitude for his writings and actions, I shall take the liberty to insert here such toasts and sentiments as to me seem proper to lead on that occasion:—

1. The Memory of Thomas Paine, the Father of true Republicanism, upon the base of the Representative System of Government.

2. The Memories of Washington and Jefferson, and all

the past Republicans of the United States of America, and may the present improve so as to abolish Superstition and Fanaticism in their country, and, particularly, the foul and infamous traffic in Negro Slaves; and be mindful of him who taught, by his pen and example, their fathers, how to obtain and preserve liberty, for their children.

3. Simon Bolivar, and the Republicans of Columbia, may they abolish Priestcraft as well as Kingcraft.

4. Thomas Cochrane, commonly called Lord Cochrane, and Joseph Martin, his companion in arms, with the Republicans of Chili and Peru, may they too abolish Priestcraft.

5. Peter Boyer, and the Republicans of the Island of St. Domingo. We despise not their colour, but hail them as brothers.

6. The Republicans of Spain and Portugal, and may they annihilate the last vestige of Kingcraft and Priestcraft.

7. The French Revolution, and may the next be free both of a Robespierre and a Buonaparte.

8. Success to the Greeks, if they fight for the Representative System of Government.

9. Success to the Republicans of the Island of Great Britain, and may the talkers about Reform, advance and avow the only principles that can produce and preserve it.

10. Health, Prosperity, and Happiness to every Republican on the face of the Earth, and may the toast soon apply to every man.

11. May every virtuous Woman prefer a Republican for her husband, and train up her children in a detestation of slavery: and may every woman be virtuous.

12. As the human mind is improved by exercise, may every human being learn the importance of free discussion.

Such are the toasts and sentiments I would recommend to every assembly of Republicans on the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine. I do not say that they should be confined to these, to the exclusion of all others, but certainly, I do think they are such as should take the lead of all others. They display nothing like party or faction, and I would much rather that my own name should never be toasted, than that it should ever form the watchword of party or of faction. I say let us unite, if that union can be effected on sound principles. My hand is open to the hand of every man, who will either avow the principles I avow, or shew me fairly that I am in error as to their tendency.

At the present moment it may not be amiss that I address a few words to you upon the character of Thomas Paine. I have no idea that I can add any thing to what has been already said of him, but I may concentrate his general character within a small compass, so as to refresh your memories and give you a full recollection of him whose birth-day you will shortly meet to celebrate. I am no poet, and as I cannot write an ode, I must do the best I can in prose.

Thomas Paine was born on the 29th day of January, in the year of the Carpenter's Wife's Son 1737. Before a century has elapsed from his birth, it appears likely that his principles will have made the tour of Europe, as they have already made the tour of the two continents of America. The divine and omnipotent idolatry of the Christians, as they call their religion, was two centuries making one-fourth part of the progress that the principles of Thomas Paine have made within fifty years of their birth, and within eleven years of the death of their author; whilst the latter have made way against a more-powerful degree of persecution than the former, or a persecution more calculated to arrest their progress. Every existing institution has attempted to strangle the principles of Thomas Paine in their birth: whilst the Christians passed unmolested until they grew so insolent as to defy the administerers of the Roman laws, and to challenge death as a martyrdom, which their frenzied brains were led to believe would procure them eternal happiness, and what they called a crown of glory in the company of their crucified God. The principles of Thomas Paine have been an appeal to the calm and deliberate reason of mankind: the principles of the Christian idolatry an appeal to a fanatic passion, which encouraged a gross ignorance of, and a gross outrage upon the laws of Nature. The former have their foundation in Nature: the latter defy and condemn it, and have no foundation but in an ignorant and brutal fanaticism, which has tended to preserve one of the very worst kinds of barbarism, and which has constantly warred with and endeavoured to crush every thing in the shape or progress of civilization.

To come to a closer epitome of the principles of Thomas Paine, I will define them as embracing, in politics, the Representative System of Government, with an Elective Magistracy; in matters of theology and philosophy, a free discussion on all subjects connected therewith, and a rejection of the gross idolatry of Pagan, Jew, Christian, or Mahometan.

He first displayed his political principles, and was the first man who struck an effectual blow at the tyranny of Kingly or Monarchical Despotism. It was such a blow as has kept it reeling to this day, and down it must all fall. It has no chance of recovering its former posture, and again standing firm and daring as heretofore. His pamphlet, entitled "Common Sense," was to Monarchy, what we read in the Jew Books, the smooth stone and sling of David was to the head of Goliath. The simile is good: the British Goliath defied the armies of the American God of Liberty, and our modern David struck him down with a stone gathered from the pure and limpid stream of "Common Sense." He, too, needed not the shield and buckler of the tyrant Saul, but took for his weapon a goose-quill. He had confidence in the goddess Reason, when assisted both by the Mercury and the Minerva of Common Sense.

Having emancipated one nation from the thralldom of Kingcraft, he flew to Europe to assist in the emancipation of others. His native country was never absent from his view after he had once tasted the means of giving it Liberty. He crossed back the Atlantic Ocean to revisit his native countrymen, and wrote a volume in which he shewed them the only basis upon which the RIGHTS OF MAN can be established. He did not live to witness the regeneration of his native land, but he died with the satisfaction that he had sown the seed of that regeneration, which the breath of Monarchy could not blast whenever it should shoot forth and blossom to ripeness.

In France he suffered much in the cause of liberty and humanity; and it was by mere accident that his blood had not been shed as a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of Robespierre. At this momentous crisis, this apparent last period of his life, he wrote his "Age of Reason," to the great terror of all bigots, and to the illumination of the mind of every free inquirer after truth. It is difficult to distinguish between the comparative importance of his political and his theological writings; but in effect they seem to be equal; in design they have the same object, the improvement, and welfare, and happiness of the human race. His views were not confined to one country: his benevolent and comprehensive mind embraced the whole of mankind. His motives and his manners were ever Republican in the fullest degree of the word.

The English Government was too wicked and corrupt to harbour such a man within the pale of its powers. He was

outlawed for having written his "Rights of Man." Honourable conduct brings honours on its possessor; and next to the honour of having written the "Rights of Man," may be rated the honour of an expulsion from within the pale of English Laws, and so corrupt a Government.

After the revolution was again destroyed in France, and a Military Despotism established, this unceasing advocate of Liberty sought again for shelter in the United States of America, under that Republic which his pen had both produced and fostered. But here he was pursued by the emissaries of the English Government, and his life embittered with a series of neglects, annoyances, and insults. One of the very best friends of man that ever lived suffered in his life-time the greatest ingratitude that was ever heaped upon one man by his fellow men. Because he had never sought after office in the Republic which he had formed, the creatures who had got into power, during his absence in Europe, affected not to know him on his return, and neglected to give him that protection and comfort which he, above all men, eminently deserved at their hands.

You, his admirers, of the Island of Great Britain, will not fail to do justice to the memory of your "famous countryman," this "Noble of Nature," as Mr. Cobbett calls him. Let your sense of duty overwhelm the ingratitude of the inhabitants of the United States! Cherish his memory, propagate his principles, and, above all things, teach them to your children, and you will not fail to have their blessings to add to the pure reflections of a well-spent life!

R. CARLILE.

AN ADDRESS

Spoken at the Anniversary Dinner, in London, to commemorate the Birth-day of THOMAS PAINE, January 29, 1821.

BY J. W. DUNSTONE.

IF e'er bright Muse! thy power has deign'd to shine
 On lays so humble, unadorn'd as mine,
 Assist me now, to sing the man whose mind
 By WISDOM form'd, by truth alone refined,
 To thee, would often raise the votive lay,
 His soul inspired by genuine FREEDOM's ray.

By FREEDOM's ray! Oh FREEDOM hither come,
 With me to strew with flowers his honour'd tomb;
 THEE, would he worship in the silent hour,
 To thee he'd bend and supplicate thy power;
 Not for himself alone he sought thy aid,
 No selfish thought his fervid mind e'er sway'd;
 But comprehending all, in one great plan
 He taught the world to know, "THE RIGHTS OF MAN."

Midst jarring wars in different climes he stood,
 The ready champion for the general good;
 Mild, though undaunted; firm, but not severe;
 He lent to every voice a ready ear;
 Prone to detect the sycophantic slave,
 In judgment, lenient; and though cautious, brave;
 Who first into a flame the embers fann'd
 That gave to FREEDOM's rule COLUMBIA's land.

MORALITY with placid mien attend,
 Inspire my song, which fain would laud thy friend;
 THEE in thy purity he most admired,
 The thoughts of thee his generous bosom fired,
 And in the fiery transport of the mind,
 "THE AGE OF REASON" burst upon mankind.
 Exposing all the follies of the crew,
 Whom thee, or true Religion never knew;
 Who pander all the sense by nature given,
 To worldly views, nor yield one thought to Heaven;
 Whose doctrines tend but to enslave the mind,
 Affright the feeble, and mislead the blind,
 The willing slaves of power, a tyrant band,
 Than locusts still more fatal to a land;
 By SUPERSTITION's aid they force a chain
 To fetter those who dare their rights maintain;
 Remorseless, cruel, persecuting, vile,
 By love of Gold inspired, and love of Guile,
 The sad reverse of all they ought to be,
 And all opposed MORALITY to thee!

This day EQUALITY we give to thee,
 Approach the hallow'd grave of PAINÉ with me;
 With cypress wreaths let every flowret bloom,
 To grace the precincts of his body's tomb;
 Come, with the MORAL DUTIES hand in hand,
 A soul-inspiring, honest-hearted band,
 And FREEDOM! LIBERTY! shall join the train,
 And lift the sadly pleasing votive strain.

This was the natal day of him who sleeps,
 Beneath the sod where TYRANNY still weeps;
 Then hither every VIRTUE wend your way,
 A last sad duty at his shrine to pay.

But, hark! whence those sounds on our silence now breaking,
 Like the breath of the west wind the foliage shaking;
 'Tis the hum of those myriads who join in the Song!
 Which to PAINE, and to all kindred spirits belong;
 EQUALITY! FREEDOM! MORALITY! see
 The homage of nations, is paying to THEE,
 While the time it shall come when no longer in war,
 Shall the demon of discord hurl terrors from far,
 But PEACE sweetly smiling, revisit the earth,
 And all shall rejoice on the day of thy birth,
 Shall hail THEE! who dared COMMON SENSE to maintain,
 And give blessings and plaudits eternal to PAINE!

REFLECTIONS MORAL AND POLITICAL.

(Continued from p. 79.)

Or suppose a dispute to arise between a party whose land adjoins the society's, and that society; and such difference might be adjusted by the society giving up or paying a trifle; but the six being rich, haughty, and consequential, would rather contest the point, at the risk of losing one of their shares, than to seem to submit to any other party, whose rank and power they did not consider equal to their own; for if they were to acknowledge their error, or to give way in the least, it then might appear that their consequence and pride were lessened. This arbitrary disposition, which is always produced by pride, might cause the society an expence of some hundreds of pounds, and then, if they were to compel each person (not the shares mind) to pay an equal share of the loss it would be but triflingly felt by the six who are rich, but the nineteen who are poor would feel it severely.

Now, if the six had retained only one vote each, instead of twenty-one votes, then the other nineteen would have been a check on that arbitrary feeling which pride and riches always produce, And all would have an equal interest in the society in proportion to their shares; for if one gained a profit of five pounds by his share, he who held four would gain twenty; and an equal right in making the laws would also tend to check arbitrary and haughty members from creating disputes and contentions in the society.

Just the same will it be with a nation when its members are to have a power in making the laws in proportion to their property. And this is precisely the case with the English system of govern-

ment. For that class of men who have the greatest share in the wealth of the country consists of men called Peers of the Realm, and they constitute what is called the House of Lords. Their number is about three hundred and seventy-five, and they have a power equal to that of about twenty-two millions of persons. These twenty-two millions are supposed to be represented in what is called the Commons' House, which is intended to act as a check on the Lords, so that neither the one nor the other can make a law without both consent to it. Here, then, we see that because these three hundred and seventy-five individuals have immense property, or possess half the land in the country, they pretend to have as much interest and anxiety for the welfare of it, and claim as much right to an equal power in making the laws for it, as the twenty-two millions!

But this is not the extent of the evil in this system of government; it not only gives the Lords a power equal to the Commons, but it also gives them the right of nominating the majority of the members in the House of Commons. About one hundred and forty-four of them do actually nominate three hundred members: one hundred and eighty-seven more members forming a majority, are nominated by government and one hundred and twenty-three rich individuals; consequently, the three hundred and seventy-five peers have the whole power, without any check whatever, to make such laws and to form such a government as they themselves may think necessary and proper.

Now, if these individuals have the same interest, advantage, and disadvantage, in all the laws which they do or might make in proportion to their shares or property in the country, then the danger would not be so great, or perhaps there might not be any; but if we find their interest is diametrically opposite to that of the twenty-two millions, what else can be expected but disaffection, disorder, confusion, and misery?

We will suppose that these lordly legislators should have a desire to enlarge the territory of the nation of which they are the rulers, on a supposition that it might be an advantage to the nation and to themselves, and if it were not, at least it would be sure to add to their power and profit, which would be a sufficient stimulus to them to make the attempt; for the desire of power is so common, that we see when men have a little they want more, and when they have a great deal they want a great deal more; in what way is the territory of this nation to be enlarged except by taking from some other, either by a mutual agreement between the two, or by force? If by the former, it is right; if the latter, wrong. But whenever we find rich men who thirst after increased riches and power, we also find in them ambition, which, when directed to improper objects, is one of the principal causes of all the evils that exist in society.

Therefore, if none but the rich are the rulers, and in them lurks

that deadly ambition which may lead them to make a claim where they have no right, they will then endeavour to establish that right by force, and this will produce contention and war, misery and bloodshed.

To carry on this contention or warfare which ambition has created, would probably require the lives of many of the people; at all events, it would require money of all, for continuing and defraying the expences of the contest. And if these ambitious rulers make a law and decide who are to pay these expences, and in what proportion each shall contribute towards them; if they should charge them on *persons*, instead of *property*, by levying taxes on the common necessities of life, that the poor must pay the same proportion as the rich; and if such expences as are collected in the name of taxes should go on increasing until the poor are deprived of nearly all the necessities of life, and then become the slaves to the rich; and that those of little property, and those in the middle ranks of society, should be fast falling into a state of wretchedness and slavery; and become the mere creatures and property of the rich; will not ambition have obtained its object one way, if force could not obtain it the other?

Or, to put the matter in another point of view, if the circulating capital, or the money in the country, whether it be gold, silver, or copper, or all of them, be only just a sufficiency for its intended purpose, and this contention or warfare should require a large proportion of it to be expended in other nations; then the prices of the produce of the country would be reduced in proportion to the quantity of money in circulation. Money being an article in trade for barter, the same as every other production of the earth, it would always produce a larger quantity of the necessities or luxuries of life, in proportion to its scarcity; and then, the consequence would be that if the rich created and persevered in such contentions and wars, it would in proportion to the expence, or in proportion to the quantity of money drawn out of the country, lower the value of their lands and riches, which would be a sure check to their ambition.

But when we see the contrary is the fact, that instead of war being any way oppressive on the rich, by reducing the value of their lands or property in proportion to the expence it incurs, it increases the value, it heaps wealth upon wealth on the rich, and want upon want on the poor; that the rich have a great interest in promoting it, and the poor have none; that the one it enriches, the other it enslaves; while we see this to be the effect of war, can we wonder that we should have seen and heard of the long continuance of it, and of the desire which ambitious rulers and rich men have always had to create contention and warfare?

War must necessarily cause the nation to expend a sum of money to defray its expences. The sum required for the purpose would be in proportion to the power it has to contend with, and

the duration of the war. And if all persons were compelled to subscribe to the expences in proportion to their property or riches, all would then equally bear the burthen, and all would be anxious to prevent war and restore peace.

But if war creates a market for money, or a system of trafficking in money, and rich men having money in their coffers to lend, there being no other constant market for hire, their interest would then be to promote war, that they may lend on interest their unemployed money. Although money may at all times be kept in circulation in a nation by bartering for houses, lands, articles of consumption, or manufactured goods, yet, if the markets were glutted with these things of barter, the value of them would be lowered, and instead of a certainty of gaining an interest for the money so laid out or employed, it would be a speculation whether they would gain or not. Therefore, if monied men are the rulers of a nation, they will be very desirous of creating a money market, where some profit is always certain.

To establish a market for trading in money, or a market for lending of it, there must first be a scarcity of the article; the quantity must be reduced before people will go to market to hire it on interest.

Various are the ways of doing this. Suppose, for instance, the metal currency of a country were twenty millions, and only sixteen millions of it were wanted to be in circulation, the remaining four millions, being a superabundance or a surplus which is not required for immediate use, would be kept in store in case of necessity. It would rest in the coffers of those who were rich or who had more than their use required. Now, if the monied men are the rulers of a nation, is it not very probable that they will have a wish that some national expences might be incurred which would require the use of these four millions? And would not they be glad to lend to the nation at an interest? For, whether the expences are occasioned by war or any thing else, is of no matter to those whose only object is their own gain.

If the will of a nation were its power, would it ever be so absurd as to borrow four millions of money when it had four millions in store? for by collecting, in the name of taxes, four millions from the sixteen which is in circulation, money would become scarce, and the four millions laid up in store would become valuable and in request, and then it would be brought into circulation.

But by creating a great national expenditure, one that will require twelve millions of money, and that to be suddenly drawn out of its regular circulation, the depression it would leave on trade would be so quick and sudden, that at first sight it would seem better to borrow that sum for the nation; because, the nation could better afford to pay the interest than to realize the capital. Yet, when we consider that although the money which is

borrowed, is absolutely borrowed of the nation, that if there are but twenty millions of money capital in a nation, and twelve of that should be required to be expended out of its regular course of circulation, whether that is drawn out by taxes levied on all in proportion to their property, or whether it is borrowed of all those who have it to lend, the fact of its being gone must be the same, there must be twelve millions less in circulation, and the effects produced by its loss must be precisely the same. Therefore, it clearly shews that there was something else in contemplation which this expenditure and borrowing system would certainly produce.

And what else was it but to produce a paper-currency in its stead? The rulers of the English nation did draw the metal currency out of its regular trade, by borrowing it of individuals on interest. The rich who have lent much are incorporated as a Bank Company, with liberty to make and issue their bank notes to an unlimited number; these pieces of paper, or notes, simply say, I promise to pay on demand, at the Bank, twenty shillings, or whatever the sum may be: now when we all know that cash can at any time be obtained for these notes when demanded, no one then cares whether they take them, or cash, for each will exchange or buy the same quantity of the produce of the country; and by establishing this confidence in the Bank, it can put into circulation any quantity it chuses.

Here, then, we see that rich men are the governors of the Bank; that rich men are the rulers of the nation, and that rich men lend their money to them; it is therefore clear that this system of expenditure and paper-money has been produced by rich men, and it generally happens, that when any one class of men have the establishing or the producing of any new system, they have some interested motive in it.

(To be continued.)

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Age of Reason, Rights				A Little Radical	0	0	6
of Man, and Com-				A Friend to Liberty	0	0	6
mon Sense (J.				A Friend to Humanity	0	0	6
H.)	0	2	6	A Friend to Truth	0	1	0
Doctor Sangrado, a				One averse to Perse-			
Dissenter from all				cution	0	2	0
Dissenters	0	5	0	E. Johnson	0	1	0
A Man who wishes all				Reason	0	2	0
well	0	2	0	A Church Warden	0	1	0
<i>A Subscription of a few Friends at Marsden, who are desirous of seeing Religious Liberty throughout the World, and of aiding the Comforts of Mr. Richard Carlile, now a Prisoner in Dorchester Gaol.</i>							
A Free Thinker	1	0	0	James Holden	0	2	0
A Friend to Religious				James Harker	0	1	0
Liberty	1	0	0	Samuel Simpson	0	1	0
An Enemy to Tyranny				Jacobus Talure, jun.	0	2	0
and Oppression	1	0	0	Jonathan Scawthorn	0	1	0
A Friend to Liberty	0	5	0	John France	0	1	0
An Enemy to Corrup-				Robert Taylor	0	1	0
tion	0	5	0	An Enemy to Excessive			
An Enemy to the Bridge-				Taxation	0	1	0
Street Rascals	0	1	0	Christopher Russell	0	1	0
A Friend to all good				Joseph Brearley	0	1	0
things	0	3	0				

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
John Buckley	0	1	0	John Ashton	0	0	6
Frederick Hansom	0	1	0	John Horton	0	0	6
J. Shaw, a Real Re- former	0	1	0	A Friend to Justice	0	2	6
John Davies	0	1	0	William Holroyd	0	2	6
Abraham Horsfall, D. D.	0	6		Joseph Carter	0	0	3
John Truman	0	0	6	John Myers	0	0	6
Edward Rayner	0	0	6	A Friend	0	1	0
Philip Shaw	0	1	0	An Enemy to Tyranny	0	1	0
James Horsfall	0	1	0	Abraham Liversedge	0	1	0
A Friend to Truth and Justice	0	0	6	A Friend to Carlile	0	1	0
				A Free Thinker	0	2	6
				B. Holroyd	0	2	0

By the Friends of Freedom at Aldmondbury.

John Dearden	0	1	6	James Butterworth	0	0	6
Wm. Boothroyd	0	1	0	The Laws of Nature	0	1	0
To Enjoy is to Obey	0	1	0	J. C. Broadbent	0	1	0
An Enemy to Perse- cution	0	1	0	Daniel Thorp Sharp	0	1	0
A Friend or Two in Kaye Lane	0	1	6	Edward Harling	0	0	6
A Lover of Freedom	0	1	3	Old Sam Buckley	0	1	0
An Enemy to Kings and Priests	0	1	3	Joseph Moss	0	0	6
A Lover of Freedom	0	1	6				
Trial by Jury	0	1	6				
						0	17
				Marsden Subscription	5	9	3
				Huddersfield ditto	5	14	0
						£.12	0
							3

London Subscriptions received by the Committee, (continued).

Providence	0	1	0	T. Jefferys, ditto	0	0	3
By the hand of Mr. H.	0	2	0	G. Stanley, ditto	0	0	3
Ditto of Mr. Watts	0	2	6	— King, ditto	0	0	3
Wm. Stote and Rich. Humphreys	0	2	0	A. Wall, ditto	0	0	3
Mr. Marbeth	0	2	6	Elfrow	1	3	0
Jno. Meredith	0	5	0	A Friend	1	0	0
William Marshall	0	2	0	New Year's Gift	0	0	6
G. Hall	0	1	0	God save Carlile	0	2	6
Jno. Birch	0	0	6	A Friend	0	2	2
H. Medley	0	2	6	J. Buckley	0	1	0
T. Bowyer, Deist and Republican	0	0	3	Jno. Bartlett	0	1	6
R. Kenzie, ditto	0	0	3	Mr. Wilkinson	0	1	0
W. Pavey, ditto	0	0	3	What every Man ought to do	0	0	2
W. Cox, ditto	0	0	3	I'll call for a Book some Day	0	2	6

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Parkley	0	1	0	D. Z.	0	2	0
Fifth Payment of T. O.				For Miss C.	0	1	0
K. to keep open the				A Coal-heaver's Week-			
brave Mr. Carlile's				ly Subscription	0	0	6
Shop	0	2	0	Anonymous	0	0	6
C. W. Suiet, Esq. a				Ditto	0	0	1
profound Deist, now				Ditto	0	0	4
a Resident in France	0	10	0	W. H. (weekly)	0	0	1
A Friend	0	5	0	A Friend	0	0	1
Popp'd in the Hole	0	1	0	Success to Carlile	0	0	6
H. Noss	0	0	6	J. C. (monthly)	0	2	0
The Ropemakers at				W. T.	0	1	0
Shadwell	0	11	4	B. T.	0	1	0
Mr. K.	0	2	0	A. Ferguson	0	1	0
Ditto	0	2	0	A Well-wisher	0	2	6
Ditto 2d Subscription	2	0	0	Old Nurse	0	0	6
Wm. Stote and R.				A Friend	0	0	6
Humphreys	0	2	0	T. Watson	0	0	6
God is unchangeable;				T. Cracknell	0	1	0
in him is neither va-				A Friend who thinks			
riableness or sha-				Deists are ill-used	0	2	6
dows of a turning;				A Deist	0	0	1
he is the same yes-				G. D.	0	0	6
terday, to-day, and				R. Scott	0	0	6
for ever: God is not				A Farmer of the Bank			
a man, that he				of Quait, a Friend			
should lie, nor the				of Reform, and an			
son of man, that he				Enemy to Oppres-			
should repent.—D.				sion	1	0	0
King, an Admirer of				I wish you Luck	0	0	2
Reason	0	1	0	Anonymous	0	0	6
God repented that he				Ditto	0	0	6
made man, and was				Ditto	0	0	4
sorry, and it grieved				A Deist and Republican	0	4	3
him to the heart;				W. Rawlings	0	5	0
and God repented				G. W.	0	2	0
him of that which he				Mr. Watts	0	3	1
said he would do,				H. Nursa	0	0	6
and the thing which				Mr. Rayner	0	0	6
he said he would do				J. J.	0	10	0
he did it not.—D.				God bless Carlile, 2d			
King, a Disbeliever				Subscription	0	2	6
that God can either				Anonymous	0	1	0
lie or repent, and a				J. Cobbett	0	1	0
Detester of Blas-				Per Mr. Watling	0	1	0
phemy	0	1	0	A Left-off Quaker	0	1	0
A Friend	0	0	6				

Subscriptions received at 55, Fleet Street, where a Committee sits every Monday evening, from six to ten o'clock, for that and other purposes connected with the Subscription, or through the medium of the post in Dorchester Gaol.

R. Carlile acknowledges the receipt of one shilling for Robert Wedderburn, which he sent to the Keeper of this Prison, and which has again formed an important matter for the consideration of the Magistrates of the county of Dorset, at their late Quarter Sessions at Blandford, as to whether it would be proper for the Keeper to give or send this shilling to Wedderburn himself, or to return it to the said Richard Carlile for to be sent through the Dorchester Post Office, in which course it would have to pass twice through the said Keeper's hands. After a long deliberation it was decided, that Richard Carlile should send the shilling he had received for Robert Wedderburn to him through the Dorchester Post Office, for the purpose of adding a penny to Mr. Nicholas Vansittart's revenue, and that the said Keeper should again return the shilling to Richard Carlile for that purpose.

Mr. Wedderburn's imprisonment expires in the month of May next: he will then have borne an imprisonment of two years for having spoken irreverently of the Jew Moses, the Jew Jesus, and some other Jews, whose vices are narrated in the Jew Books. His imprisonment has been made as solitary as it was possible to be made in this Gaol. He has borne it with the greatest fortitude, and R. Carlile would particularly recommend his constancy to the encouragement of the friends of free discussion.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Huddersfield, Jan. 18, 1822.

It is with no small degree of pleasure that I address you, as the organ of a few Friends to Civil and Religious Liberty, who have long felt the propriety and necessity of entering into a subscription to assist in enabling you to bear up against that tide of oppression, imprisonment and fines imposed upon you and your family by men interested in supporting and fostering error, and in putting down by the strong arm of power, all those who honestly endeavour to inform the ignorant, and to dispel the mist from the eyes of those that are labouring under the grossest delusion. We do not arrogate to ourselves infallibility, yet we know of no

other mode of acquiring truth, but that of serious and fearless investigation.

I merely intimated to our friends that I conceived the present a proper term for putting our wishes into effect, to which they cheerfully acceded. I therefore enclose you the sum of Twelve Pounds, the particulars of which are on the other side. You will perceive that we have been ably supported by a few friends at Marsden, a village seven miles from here, *who are most hearty in your cause*. I shall feel happy to receive a line from you upon the receipt of this that I may be assured it has reached you in safety; with my best wishes to Mrs. Carlile, yourself, and sister, I remain on behalf of your friends in this neighbourhood,

Your faithful Fellow Citizen,

ABEL HELLOWELL,

Tin Plate Worker, Manchester Street.

P.S. I am in expectation of something more being done for you, whatever it is, I will carefully forward it.

TO MR. A. HELLOWELL, TIN-PLATE WORKER,
MANCHESTER STREET, HUDDERSFIELD.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 16th, 1822.

FRIEND AND CITIZEN,

YESTERDAY'S post brought me your letter and contents to the amount of £12., for which you will accept my thanks, in conjunction with all my friends at Huddersfield, Aldmondbury, and Marsden.

Your communication has given me a double pleasure; it has convinced me again that my humble efforts to propagate truth, or, at least, to incite discussion that may lead to it, has not been vain, even in a quarter where I had no knowledge that a single publication of mine had reached, and where even the name of any one inhabitant was unknown to me, until a friend at Leeds lately sent me your name, as a friend to Civil and Religious Liberty: it further displays to our enemies, that the wicked clamour about blasphemy and sedition can no longer prejudice and brutalize the minds of the friends of Human Liberty, who are determined to think and inquire upon all matters for themselves, instead of yielding up their reasoning faculties to the

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keeping of Priests and Tyrants. It is thus I have a double pleasure in your communication and support.

Every day brings me some fresh stimulus to perseverance in the grand cause of demanding a free discussion on all points of interest to mankind, and of putting it into practice. I begin to feel strength from the number of good and virtuous men who rally round me with their names and support, and daily increase in number.

My principles are simple in the extreme, and intelligible to every man who will look at them. In political Government, I contend for the Representative System, which, to be perfect and pure, requires to be extended, in the right of suffrage, to every man, and that magistrates, as well as legislators, shall be the choice of the people, and not the dictation of individuals or factions. In matters of religion or philosophy, I hold that every man is not only entitled to hold what opinions he pleases, but to communicate those opinions to any other man disposed to listen to or examine them. I reject all controul over the mind of man. Nothing but vicious actions can be justly amenable to restraint in social and political Government.

On these two points I challenge discussion and examination; and until any man can shew me that I am in error by other arguments than imprisonment and fines, I shall go on to propagate them to the fullest possible extent; and whilst I continue in this disposition, I flatter myself that my moral force will be strengthened with the continued support of the inhabitants of Huddersfield and its vicinity.

I am, Citizen and Friend,

Gratefully yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

I PURSUE my promise of addressing you weekly on the subject of the Book of Common Prayer, upon which you have written notes and comments. At the end of the work, you confess that you once doubted "the divine origin of the Christian Dispensation;" from which it may be inferred, that you were once a Deist or Atheist. Oh! how glad I am that my adversary hath written a book! May I

not enquire, Whether you, when you doubted the truth of the Christian Religion, ventured to express those doubts to others? or, Whether your view of law was then, as it is now, "*that every man might hold what opinions he pleases, but that he must not impeach the faith of others?*" This is an important question between you and me. Here we have it printed under your sanction that you once ventured to doubt the truth of the Christian Religion, and yet you have since had the conscience, the hypocrisy, and I might now add the villainy, to be the organ of sending me to this Gaol for three years, and of robbing me of property to the value of five thousand pounds; for doing the same thing, as you confess to all the world that you yourself have done. The difference is only this, we have no proof that you published your doubts at the time of holding them, and there is proof that I have so done. But am I less honest than you for publishing what I verily believed, and what I considered, and do now consider, to be of the very first importance to mankind, that they should have a full understanding upon the matter. Because you played the hypocrite, and probably professed what you did not believe, you escaped punishment, and because I have professed what you say you once believed, and what also I did believe and do now believe, you make yourself the base instrument of punishing me for not being so great a hypocrite as yourself, upon your own confession.

It would be well if we could ascertain the exact time that your doubts were removed. At the origin of the Vice Society, you were, I believe, what is called a Serjeant at Law, or a King's Serjeant, and your name is enrolled among the first subscribers. At least, I can say, that I have seen the name of Mr. Serjeant Bailey on a list of the members of that society printed in 1804; and I believe on another printed in 1802. The avowed object of that Association, among other things, went to prevent all calling in question the truths of the Christian Religion. Of course we might charitably suppose that your doubts were all removed before you subscribed to this association, and this would bring us forward to the time of your appointment as Serjeant at Law. It strikes me very forcibly, that it was this, or some such appointment, which tended to the removal of your doubts.

You say, at the conclusion of your book, that *It was commenced under a firm conviction, after doubt and examination, of the divine origin of the Christian Dispensa-*

tion: from this, it may be inferred, that you began to write your notes on the Book of Common Prayer soon after that conviction had taken place, and it is not probable, that until you found yourself settled in an elevation at the Bar or on the Bench, you could find time to write notes on such a subject. A mere lawyer or barrister's time, who has a few briefs, is generally occupied in a different way, and to me it appears evident, that the appointment to some office was the great cure of all your doubts about the truth of the Christian Religion, and the chief stimulus to your writing notes on the Book of Common Prayer. The depth of villainy seems too great to attribute to one man, to imagine that you formed one of the Vice Society at a time when you doubted the truth of the Christian Religion. I will not go so far as to imagine this. The Serjeant's coif is almost a sure prelude to the Scarlet Robes, and I will believe that Mr. Justice Bailey was made a Serjeant and a Christian at the same time.

The title of your book is, "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England; and the Sunday Lessons from the Old Testament: with Notes on the Epistles, Gospels, Psalms, and Lessons."

In the first place, I shall contend and shew that this book is a book of instructions for the practice of idolatry, according to the form of the Christian Church: in the second, that your notes upon it are mere nonsensical trash, and the effusions of a mind neither honest or sane.

All religion is idolatry: prayer, according to the sense of this book, is a part of religion, therefore prayer is idolatry. The first question is to whom are the prayers of this book addressed. The answer must be to Jehovah, to Jesus, and to some thing, or person, called the Holy Ghost, with the Communion of Saints. Now I contend there are none such animals or spirituals as these words seem to designate in existence, in any part of space. They are non-entities: they are imaginary idol gods: they never did exist after having passed the animal, in any other sensitive and distinguishable form. Beyond the books called the Old and New Testament, and the Jewish and Christian legends, with their forms of idolatry, we not only cannot find any proof of such existences, but we have no account of them; and every intelligent and honest enquirer after truth rejects the tales about them with a deserved contempt. Astronomy

denies those supposed existences any portion in space; and Chemistry has annihilated every idea of spiritual beings or essences being to be found in the material world. Thus those two sciences have completely kicked Jehovah, Jesus, the Holy Ghost, the Devil or Satan, with both good and evil spirits, quite out of existence, and the idolators are left to pray with empty heads and minds to non-entities! The person who prays acts the part of a madman, and something worse, for the latter is sometimes coherent and expresses himself so as to be understood, but the former never either understands what he is about, nor can he be understood by others.

The administration of the Sacraments, as they are called, are equally unintelligible and idolatrous, and are mere copies of the Eleusinean mysteries of the Pagan world, and a substitute for their horrid sacrifices of different animals human and inhuman. The love feasts, which were observed among the early Christians, were the substitutes for the rites, sacraments, and ceremonies performed in the Temple of Venus; and every thing in the early part of the Christian Religion was made to win the attachment of the Pagan multitude by assimilating it to their former manners and dispositions.

Under this view of your Book of Common Prayer and Notes, I shall not have to enter into any elaborate argument to support the position I have taken; I shall merely notice and ridicule the gross absurdities it contains, both in text and notes. For the present week I shall be content with the title-page, and the notice I have taken of your concluding observations as to your former doubts of the truths of the Christian Religion. This I consider quite enough for you and your admirers to ponder upon for one week: in the next, I shall produce something, on your part, equally incongruous and hypocritical, and so on until I have done with you.

Present my compliments to your mild, meek, and charitable brother, Best, and believe me to be the same as when we parted in the Court of King's Bench.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 13, 1822,
of the Era of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

P. S. I never doubt without reasons to support the act; but it appears that you doubted without reasons, and sought reasons to dispel that doubt in the Serjeant's Coif, and the Judge's Robe.

STODDART, DR., MURRAY AND SHARPE, *versus* THE TEMPLE OF REASON.

THIS triad of knaves have been at length convinced that they will foam their venom in vain against the Temple of Reason. It is impregnable to all their attacks, and its defenders smile with contempt at the puny efforts of their assailants.

Dr. Stoddart (I will leave off calling him *Stop* for the good he has done me) is furious and exhibits some danger and prognostics of hydrophobia. He not only curses but lies to excite the bigots and knaves to the battle. In quoting last week three passages from my publications, he wilfully altered one, and gave another a wrong designation. He stated that there was exposed in a pamphlet in the shop a phrase, "*The Factitious Jesus.*" The allusion was to the head of the article in the first number of "*The Republican,*" upon the birth-days of Thomas Paine, the real Englishman, and the factitious Jesus, the Jew. The word was written *factitious*, it was printed *factitious*, and the cunning Doctor by leaving out a syllable, has made it *factious*. The error in printing was of no consequence, as either word equally expressed my meaning, but to render *factitious* *factious* in a quotation could only have been done by Dr. Stoddart, or Murray, or Sharpe. The other false quotation was more in meaning than in manner. The Doctor stated, that he had laying before him my last "*Address to the Reformers,*" in which, among other things, was the following "*delectable*" passage: *Indeed it is surprising to me, that man, national man, should be led away by the tales of priests, resting on no better foundation than the book which is called the Bible!* There was but one slight misprint in this passage, and that was to make the word *rational* into *national*. What a national man is, as a matter of distinction, I must leave to the Doctor to say: he found no such word in my pamphlet. But the sentence was not in the "*Address to the Reformers,*" as the Doctor states, it was written in a letter to me by a very respectable farmer of Hambledon, in Hampshire, a Mr. Goldsmith, who, I know, will not feel ashamed of Dr. Stoddart's noticing it in the way he has done. But, in the very same day's paper, the Doctor strikes a terrible blow himself at the Christian Religion, in an extract from the petition of a Mr. Loveday to the French Chamber

of Deputies, upon the subject of having had his daughter seduced to the Catholic Religion: In this extract I found the following designation of the Christian Religion: "Odious superstition, which seems destined to plunge France once more into the gloom of ignorance and the horrors of fanaticism: Deputies of a Nation on which such brilliant lights have shone, and which has given birth to so many great men, Would you credit it? It is the history of a Jew and a prostitute." This is the designation of the Christian Religion, I find in Dr. Stoddart's paper. I read it repeatedly, and could not make any other meaning of it, although it would seem the latter member of a sentence referred to some legend of the Christians, and not to the origin of the Christian Religion, as Mr. Hone has announced an explanation of the phrase. With me it is a true designation of the Christian Religion. No words could have been better thrown together for that purpose: but I do not mean to say that the writer of the petition wished to convey the impression I received from his words. At any rate it was an attack upon the Christian Religion, and I hope the Vice Society will indict Dr. Stoddart for a blasphemous libel in giving circulation to such an expression. I begin to fear the Doctor will come back to his old professions, and try to draw off the support I receive, by a more violent attack upon the Christian Religion than that which I am now making. He is a complete renegade for the best pay: like a Swiss soldier. His abuse and impudence would be admirably fitted to cut up the bigots. I would rather take the Doctor into my firm, or my gang, as his present rival the "Old Times" calls it, than he should open in the same way for himself, and I hereby offer to negotiate with him for that purpose, if he will send me his terms. I can assure him the concern will be more durable and more profitable than to belie his conscience in the support of kingcraft and priestcraft as he is doing at present. I will take in Robert Southey with him, as I think his poetry and his prose would operate most powerfully upon the bigots. I shall very soon print another threepenny edition of his Wat Tyler. The first edition of twenty-five thousand are all gone, save a few the Robber Rothwell stole from me. He has never written any thing to equal it since he quitted the "Satanic School."

But to return to Dr. Stoddart, Murray, and Sharpe. They still threaten to put me down, and I still respond that they cannot, they shall not. All the indictments which

they have lately obtained, or since my sister's case, in which they were defeated, have been upon one pamphlet, and they have occasioned such an excessive demand for it, that it is now nearly out of print. They cannot go to trial whilst Garratt is sheriff upon any one case, if they do, it will end in nothing, as all their former cases have done. I should like to know how much money they have left. I will lend them a few pounds rather than they shall stop, or rather than Sharpe shall become a third time bankrupt, and pay nothing as a dividend again. I hear that Castle-reagh has provided for him. They are birds of a feather. Murray and Pritchard had better join their concerns. They are equally favourites of Wilberforce.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 14, 1822.

TO MR. CARLILE.

" ————— Oh place! oh form!
How often dost thou with thy case, thy habit,
Wrench awe from fools, and tie the wiser souls
To thy false seeming! blood thou art but blood,
Let's write good angel on the devil's horn,
'Tis not the devil's crest."

MY DEAR SIR,

IT is a circumstance as obvious as it is true, and numberless might be the instances adduced to prove the fact, that what is evidence to one man is contradiction to another; and that which would convince this, makes a sceptic of that individual. And this difference of opinion appears to be absolutely necessary; as, if we all thought, we might all act alike, which, if it were not attended with much mischief to society, would, at least, deprive it of every stimulus to that inquiry which is indispensable to its improvement and knowledge.

It has been asserted by Christians in general, that had there been no other *revelation* than the Ten Commandments, it would have been sufficient to convince them of the existence of a supreme Being, possessing all the infinite and excellent attributes ascribed to deity; and also that the arrangement of these commands, as they respect our duty

towards God and one another, is such as could only be dictated by infinite goodness and wisdom.

Upon those commands which relate to our conduct towards each other, it is not my intention to comment, because there is not any thing to which I can object, so far as it regards their moral tendency; but surely there is nothing in them that shews the impress of the divine finger, nothing more than what the most uncivilized man of the least civilized society would have dictated, that had any notions of an exclusive right to acquired property, and of the love and respect due to the authors of our being, and our fellow men. To suppose, therefore, for a moment, that these commands were actually delivered by the hand of that Being, whom no man has seen, or can see, or comprehend, to any individual whatever, a candid perusal of the first four, which by Christians are considered the most important, and, consequently, the strongest testimony of divine authority, will prove to be the most preposterous of all inferences.

It has ever been an opinion of mine, my dear Sir, that no being, possessing real dignity and innate excellence, would either command, or court, the praise or adoration of other beings. He might, perhaps, receive it, but it would be that homage, or that adoration, which is freely given to intrinsic worth and excellence; and not that which is imperiously exacted to gratify false dignity and contemptible pride.

"Thou shalt have no other God besides me," is the peremptory, despotic language contained in the first, and what is termed the *grand* commandment; but instead of its being enforced by a lively and conciliatory description of the character and attributes of a being, who, in another part of these writings, is emphatically termed *love*, a gloomy representation is set forth, and repeated again and again; lest, it would almost appear, mankind should imbibe too high and favourable an opinion of him, whom they are thus called upon exclusively to adore. And this leads me to the consideration of the second of these commands, which appears to me so much the more objectionable than the first, as it contains a grosser libel against the divine mind than any uttered throughout the *sacred* volume.

After the following injunctions, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them," the Deity is made to say, "for I the Lord thy God am a *jealous* God, *visiting the*

iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments."

To say nothing of the gross injustice, or, rather, of the destruction of all equity, that would follow the punishment of the innocent for the guilty, every day's experience shews the fallacy of the declaration, that "the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children." Nay, it is flatly contradicted in another part of this very book. "And Moses returned unto the Lord, and said, Oh! this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou *wilt*, forgive their sin; and if not, blot *me*, I pray thee, out of thy book, which thou hast written. And the Lord said unto Moses, whosoever *hath sinned against me, him* will I blot out of my book." And, in another place, "Doth not the Lord thy God send rain on *the evil and on the good*; and make the sun to shine on *the just and on the unjust*?" It is almost an insult offered to the good sense of your readers, to make any comment upon, what I might justly term, the *blasphemous* clause contained in this command, where the Deity is said to be a *jealous* God; for surely, to say nothing of the utter impossibility of any thing like passion pertaining to the divine mind, and, least of all, the contemptible one of jealousy, the most stupid being in existence would have an object some way worthy of such a feeling, how much more so, admitting, for argument's sake, the possibility of his being rivalled, the infinite Creator of all worlds. But of whom is he said to entertain so vile a passion? Of graven images—of gods made by human hands—of senseless and misshapen figures of wood and of stone!!! But enough of such monstrous absurdities and degrading representations of a Being who is infinite in all the great and glorious attributes of perfect love, wisdom, and benevolence.

The next command that presents itself to our notice and consideration is couched in the following language: "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him *guiltless* that taketh his name in vain." We can hardly conceive any thing more silly, or, at least, more unnecessary, than a command forbidding the profanation of a name which has never yet been communicated to us.

The declaration of Moses, where he says that the Almighty represented himself as "I AM THAT I AM," is too

contemptible to have proceeded from the mouth of an infinitely wise Being. It reminds me of the way in which the fair sex is said to argue, or rather, to prove a thing—*It is so, because it is so*. In fact, it demonstrates at one view, either that the Almighty was incapable of designating himself by any appropriate term; or else, that Moses was a gross impostor. And this brings me to the fourth, and last command, which I intend noticing. “Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is; and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.” A good and wholesome command this, so far as it respects the observing of it as a day of recreation or rest from labour; the objection we have arises from what is said to have occasioned it, viz. the *rest* which an infinitely powerful Being took from labours that are described more like those of a conjuror than of a Divine Being. And although Christians pretend to see great beauty and sublimity in the command, and in the expression that contains the fulfilment of that command, “Let there be light, and there was light,” yet, for my own part, I must confess, that nothing appears to me more like the *hocus pocus* of a trickster; unless, indeed, we suppose the command to be given to some other power; which, in this case, would prove that it was not the Almighty who made the universe, consequently, that he required no rest from any such labours: but if the Deity is not giving the command to some other power, I must observe once again, that nothing appears so truly silly and unworthy the great and exalted character of omnipotent wisdom, than that he should be represented as commanding himself.

But, however it be, the command appears, practically, to concern Heathens as much as it does Christians; for neither one nor the other observe this, or, indeed, any of the preceding commands, which, in my humble opinion, is the greatest of all proofs that they never emanated from Deity; because an infinitely wise, benevolent, and omniscient Being would never give laws that he knew either would not or could not be obeyed.

The command, “Thou shalt have no other God beside

me," the Trinitarian Christian will say is most sacredly observed by him, although his creed compels him to profess that he believes in God the Father, God the Son; and God the Holy Ghost. The Catholic will declare as much of the second, although he is daily bowing his knee to various graven images. And both of them will as solemnly aver their strict observance of the third, although each is in the habit of using the name, by which they call upon their triune Deity for the most ignoble of purposes, that of naming streets and houses, squares and churches, colleges and corporations, rows and lanes: while the fourth is not only disregarded altogether, but, as though Christian professors of every denomination were willing to render their disobedience and opposition to this command of the Deity as conspicuous as possible, instead of observing the seventh day as one of recreation or rest, it is made the most laborious of any throughout the week.

So much for the Christian's consistency. He receives laws according to his own account from Deity, and which therefore can never require either alteration or the least modification whatever, for says the Almighty, "Have I not said and shall it not be established;" and Christ, "Heaven and earth shall pass away sooner than one tittle of the law shall fail:" and yet our modern Christians do not hesitate to break, and, which is the same thing, to modify the commands of an infinitely wise and immutable Being, and, what is worse, to persecute their fellow-men for setting forth their errors, or not conforming to their dogmas.

But we have not yet to learn, that Christianity, like every other religion, is maintained at the expence of the fears and pockets of the great bulk of its professors; and while it continues so to do, every opinion, however liberal and worthy the consideration of mankind, if it appears at all to militate against the erroneous doctrines of the day, and the interests of those who propagate them, will be cried down as blasphemous and Atheistical; and no longer than it operates upon either of these, no longer will it be encouraged or supported by the great and powerful.

"Great is Diana of the Ephesians," said certain champions of that goddess, whose image, it was as firmly averred, "came down from heaven," as that the man Christ did. And for a similar reason; because, in the former instance, those who proclaimed Diana's greatness were the "craftsmen, who received no small gains from the silver shrines they made for her;" and in the latter instance, those who pro-

claim the modern system of Christianity to be "glad tidings of great joy to all people," are the priests, or *crafty-men*, whose gains from their impostures are as immense as they are infamously oppressive. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians;" and, without at all examining the truth of such a declaration, the credulous Ephesians believed it. "Glad tidings of great joy to all people is Christianity," we hear resounded again and again from the rostrums of the temples of every sect and denomination of Christians, and the people are equally as credulous as the followers of Diana. Like the honest sailor of old, who, when asked whether he credited the story of Jonah and the whale, replied, "Certainly I do; for I remember our Priest saying that it was strictly true: and had he told us, *that Jonah had swallowed the whale*, instead of the whale having swallowed Jonah, and that he vomited it up whole and alive again, after having been three days and as many nights in his belly, I should as readily have believed it." I repeat again, that, like this poor simple individual, Christian professors gulp down, as easily as the whale is said to have done Jonah, every doctrine that is advanced by their Priests, let it be as absurd, contradictory, and preposterous, as that of Jonah and the whale; of Moses and the bush; of the wrestling of the Deity with Father Jacob; of Moses talking face to face with the Deity, as one man talketh to another; of the great Creator of the universe dictating the form and fashion of cloaks and breeches, of smocks and petticoats, snuffers and candlesticks, grates and tongs, spoons and pans, circumcision and uncircumcision, dung-holes and dung-paddles, or any other such pretty stories, of which there are not a few, contained in the sacred volume.

Who that has ever heard or read an exposition of the faith and hope of the modern Christian, does not shrink appalled at the recollection of the dreadful doctrines enforced; and affrighted, or disgusted, at the effrontery of the wretch who dared to advance them as "glad tidings of great joy to all people." Glad tidings! what! when it is solemnly declared that no man can be saved but by Christ; and that those who have not received him as their saviour, and been washed with his blood, shall perish everlastingly? "Glad tidings to all people!" Surely not to the myriads of human beings that have never heard even the name of Christ, nor ever will hear it! Glad tidings of great joy! What a hellish, fiend-like mind must that being possess, who can assert Christianity to be such, when, at the same time, he declares

it teaches even the everlasting tortures of hell-fire to be the portion of innocent babes, that never lived long enough to know the difference between virtue and vice, and, consequently, could never have sinned even in thought! Glad tidings of great joy! Surely not to the affectionate husband, and the loving partner of his bosom, at the dreadful prospect which futurity presents to their view, when the one or the other, or both, together with their much-loved offspring, and esteemed relatives and friends, may, for aught they know, be doomed to everlasting torment and woe! Christianity glad tidings of great joy to all people! Rather the most woeful announcement that could possibly reach their ears—the bitterest curse that the most diabolical demon of the infernal regions could entail upon mankind. Glad tidings! No, not more such to those who are saved, than to those who are damned; for surely that being must be destitute of every thing like human feeling, who, even though he may be satisfied in himself that he is one of those elected for eternal bliss, could remain happy a single moment of his existence under the impression, that the greatest part of mankind, and amongst them his dearest friends and relatives, were doomed to suffer everlasting, indescribable torments.

Such, however, with little variation and few exceptions, are the doctrines promulgated throughout Christendom in the nineteenth century; and as though the Priesthood were willing to try how far they could impose upon the credulity of mankind, it has been impiously urged by them that the cries and yellings and gnashing of teeth of the damned in hell, shall sound as much to the glory of God as the praises and hallelujahs of the *blessed* in heaven!

So much for modern Christianity and the Christian's God; and yet Deists, for opposing such monstrous dogmas, so dishonourable to the great and benevolent Creator of the universe, are termed infidels and blasphemers. Blasphemers, forsooth! If the term blasphemy has any definite meaning, convey any idea, or has any signification whatever, it surely applies to those doctrines of Christianity, of which we have given but a very faint outline. Deists blasphemers, indeed! Yes, if to expose the fallacy of such declarations, and the hypocrisy of those who make them, be blasphemy—if to vindicate the sacred character of the infinitely wise, just, and benevolent Parent of all flesh from aspersions as dishonourable as they are opposed to his nature and attributes, be such, then indeed is the epithet justly be-

stowed; and Deists need not be ashamed of the appellation. As to the charge of infidelity, it need only be observed, that like that of blasphemy, it is the property of another party; nor will Deists ever think of claiming it, until, like the advocates of Christianity, they profess one thing and believe another; and vilify and persecute their fellow-men for the non-observance of those commands which themselves do not in the least hesitate to break as often as it suits their views and purposes. Christians, persecutors! Why surely this is a contradiction in terms; a thing as impossible as that vice can be virtue—good, evil; as impossible, as that the genuine followers of him, whose language was, "Love even your enemies; do good to them which hate you; bless them that curse you; and pray for them that despitefully use you. Even unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again. And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them. For if ye love them that love you, what merit have ye? for sinners also love those that love them: but be ye merciful, even as your Father in heaven is merciful. Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned; but forgive, and ye shall be forgiven;" should be found amongst those wretches, the bane and pest of society, who, instead of going about "to relieve the fatherless and the widow in their affliction," the poor and destitute in their sickness and calamity, are either seeking for objects on whom they may gratify their savage malignity by persecuting them for difference of opinion; or are "devouring widows' houses" the scanty pittance which the hand of Charity has left behind it for the support of the destitute and friendless orphans; together with the property of their fellow-men, and "for a pretence, make long prayers."

The motives, however, which actuate these men, in their diabolical persecutions and misrepresentations of Deists, arise from the very same cause that actuated the interested hypocrites of Ephesus: and I cannot set them in a better light than by quoting the writer of the Acts of Christ's Apostles. "A certain man, named Demetrius, a silver-smith, who made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain to the craftsmen, whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, *Sirs, ye know, that by this craft we have our wealth.* Moreover, ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded the people, saying, *That*

they are no Gods which are made with hands: (and he might have added, by human invention) so that this our craft is in danger to be set at nought." Thus it is evident that the diabolical malignity with which these men pursue those who are bold and honest enough to follow the dictates of conscience, and to defend the truth, arises not from any zeal they have for Christianity in the abstract; but for the *honours* and wealth impiously heaped upon those who dare to advance doctrines the most mischievous and inimical to the welfare and happiness of mankind.

But I perceive I am wandering from the subject with which I set out; and I therefore return to it by observing, that if further proof be required that the Jewish laws were not delivered to them by the Deity, reference must be given to the Prophets themselves, especially to Isaiah and Jeremiah, who flatly contradict every thing of the kind. "To what purpose," says Isaiah, "is the multitude of your sacrifices, saith the Lord, when ye come to appear before me, *who hath required them at your hand?*" And Jeremiah, "For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, saith the Lord, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, *concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices.*" It may, therefore, as reasonably and fairly be inferred, from the above statement, that if Moses imposed on the Jewish people in one instance, he did in every other; especially, when we reflect, that with very few exceptions, the communications pretended to have been received by this man were of the most silly, cruel, and frequently of the most disgusting nature; and therefore derogatory to the sacred character of the great and universal Parent. Let man, therefore, leave the vain and absurd doctrines, traditions, professions, catechisms, creeds; and articles of *faith*, and follow the simple dictates of nature and of reason, which teach, that the Lord our God requires of us nothing more nor less than "to do justice, to love mercy, and to conduct ourselves with becoming humility."

With every sentiment of the most heart-felt admiration and esteem, I subscribe myself yours truly,

T. WHITWORTH.

Gottenburg.

The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 27,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

BEFORE this reaches you the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine will have again passed by, and you will have done yourselves the honour to mark it as a festival: not a festival of intoxication and gluttony, as the Christians make on their particular days, but a festival of sentiment—a feast for the mind, (not the soul, we know nothing about souls) a festival of reason. A fortnight will elapse before I shall be able to give an outline of what passes in various parts of the country on that occasion; but the information I have received of the various intended assemblies in various parts of the country on that day, will present a very different picture from what has hitherto been displayed on similar occasions. The Christians say there is no other name but that of Jesus by which mankind can be saved from spiritual corruption and eternal torment; we know this to be all nonsense and delusion, but we tell them to a certainty, that there is no other name or no other principles but those connected with the name of Thomas Paine that can save them from political corruption and torment throughout life. If they reject this name and these principles, they will not only retain all their present corruptions and distresses, but they will aggravate them until they are brought to a sense of the delusion and imposture under which they have so long suffered, and whence it has all emanated.

With the industrious labourers of Ireland, although they complain of heavy rents, it is evident, that the tithes and the taxes have been the means of opening their eyes as to the delusions and abuses which are practised upon them; and the cause which has goaded them to resistance and retaliation. The distresses of the farmers in this Island are ope-

rating to the same effect; and already they begin to seek instruction and the means of relief from those very men whose names they, in their prosperity, have execrated. That distress will increase until all those farmers are brought to the principles of Thomas Paine, and then they will see the means, and the only means, of relief and protection from future similar distresses. As far as this distress will tend to open the eyes of the farmers, it ought to form matter of exultation for us who have long seen the cause of it. We exult not in the sufferings which that distress occasions, but in the good effects it will produce by making the farmer look about him and see what sort of laws and Government those really are under which he lives, and what is a necessary system of Government to secure to him the property of his industry. We tell him that the only system of Government which can give him relief is the Representative System of Legislation and an Elective Magistracy.

A King, or Monarch, is a soldier; he cannot, in the present state of society, exist without a standing army of soldiers: he needs also an army of Priests, for his is a sort of joint profession of both the soldier and the Priest, and knowing that these two armies are caterpillars upon the State, he must have as much influence and political corruption in his hands as will give him the balance of power against an injured and oppressed people. Without a standing army, no King, in the present character of Kings in Europe, would hold his power a year. It is an office that originated in the darkest ages, and is totally unfit to compete with the growing intelligence of the present age. Therefore, those farmers (as I see the farmers of Huntingdon have done) who demand the abolition of the standing army, demand with it, in more direct terms than I have done, the abolition of Monarchy.

The Ministers of the present system see this as well as we do; and you will find that they will not relinquish an iota of their power that they can support, but would rather increase it if they could increase the revenue to support it. Every atom of power they are driven to relinquish will be the effects of their necessity; and if we cannot drive them to relinquish a degree of power that shall render them weaker than those whom they oppress, we shall have no kind of reformation in the Government. Every retrenchment they make in the expenditure of the country is, they know well, a retrenchment of their power: from the inability to raise a sufficient revenue, they have been driven to some

retrenchments, and this is the only plan by which they can be assaulted, taking care, at the same time, to spread useful knowledge among those persons who from day to day open their eyes as to what is passing, and how it will end.

The farmers feel themselves in a trap, as they significantly term their present situation, and they begin to see that they have made this trap for themselves by supporting all those measures which others saw would produce their present distresses; they now gape jointly for instruction and relief, and all the comfort we can hold out to them is, that they must suffer further, and until they are prepared to combine with other classes to shake the system down that presses upon them. Mr. Cobbett is the best guide they can take for momentary relief, and a satisfaction of being put into a right channel of thinking and acting right; but their ultimate view must be a complete Representative System of Government, both in legislation and magistracy, and the abolition of the TITHRE-EATERS.

I entertain neither fear or doubt but we shall soon make Republicans of all the farmers, or rather, that their distresses will do it for us. But there is another class of persons who are scattered throughout all professions, more difficult of instructing, and that is the class of bigots in idolatry: however, we must persevere, both by precept and example, and endeavour to correct these worst of all animals—these brutes of all brutes in intellect. A Correspondent, of Hull, has drawn my attention to these creatures in the following lines:—

“A Reformer in the Methodist connection here maintains that you have done more harm to the cause of Reform than any individual in the kingdom; he ought, in candour, to have added, “excepting Preachers of the Gospel,” for their labours, at least, in general, not only injure the cause of Reform very materially, but are inimical to the welfare and happiness of mankind in other respects. There can be no doubt that you have created a schism amongst the Reformers; yet with me it is a matter of doubt whether it will be attended with good or bad effects. You say, on the one hand, (very truly, I believe) that most of the Reformers are, at heart, Republicans, and that therefore they ought to avow themselves such openly, as the Boroughmongers will as soon consent to a pure democracy as to a Radical Reform: and further, that the Spaniards have acted indiscreetly by suffering a corrupt Executive to exist along with a body really elected by themselves, which heterogeneous

bodies will necessarily occasion a fresh revolution; and therefore they ought to have established a pure Democracy, or Republican System, at once. This is, I think, a fair statement of your arguments. On the other hand, it is said, Why shall we desert our present safe path of Reform for the dangerous one of pure Republicanism; to unite for which latter object, under the existing laws, would render us liable to the charge of High Treason, and occasion great desertion from our ranks? Why, then, shall we wantonly and unnecessarily lessen our numbers, since you yourself admit, that if we attain the sought-for Reform, 'all hereditary nonsense will soon be put an end to?'

"A general of an army finds it necessary to seize on an important place powerfully defended by the enemy: unfortunately for him, one-fourth of his officers and men have a superstitious notion that there is something sacred about the spot, and refuse to join in the attack. The *whole* of his army, however, are ready to get possession of certain heights that command the place in question, which is, moreover, an enterprize of greater facility than proceeding direct to the place. When he gets possession of the heights he can with great certainty secure the grand object in view with three-fourths of his army. It is superfluous to say how he ought to act in such circumstances. This may, perhaps, apply to the case of the Spaniards: had they at once proceeded to the extinction of all hereditary ranks, they would have had more enemies and fewer friends, and thus perhaps have failed. Now they have got 'vantage ground, the "heights," and will doubtless succeed. I should like to see your answer to these arguments, if it were discreet in Reformers to agitate such points openly; but to some individuals it seems like holding a council of war in the hearing of the enemy.—J. J."

That I should be an eye-sore to a man in the trammels of the Idolators, who call themselves Methodists, is all a matter of course. I do not admit, that such a man has any claim to be considered a Reformer upon the principles of a Representative System of Government. He is a slave by disposition, and his Priest, for the time being, is his tyrant. He has no choice or ideas of his own in opposition to those of his Priest. I have an elder sister residing in Devonshire, who is a violent Methodist, and has been many years; and such is the influence of her idolatry and her Priest over her mind, that she has lately written to me to say that she reads with pleasure any thing. I write exclusively on politics, but

that she cannot venture to read any thing I write upon the subject of what she calls religion; but that she can no more doubt her religion than her existence. Now, I am well assured, that with the exception of a few hints I have given her in letters, she has no more idea about the origin or the historical part of the Christian Idolatry than has the pen I write with. She goes to chapel and groans, and prays even publicly, and is a sort of head and chief among her fellow dupes. She has been filled with notions about Heaven and Hell, their inhabitants, and their contention for her soul, as she calls it, with the acquisition of being able to make a few quotations from the Jew Books; and this constitutes her a devotee, and is the extent of her knowledge. She happens to be one of the milder sort of mad people, and is so far harmless, that I believe she would shrink from prosecuting another of a different persuasion. Example has been the means of drawing her into this vortex of idolatry, as to my certain knowledge, she knows nothing of the ground-work of the Christian or any other idolatry. A friend, or near relation, has lately written to me to say that she has now gone so far as to say there are many parts of the Bible, she says, she will read no more; and if this be true, I may begin to have hopes that her madness may be curable. I have thrown all my publications into her way, and have endeavoured to excite her mind to an examination of them; but it has been a primary maxim of mine, not to press my opinions on any of the elder branches of my family, but to leave them to find out the truth of them by inquiry and curiosity: so that I have but one relative, and he no more than a first cousin, who gives me any thing like an open expression of approbation at the line of conduct I pursue. Mrs. Carlile and my younger sister are a sort of sceptics, who form no decisive opinions upon those I advocate, but cannot see the utility of our imprisonment in the same light as I see them, although they are ready to resent both my wrongs and their own by a perseverance against what they can see, or have been made to feel, is a common enemy to mankind.

I have brought forward the case of my elder sister in conjunction with that of my methodistical opponent at Hull, to show how powerful is bigotry on the mind, when so near a relative as a sister, and who until very lately has needed my assistance, should even have feared to examine my opinions, when my case and situation must have so strongly agitated her mind. Affectionate she is in the ex-

treme, and felt my situation sufficiently as to be drawn to London at the time of my sentence, yet the avowal of opposite opinions on my part, availed nothing to excite her to an examination of her own: and if this be the case of a sister, what am I to think of the nature of that hatred which has been engendered in the bosoms of bigots who have no personal knowledge of me? I have been informed by eye-witnesses, that, in many places, the verdict of the Jury against me, drew them to their chapels, as if by instinct, to return their thanks, to their idols for gaining them the victory over Satan and Carlile! But I have not done with you yet, Bigots! you have not yet the victory! I have not yet been driven out of the field for a moment since I first entered it, and I bid defiance to all your impotent idols to remove me. My forces strengthen daily. I am the enemy of your idol Satan, as much as of your idol Jehovah, or your idol Jesus, or your *Sanctus Spiritus*, and the whole legions of good and evil spirits. I will war with them all, and have no fear of the victory. They exist in name only, so that it is your ignorance and bigotry alone that I have to contend with. Your idea of support from supernatural powers I laugh at, and whilst you are praying to non-entities, my arrows are piercing your sides. You fight in idea, I attack you corporeally, or mentally rather, and I will drive you into holes and corners there to rot, evaporate, and be extinguished, at least, I will organize a phalanx that shall do it. What I do is only the work of an individual, whilst there are thousands now in the country who are taking the same open part with myself, and who smile at persecution. If I could annoy you as an individual on a fixed spot, what will you feel, when you have such a man in every town and village in the country. I have dispelled one delusion single-handed. After the prosecution of the works of Paine in the persons of former publishers, the Government, or the Priests, circulated throughout the country a report, that the law imposed a penalty of £50 upon any individual found with any portion of the writings of Thomas Paine in his or her possession. The report was familiar to me in Devonshire when a boy, and when on the 5th of November we used to gather faggots to burn old Tom Paine, instead of Guy Faux, I was wont to think he was a very wicked fellow. The first copy of the "Rights of Man" I ever saw, was in the possession of an intelligent old man in Exeter, about the year 1810, and I recollect his shewing me the quotation from the book of Samuel, as to the denunciation of Kings, observ-

ing at the same time, "this book is invaluable, it is my Bible, but if it was known generally to be in my possession I should be fined £50 for it." This man had been an admirer of Paine for years, yet was impressed with this foolish notion. Since my confinement in this Gaol, I have discovered that a similar opinion has been prevalent throughout this county, and many of his books have been destroyed on the strength and fear of this delusion. But this is all over: the name of Thomas Paine has now been made too familiar to excite any further horror, and the Farmers feeling that they have been duped somewhere, beginning to look about them and to read and to enquire what is what, by an examination for themselves.

I do not allow that any Methodist, or any Bigot, deserves the epithet of a Reformer. He is mentally corrupt and ought first to reform himself. He is the joint slave of his Priest and his delusions, and cannot act the part of a free-man in political matters. If called to the election of a magistrate, or a legislator, he would yield his opinion, as to character, to the weightier opinion of his Priest, and would feel that to act in opposition to his Priest, would form a schism in the sect, and be committing a sin for worldly purposes. We must get rid of all ideas of supernatural powers and places before we can be well fitted to govern ourselves through life as members of society. Priestcraft must be abolished to effect a pure administration of Government. Every relic of it will be a blur upon the Representative System.

It is vain for me to address any arguments to my methodical opponent at Hull: I know too well the power of bigotry on the mind, I can only advise him to examine well those opinions which are opposed to his own. I tell him that his Gods are Idols, and that he is an Idolator: so let him examine what I say: if he fears to do so he is a fool to himself, a rogue to society. Let him first read Volney's "Ruins of Empires," next the Theological Writings of Thomas Paine, then Mirabaud's "System of Nature," with as many others of the kind as he pleases, and if he then thinks of me, as at present, I will treat his opinions with respect, and argue the point with him. I have examined all his professions, and the ground work of his idolatry, and if he will do the same by my opinions, then we shall be in a fair condition for argument. Without his fully and fairly examining my opinions, as set forth in the abovementioned works, it would be as well for me to argue with a block.

That I have created a schism among the persons calling themselves Reformers, I admit, but it is that kind of schism which separates the wheat from the chaff, the sound from the rotten sheep. We can do no good with so foul a connexion, and when we separate the rotten ones, we can see what they are, and may have some chance of curing them; whilst, if they graze with the whole flock, they will be liable to corrupt the whole. This kind of schism was not begun a minute too soon, for we have had persons making a great deal of profession, about being Reformers, without acting upon it, or without any fixed and intelligible principles in their minds. It has become a sort of fashion for a man to call himself a Reformer, as the contrary is now a generally admitted proof of a corrupt disposition; but it is our duty to try our men by some test as to honesty, to see whether they possess principles equal to support their professions.

The next point in my Correspondent's argument, and to me it appears the mean one, is, whether it be prudent that the Reformers should avow the whole of their principles and views? or, Whether they should blink a portion of them as a matter of momentary expediency? I contend for the open course, notwithstanding the argument advanced against it by my friend at Hull. He admits with me, that the majority of the Reformers, or men calling themselves Reformers, are Republicans at heart. I have assurances from Lancashire and Yorkshire, and all parts north of those counties, that they are so. In London I know they are so. In the south and west of England the question has not been fairly agitated, the people in those parts have not felt so much real distress as those of the north, therefore, although I know the Republicans in many towns are numerous, still they are not so numerous, not so far forward in correct views of the matter, as the people of the north.

The question, as to prudence or expediency in a full declaration of sentiment, turns entirely upon this one point: Will the open avowal of sentiment, and ultimate views retard the acquirement of the desired object? I contend that it will not, and I do this upon this one principle, that our enemies know as well as we do, what are our ultimate views; and they know equally well, that mere possession of a Representation in the House of Parliament, could not long remain in that state, but that it would lead on to civil wars, and to a complete Republic with an extinction of all hereditary magistrates or legislators. Knowing this, and viewing the matter as they do in this light, they will resist

every encroachment on their present power, so long as they have strength to do it, and when they lose that strength, the field will be open to the Reformers, or the Republicans rather, to do as they like. I therefore think it upon this view of the matter, to be of the greatest importance, that we should disseminate sound and correct principles among the greatest possible number of the people, and not deceive them with expedients and ambiguities.

As to its being dangerous to insist upon the right of legislation by representation, and magistracy by election, it is all a bug-bear to frighten weak minds. There is no more danger attending it than any other half measured system that is now the common topic of conversation. I feel not half that animosity and hostility towards the family called royal, and the aristocracy, which I know is felt towards them by those who pretend to pay them respect openly. I think nothing more of them than I do of the poorest family in the country, and in advocating the rights of the whole people, I entirely lose sight of families. It is ridiculous to be prating about this family, or that family, or about any existing rights which they may exclusively possess, I advocate the Rights of Man, or the great family of mankind.

My Hull Correspondent should have shewn me where the danger lies in a sentimental advocacy of a Representative System, or a democratical form of Government. I never use the word democracy as it implies an hostility to aristocracy and monarchy, without asserting the rights of a nation, or a reformation of the existing governmental abuses, I lose sight of all ranks and distinctions. I see no danger in the line I am now pursuing; beyond that of my personal imprisonment, and that I value not in so grand a cause. My mind is so deeply impregnated with the principles I advocate; that it is a matter of perfect indifference to me whether I am in London or Dorchester Gaol, so that I have the free use of pen, ink, and paper, and a shop open in London. I am as busy, and my time and attention is as fully occupied here, as it would be were I in London. Of the two places I verily think I can make myself more useful here than I could if I were in London, supported as I am by so many brave and virtuous men and women.

I do not incite the people to any acts of violence; the principles I advocate tend rather to quell any disposition of that kind than to irritate it. I would rather wait the natural death of every member of the present Royal Family for a change in the system of Government, than I would see

that change effected by any kind of fanaticism, and the leaders of a revolution such men as Oliver Cromwell and his cotemporaries. My sole view is an inculcation of sound principles and correct views, both on politics and religion; and I know well, that whenever those principles become sufficiently extended, and acquire a sufficient degree of moral force, the physical powers of the people will be called into action without any incitement on the part of leaders.

There was never yet any kind of revolution in government attended with any great evil ultimately to the great body of the people: there never was a revolution yet where oppression was not the inciting power; but the mischief has been that the body of the people have never been sufficiently instructed in sound and correct principles to preserve the benefits acquired by a revolution: and my sole object and desire now is, that that revolution which is admitted by all to be approaching in this country, shall be a revolution conducted upon sound principles, and that the same ordeal shall not necessarily remain to be passed again, as is the case in Spain at this moment. The system of legislation and magistracy by representation, or the election of the people, is a perpetual regenerating system, and when we once reach this point, there will be an end to the danger of revolutions. I see no danger to any man or any body of men by such an avowal of sentiment; and this alone can test the honesty of leading men in such an important crisis as the present. By such an avowal of sentiment, every idea of individual or factious power is relinquished; and unless we bring our leading men to a similar avowal of sentiment, depend on it, Republicans, there will be ambitious and factious men grasping at distinct powers injurious to the great body of the people. Such has been the case in all former revolutions of Governments, such is the common disposition of mankind engendered upon all the past and present system of education and example.

It may be still a question, whether the Spaniards could or could not have carried a Republican form of Government in the year 1820: the future must decide the question, but certain it is, that in not so doing they have done but one-half of their work. I think that Quiroga and Riego might have driven Ferdinand from Spain, or into some monastery, in 1820, as it is well known that his name was then odious to Spaniards in general for the treatment they had received from him for six years prior to that period. The soldiers once having shaken off this authority, would much rather

have been rid of him at once, than have risked the chance of a successful counter-revolution, which, if it were even now to take place, would place them in just the same condition as the Neapolitans have been placed by the Austrians, and would bring them all under the denomination of Traitors to the King. In all revolutions of the kind every thing should be done at once and effectually; that it is dangerous to leave any thing undone is evident in the case of the Neapolitans. Had they ridded themselves of regal power, which they evidently might have done, they would not now have been the prey of the Austrians. All Italy would have been in arms to support them and France in a twinkling. The folly of adhering to the Spanish Constitution destroyed the good effect that would have otherwise attended their revolution. Royal Families will always be inimical to revolutions, therefore they should be always kept out of the question and lost sight of. The only correct way of proceeding is to bring together a National Convention, as the only just power that can, at such a moment, settle the form of Government.

This is the view I now take of this important matter. The suggestions of my Hull Correspondent have not moved me from it. They are founded in his fears and the fears of others, but it is those fears and those little prejudices which must be surmounted before we can bring ourselves to a clear view of the case. I am not a traitor to the King; it is impossible. If I had the power to-morrow to deprive him of his office, that power should not be put in force, unless it were sanctioned by the Nation in Convention. I leave him to the Nation, whose rights and whose power I hold to be greater than his.

R. CARLILE.

TO THE METROPOLITAN REPUBLICANS.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

Newgate, Jan. 10, 1832.

WITH the hope of rousing you from your present lethargic apathy, and to instil into your minds the vital necessity of making a vigorous stand against the mighty host of Corruptionists and public ROBBERS; is the object of this Address.

When Prosecuting Gangs spring up to assist the Attorney General in suppressing free discussion; it is the duty of the

honest citizen to step forward in its defence. Let us exert our influence to establish a free PRESS, and show to other countries, now struggling for liberty, that there are yet a few Englishmen worthy the name of *patriots*; men, who will sacrifice personal liberty, for the good of mankind in general. Truth and Common Sense are the most powerful weapons wherewith to combat tyrants. Every sentence of truth operates upon the mind of the guilty tyrant, like a dagger to the bosom. A free press and a tyrannical government, could never exist at one and the same time. Let us then endeavour to establish a free press. This would quickly dissipate delusion, and bring Reform in its train.

It is universally admitted that no beneficial change will ever take place in this country, without fighting for it. An opportunity now offers itself, which would enable us to batter down all the fortresses of Corruption without firing a gun. We have got a GENERAL who will stand by us, and let us enlist under his banners; and batter down tyranny by words and arguments, instead of fire and sword. It has always been my opinion, that mankind never should resort to the brutal practice of killing each other to settle their disputes. The pen should be their only weapon. To resort to killing each other, is placing ourselves on a level with the brute; and as we are endowed with faculties the brute has not; we ought to be more refined in our manners.

I volunteered my services to the Honourable FLEET STREET Company, from motives of patriotism, and a love of liberty; and continued in the service upwards of three months. I am now in one of his Majesty's mansions, *alias* Brown's Hotel, in the City; and I never for a moment regretted my situation; but, on the contrary, I think it an honour to me. And I hope that hundreds of the Metropolitan Republicans, will enrol their names at 55, Fleet Street, for a regular succession of prosecutions, until we fill his Majesty's mansions all over the kingdom. There are hundreds ready in the country to come forward, but it would be much better to have a London list; the expence would be less, and no time would be lost in filling a vacancy.

With the hope that this laconic address will rouse you from your present apathy, is the sincere wish of your fellow man.

J. JONES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

ON PREJUDICE AND BLACK-GOTHISM.

SIR,

THE early prejudice imbibed by education saturates the mind with fallacious ideas, which future energy seldom eradicates; this unhappy impregnation of the mind may be more distinctly marked in theological discussion, but you may be assured of its universal existence in the arts and sciences: the fool does not detect this baneful agency, but the man of genius is hampered and embarrassed with it at every step. You have expressed your anxiety to explore the labyrinth of science, but you may expect that Chemists, Physicians, and Astronomers, unceasingly dispute in consequence of the prejudice diffused in the schools. This moment is only the morning of science, and when those sciences have arrived at meridian splendour controversy may cease. Notwithstanding the Gothic Priestcraft of the day, Chemistry will have to boast of more than Davy, and Cuvier, and Thompson, and Chaptal, and Lavoisier, and Black: and Physic, of more than Brown, and Cullen, and Darwin, and Boerhaave, and Hunter, and Harvey, and Lawrence, and Bichat: in Astronomy, we shall have more like Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and Flamsteed, and Herschell; and Phillips. These are the men who have overturned Bible Astronomy and Bible Geology, and who have added myriads of worlds to the planet we inhabit. The tithe-eating Goths should persecute the diurnal motion of the earth upon its own axis, for this globe falsifies the Bible, this earth is the blasphemer, and not Mr. Carlile. If the *Black-Goths* cannot arrest the course of the earth, and make the sun move in its stead, they may be assured of their danger: nothing less will make tithes safe, nothing less will secure their infamous usurpation. If the *Black-Goths* were to war with the Geologist, the Physiologist, and the Astronomist, they would be more consistent than they now are in their contest with the Jew Book commentators. Nothing will secure *tithe-eating* but the alteration of the solar system to the state described in the Bible. Perhaps you would say, that is impossible. I would say, no. The *Black-Goths* could meet, could petition Parliament, and the "collective," and the hereditary wisdom of the "Houses" would pass an act of parliament to compel the earth to stand still, and the sun daily to revolve around it. The "collective" could stop the earth just as soon as they stopped the twopenny Republican! you would be the last man to doubt the sympathetic feeling between the *Black-Goths* and the *Vandals* that sit in the "House." All sorts of public robbers coincide with each other. When the people are to be plundered,

which there are more of these adepts than in England. There were indeed, in the last age, many atheists in that country, as well as in France and Italy; for what the Lord Chancellor Bacon has said, is found true with respect to the learned, that a little philosophy renders man an atheist, and that a great deal leads to the knowledge of a God.

When people believe, with Epicurus, that every thing was produced by chance; or with Aristotle, and even with many of the ancient theologians, that every thing springs from corruption, and that matter being put in motion, the world is left to itself; then they have no room to believe a providence. But since we have a glimpse of nature, which the ancients did not see at all; since we have perceived that every thing is organized, and that every thing has its seed; since we are well assured that a mushroom is the work of infinite wisdom, as well as all worlds, those who thought have adored, even there where their predecessors blasphemed, and even physicians are become the heralds of Providence: a catechism makes God known to infants, and a Newton demonstrates his existence to the wise.

Many have asked if Theism, separately considered, and without any other religious ceremony, is in reality a religion? The answer is easy; he who acknowledges God only as a creator, he who considers God only as an infinitely powerful being, and who sees nothing in his creatures but admirable machines, is no more religious with respect to him, than an European who admires the King of China, is, on that account, the subject of that prince.

But he who thinks that God has condescended to put a connection between himself and mankind; that he has made them free, capable of good and evil, and that he has given to all a moral sense, which is the instinct in man, and on which is founded the law of nature; he, without doubt, has a religion, and a religion much better than all the sects out of our church: for all these sects are false, and the law of nature is true: for a revealed religion can only be this law of nature perfected. Thus Theism is good sense not yet enlightened by revelation, and other religions good sense perverted by superstition.

All sects are different, because they come from men; morality is every where the same, because it comes from God.

It may be asked, that since there are five or six hundred sects, of which scarcely any are free from the guilt of spilling human blood, from whence does it happen that the

Theists, who are every where so numerous, have never caused the least tumult? It is because these are philosophers: now philosophers may reason falsely, but they can never engage in intrigues; therefore those who persecute a philosopher, under pretence that his opinions may be dangerous to the public, are guilty of as great an absurdity, as a person who should be afraid lest the study of algebra should raise the price of bread: we ought therefore to pity a reasonable being who is in an error; but the persecutor is a fool, and an object of horror. We are all brethren; if any of my brothers, full of respect and filial piety, and animated by the most ardent fraternal love, does not salute our common father with the same ceremonies as I, ought I to cut his throat, and tear out his heart?

The above was written by Voltaire perhaps sixty years ago. He knew more than he dared to utter, or to express with his pen, in those days. It is reprinted here for the sake of the last paragraph, which may be considered a complete set down to the bigotted persecutor. Read it Wilberforce and Bailey. It is with you the persecutions by the Vice Society have originated.

EDITOR.

QUEEN MAB.

This beautiful poem is again in full sale at a reduced price, or at 7s. 6d. three-fifths only of its first price. The Vice Society, by an indictment, had succeeded in suppressing its public sale. They are now solicited to try what they can do again in that respect. If they please, they shall make it as common as they have made the "Age of Reason."

The present publisher has been called on by a person calling himself "Consistency" (he hates all anonymous writers, particularly when they ask questions) to explain how his conduct in publishing Queen Mab corresponds with the objections he has taken to Mr. Benbow's publication of the Political Works of Paine. If "Consistency" had been consistent in his views as in his professions, he would have seen no inconsistency on the part of the present publisher of "Queen Mab": to explain which a short history of the publication will suffice.

Vol. V. No. 5.

In the summer of 1821, Mr. William Clark, in a shop near St. Clement's Church in the Strand, published "Queen Mab." The author, Percy Bysshe Shelley, printed a few copies for his friends a few years back, but it was never known to be publicly sold until published by Mr. Clark. Immediately on its appearance the Vice Society pounced upon it with an indictment, against which the publisher (Mr. Clark) was not proof. He was arrested, and instead of going to the Bench Prison, or to Newgate, as he should have done, he offered to compromise the matter with the Society, and to give up the copies he had by him for their destruction; pleading ignorance of its being objectionable. This hypocrisy weighed nothing with Pritchard, the Secretary of the Society, he reminded Mr. Clark that he needed not to plead ignorance of the quality of the publication, after having so long served as shopman in Carlile's shop in Fleet Street. "Six Acts" proved too much for Mr. Clark: he bound himself down to good behaviour, as they call it, and found that he could not move in the sale of the work, as a second arrest took place because some other person had sold a copy in his shop. He should not have given recognizances, and he might then have bid them defiance, as has evidently and successfully been done in Fleet Street. By neglecting to do this, "Queen Mab" was suppressed without going to a Jury, without even a struggle on the part of its publisher. Here then it was certainly fair game for any person to take up, particularly for the present publisher, who has suffered from the redoubled violence of the prosecuting gangs occasioned by the scandalous compromises which have been made with them by others.

"Consistency," says, very inconsistently, that Mr. Clark and his family are suffering from the publication of "Queen Mab." It may be wished that it were so, and very happy would have been the writer of this, if the sufferings of Mr. Clark were not from a less honourable source than the publication of "Queen Mab." The whole weight of the expence of paper and printing for "Queen Mab," fell upon the shoulders of others, and not upon those of Mr. Clark, and it is partly to relieve those persons from their loss, that the publication of the same edition with a new imprint has been taken up by its present publisher.

"Consistency" should have looked at the matter before he had complained of inconsistency. He would have seen that Mr. Carlile never complained of Mr. Benbow's pub-

lishing the Theological Works of Mr. Paine, although he did express a wish that they had been published publicly. It was the publication of the Theological Works privately, and the Political Works publicly, about which complaint was made.

If Mr. Clark had stood his ground and kept the copies of "Queen Mab" on sale, until a Jury had given a verdict against it, the present publisher would then have taken up the public sale of it in his turn, and this is the way the warfare ought to be carried on. Mr. Clark should have published the "Age of Reason," and Palmer's "Principles of Nature," as well as "Queen Mab," publicly; and after him Mr. Benbow should have done the same openly, instead of clandestinely, and then the matter would have been in a fair train for success, and prosecution would only accelerate the demand. Poor 55, in Fleet Street, has to sustain all the brunt of the battle, whilst others wish to strip it of its feathers and its laurels without assisting to fight in the same foremost rank. This shall not be done. What we earn we will keep and wear. Our comrades shall share our success, but not so with the pirate and the poltroon.

Queen Mab is a philosophical poem in nine cantos, and is remarkably strong in its exposure and denunciation of Kingcraft and Priestcraft. Lord Byron calls it a poem of great strength and wonderful powers of imagination; and, with his Lordship, we differ from some of the Author's metaphysical opinions. However it is upon the principle of free discussion, and upon the principle of giving currency to every thing that is valuable, that the present publisher has taken up the publication. He wrote it twice over during his first imprisonment in the King's Bench Prison, waiting for trial for the Parodies, and in the summer of 1819, he made an effort to obtain the consent of its author to its publication in the Temple of Reason, but did not succeed. Should the Author now wish that the publication should not be proceeded with, the present Publisher would willingly yield to his instructions, in the same manner and disposition as he first hesitated to print without them, although advised to do it by many of the Author's friends and intimate acquaintance.

In addition to the Poem itself, there are Notes by the Author, of equal bulk, equal beauties, and equal merit. Every thing that is mischievous to society is painted in this work in the highest colours. We hesitate before we give

assent to the Author's views of marriage, particularly, as he strikes at the contract without modifications, and seems desirous of destroying it without defining a better system. This part of the Notes we understand forms one of the passages selected for indictment, and as war is commenced we would prefer to support the Author without coinciding with all his views, than to give the least encouragement to the hypocrites and villains who would stifle all discussion, and suppress every valuable publication, because it tends to unmask them, and to put a stop to their robberies upon the industrious multitude.

The last Note forms an essay of twenty-two pages, to encourage an abstinence from the use of animal food, and, to our knowledge, it has made a very great impression, upon that point, with many of its readers. Very powerful arguments can be brought forward on both sides of this question, but we hesitate not to say, that the laws of Nature and Necessity determine nothing regular on this point, but vary with climates and seasons. For ourselves we can say that we lean to the use of vegetable food in preference to animal, where its quantity and quality can be rendered sufficient to all the purposes of life and health.

When we say that this volume is replete with beauties, the reader will excuse the hacknied custom of making selections.

EDITOR.

ON PRISONS AND WHAT IS CALLED PRISON DISCIPLINE.

Is this also matter of Republicanism? the cynic will say. Yes, any thing and every thing calculated to improve the morals and manners of society is Republican. Without the knowledge and the virtue necessary to preserve liberty we do not merit it; and a main point in obtaining and possessing that virtuous knowledge, consists, in our will and ability to extend it to others, even to the most humble and most unhappy part of society, or such whose vices occasionally bring them under personal restraint. Where the greater degree of vice exists, there the greater degree of reformation is necessary; from hence an inference may be drawn, that

it becomes a Radical Reformer to look even into a Prison, or if he be one of those confined, why then he has only to look about him. This then is the Republican's preface or apology for his article on Prisons and Prison Discipline.

Various kinds of schemes have been lately planned and practised for the improvement of Prisons and Prison Discipline. Societies have been formed, committees have reported, and it must be admitted, that, on the score of humanity, much good has been done. Since the days of the truly moral and humane Howard, great improvement has taken place in the construction of Prisons, and the comforts even of a prisoner have been consulted. But in point of Prison Discipline, in point of making every Prison truly a house of correction, much remains to be done. But the question is, which is the right means, coercion and severity, or mental and moral instruction; a forced and oppressive labour in the character of a negro slave, or an encouraging and profitable stimulus to industry? The medium of these two cases it has been proved will not do; it has no efficacy. Perhaps no general rule can be adopted successfully. There must be exceptions; the variety of animal organizations seem to require it: but then something approaching to a general rule must be established to produce the greatest degree of reformation in vicious habits. Of what nature must that general rule be?

To amend an offender it seems to be necessary, as a first step, that he be mentally convinced that he has committed an offence against wholesome laws, or that he has injured his neighbour, or some member of the community by his past conduct. Now, we will admit a man to have stolen property of five pounds value from his neighbour, and that he has been fairly convicted before a jury of his neighbours appointed to try the matter of the robbery: can it be any satisfaction to the person robbed, to the jury who try the case, to the public, or to the person convicted of theft, that he should receive as a punishment six or twelve months imprisonment, or a seven years transportation, in a manner, which profits none of the parties, but to the loss of property and the expence of bringing him to punishment is added the expence of punishment, and an appeal to law can derive no other appellation or spirit than that of revenge? The spirit of all our laws is revenge, not correction.

Now, suppose the Jewish law, in cases of robbery, to be put in practice, and that he who steals should be compelled to restore four-fold, and, as according to the rules of law in

this country, an expence attends the prosecution of a thief, in addition to his restoring four-fold to the person he had robbed, let him have to pay all the expences attending the bringing him to justice, and keeping him under restraint preparatory and subsequent to that object. How is this to be done, it will be said, by a man who has no property? Every man in health has property. His labour is productive, if properly applied, and that forms his property. A capacity and disposition to labour forms the best and surest property. He that has the capacity, and not the disposition, but resorts to theft instead of labour to obtain the necessaries of life, must be brought to the disposition by compulsion and restraint, and by convincing him that every act of dishonesty with the view of evading labour will infallibly compel him to it in a tenfold degree. This is the only method that can excite a stimulus to honesty, and subdue crime and dishonesty. For an idle, dishonest man to be compelled to labour is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted upon him; and when he finds that dishonesty is the sure and certain road to a long period of hard labour, he will dread and avoid it by seeking the means of living honestly.

No scheme has yet been attempted any thing like this: but every thing in the shape of expence is now met by taxing the housekeeper; thus making the industrious pay the expences which attend the punishment of the idle and dishonest, instead of making each dishonest person labour and produce a property equivalent to the loss and expence he had occasioned. If the alternative were the practice, every thief and dishonest person would be readily pursued and brought to justice: but now a person robbed dreads the idea of prosecuting from the additional loss it entails upon him, and thus many a thief escapes from justice.

In a former paragraph it has been asserted, that our laws seek revenge and not correction. Whoever is thoroughly acquainted with the whole process of the laws cannot fail to recognise this assertion as truth. View the interior of our gaols; see their unhappy-inmates badged and dragging about heavy chains in unproductive motion, or squatting about in idleness and ruminating with a degraded and down-cast mind. See them in the winter season locked up in a small cell, about six feet square, for fifteen hours out of each twenty-four, breathing over and over again an impure and tainted air, which turns them forth each morning, pale and squalid, to pass another day in chains and idleness! What is such a man fit for after one, two, or three years imprison-

ment? He is turned into society in a much worse disposition than when he left it. Instead of being inured to a profitable labour, he is oppressed with an apathy of mind, and would prefer to live by that dishonesty and idleness which his former confinement has rendered habitual.

The number of legal murders in this country forms another proof that revenge and not correction is the spirit and principle of our law. The man who robs another through forged writings, or false promises to pay, or by issuing base metals as the coin of the country, or by various kinds of robberies, is hanged until he be dead, by which the state loses a member and the honest man his property; whereas, if the law was corrective, it would never countenance this double loss of life in one instance and property in the other. Whether it be strictly moral that the murderer should be deprived of life, the writer of this does not pretend to say, but certain he is, that it would be more profitable to the community, and less outrageous to humanity, if the life of the murderer were spared, and subject to perpetual restraint and productive labour, as a compensation to the society, whose social compact he had outraged by destroying one or more of its members. Certainly, the murderer is not entitled to social forgiveness, and should have no prospect but that of hard, perpetual, and solitary labour, without enjoying the profits arising from it, or more than such food and raiment as the preservation of health might require. Every violent death, whether by process of law or not, is a loss to the state, therefore a murder should be met by reparation and correction, and not by revenge.

Experience teaches us that in this country crimes increase. Various causes may operate to this effect, but there is one thing evident, and that is, that the law does not correct, but revenges. If the law corrected instead of revenging, crime would be lessened, whatever other causes operated against that object; but as the contrary is the case, and as the law revenges without correcting errors and crimes, they will inevitably increase, as that which is presumed or intended to check, is in reality the productive power. The laws of England are bad, in every sense of the word, and are just as impure as the source from whence they have emanated; whilst their administration is not less impure. The whole are founded on an arrogant, insolent, and selfish system, which defeats every intended or looked-for purpose. There must be a radical change in the laws as well as in the mode of legislation, and the power of execu-

tion, as in their present state they are the pest and injury of the society, instead of being a social benefit. Representative System of Government would never countenance the game and excise laws, which fill our gaols and demoralize the industrious labourers. The laws between creditor and debtor would be utterly abolished, and nothing but actual fraud punished: whilst the present laws on this head are calculated for nothing but to generate fraudulent dealing, under the pretence of debt and credit. If the creditor had no means of recovering what he let out upon credit, he would be very careful to whom he gave it: but now it is evident, that any man with a good appearance, and a little address, can practise robbery to any extent upon what is called debt and credit; and within a few months of declaring himself insolvent, he finds a law to release him from all, or, in other words, to encourage him in his robbery, and to free him from its consequences. These laws fill another department of our Gaols with a constant succession of new customers, who enter to be, what they technically term, white-washed. The act of credit is voluntary on the part of the creditor, and the law ought not to interfere in any case of the kind. By such a simplification of the laws we should get rid of that pest in society, a nest of lawyers. These men are only necessary to carry you through bad and intricate laws—and the more corrupt the legislation the more they flourish.

The present crowded state of our Prisons is also calculated to defeat correction, or Prison Discipline; and such will inevitably be the case so long as the laws on game, and excise, and debt exist. There is another infamous practice existing throughout the country, and that is, a committal to Gaol for very trivial offences. For instance, in this county of Dorsetshire, if a woman be found with a bastard child, she is committed for twelve months about a month after her delivery. There is a woman now in this Gaol for the third time upon this head, and such has been frequently the case with others. Here are also committals for the most trivial assaults and frolics both with men, women, and children: for petty thefts, such as gathering a few sticks from a hedge, or stealing a few apples or other fruit from gardens; all which cases might be more properly settled by a cuff on the head from the detector, or a reprimand and small fine by the Magistrate, instead of sending the offenders to a Gaol to mix with notorious thieves, and to become really corrupt from bad instructions and still worse examples.

A Gaol should be only inhabited by thieves, or such as commit any kind of fraud upon another, and persons who commit acts of violence in the shape of maiming or murder. Then it may be made a House of Correction and a Work-house. Where life was not taken away remuneration might be made out of the labour of the prisoner, and all expences covered: but if life was destroyed, then the murderer must be considered an unfit member of society, and should be excluded; or even if the intent to deprive of life was evident, but not accomplished, he should be deprived of the power of further attempt. But such is the state of society, and such the despotism of our laws, that a person confined upon the pretence of sedition and blasphemy, or any kind of political misdemeanor, is viewed with more horror, and subject to more restraint by the local despots, in the character of Magistrates, than the thief or the murderer. The one case is considered deserving of solitary confinement, whilst a female brothel-keeper is admitted amongst twenty other women and girls, and no injury from the connection imagined. It will bear repeating, that the first step towards amending a real offender must be to convince him of his offence and its bearing upon the individual or society at large. If this be done by calm and instructive means, you will then open his mind to the evil consequences of proceeding in his former habits, and you will find him anxious to make every possible remuneration to the parties injured. He will be brought to see the benefits of being moral and honest, and he will practise the means. Here, then, you will have him in a fair train for amelioration. Knowing that the period of his imprisonment will be regulated by the quantity of labour he performs, he will exert himself to be extricated from confinement; and this will bring him into industrious habits, from which, during his imprisonment, there will be no cessation; and when he re-enters society he will find a stimulus from the acquired industrious habit, and from a knowledge of the value of that exertion. He will be taught that labour is property; an idea, though very simple in itself, is neither generally understood, nor acknowledged by those who look down with contempt on the industrious classes, whilst they derive all their support from the property of their industry, and spend it in splendid idleness or unproductive motion.

Can any thing be more stupidly ridiculous, or more calculated to produce and extend bad habits, than to keep a hundred or two of men, as prisoners, in party-coloured clothes, and heavily ironed, in a state of complete idleness

and inaction for six days in the week, and on the seventh bring them into a chapel before a chaplain, with their clanking chains, under the pretence of teaching them religion and morality, whilst every thing in reality is a mockery of both, and an idle waste of public money in that paid to a Chaplain, which is or about to be regulated as a salary of £200 per annum?

Thomas Paine observed wisely, that one school-master was worth a hundred Priests; and I am sure, if £200 a year were divided among four intelligent men, who would devote four hours daily to the moral and mental instruction of the persons confined in a Gaol, the consequence would be important: whilst from every thing that has passed for the last two years in this Gaol of Dorchester, respecting the moral instruction of the Prisoners, has been a complete mockery, which the most ignorant Prisoner may see through and laugh at. There is a mock school and a mock school-master in vogue here; and the other day, when the Chaplain was examining the religious improvement of his flock of Christians, he asked a sturdy youth what was the first commandment. "*Thou shalt not steal any other Gods but me,*" was the answer; no doubt under an idea that stealing made a part of his religion. If that boy had been told that Jehovah had said, "*Thou shalt have no other Gods but me,*" he would, most probably, have inferred, that there were other Gods, but that they were jealous of each other, and that they were something like his Keeper, or Chaplain, or Visiting Magistrates. The God of Nature could never have said to man, "*Thou shalt have no other Gods but me;*" the immediate inference would have been, that there were other Gods of whose power he was jealous.

Nothing will cure a bad and dishonest habit but a series of useful employments in which mental improvement shall form a conspicuous part. Every attempt to degrade the mind tends only to harden it and to render it less susceptible of virtue and morality. In the interior of all Prisons which I have had the pain to witness, except that of the King's Bench, I have seen a uniform system of degradation by badges, by shaved heads, by cruel floggings, shameful excruciation, by heavy irons on the legs commonly, and sometimes on the hands, or other painful degradations; and I durst venture to say, it is rare an individual leaves such a place without being made worse by confinement. Not the least effort is made to keep practical virtue in the view of the Prisoner; and the weekly harangues of the Chaplain

are as dull, as insipid, and as unimpressive as they are in some of our parish-churches, where the vicar takes care that the curate shall not exceed him in ability.

The conduct of Mrs. Fry, in visiting and instructing the Female Prisoners of Newgate, is eminently laudable, as an excitement to industry; and if the smattering about religion was omitted, and nothing but sound principles of moral virtue inculcated, the effect would be still more beneficial to the Prisoners, and consequently to the public at large. The case is, in attempting to convey what is called religious instruction, you fill the mind with disgusting tales and nonsense, which, if it produces an outward respect, is sure also to produce an inward loathing to a keen and perceptive mind. It seems a matter foreign to every thing real, and so it is in reality, for in whatever shape it appears it amounts to nothing but fiction. Moral virtue is a totally distinct thing, and cannot be mixed up with the nonsense called religion.

The whole of our Prisons are rather nurseries for crime than morality, and this entirely from the want of useful employment and mental instruction. A Prison should be a place of indulgences, which could be only obtained by merit and improvement. It should be on a small scale what society ought to be on a larger, with the exception, that the Prisoner must expect to be under restraint for safe custody, but even this might be lessened in proportion to his industry and improvement. It is a common adage, that idleness is the parent of vice, and whoever is acquainted with the interior of any of our Gaols, finds this axiom most painfully impressed on his mind.

The plan of imprisonment which I would have substituted should be this. No persons should lose their liberty for trivial misdemeanors, as is the case at present. The law should not interfere with debtor and creditor. If the case amounts to fraud, let it be punished as a robbery. The only inhabitants of a Gaol should be persons guilty of actual robbery, or murders or attempts to murder. The labour and imprisonment of the two latter should be perpetual, without hope of change: the former should have the opportunity of defining the period of their own imprisonment, according to their industry, that is, they should not be sentenced to periods of imprisonment, but until they have restored all loss and all expence attending their misconduct. This plan would leave no ground for favour, discretion, and partiality, but every man or woman would be punished in an exact

proportion to the amount of the theft or injury done, and no loss would ultimately accrue to any but the criminal, who would be very careful how he committed a second crime with such consequences in view. Every man in health can earn more than is necessary to support himself, if he has work put before him to perform; and in a Gaol the over-plus should go to remunerate the injury done, and be continued until full compensation be made, when the Prisoner should be again restored to society.

Under the present system of our laws and Prison management, it is better to let a thief go unpunished than to bring him to justice, as the latter attempt renders a lawyer indispensable, and leads to a sort of second robbery and further demoralization. The expence which now attends our Prisons and Courts of Law would be sufficient for the administration of the affairs of the nation, if properly managed and applied. The first principle of our present Government seems to be to try how far taxation can be strained. Every thing is managed upon the most-extravagant system, and none but the tax-eaters derive any comfort or security. All else is pillage by law or against law.

These few ideas are thrown out as those of the writer only. They are original as far as he knows, never having conversed with any one upon the matter. If they lead to discussion or to good, in any shape, his aim and end is accomplished.

R. CARLILE

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 12, 1822.

REFLECTIONS MORAL AND POLITICAL.

(Concluded from p. 108.)

If *twelve* millions of the metal currency be taken out of its regular circulation in trade, and *twenty-four* millions of paper currency established in its stead, the value of land, houses, and the produce of the land, will be raised nearly double. Consequently, this system does not only create for the rich a sure market to lend their money on interest, but it also raises their property nearly double in value.

And by means of this paper-money the circulating medium, or capital, can be augmented to any amount; and in proportion to

the quantity in circulation will be the value of every other commodity. If the paper currency be double what the metal was, every other commodity will in proportion fetch a greater quantity of money, there being a greater quantity in the market.

This paper-money is brought into the market in a variety of ways; for instance, a rich man may expend ten thousand pounds in an improvement upon his house or land; this would employ a number of persons to execute the work, these might probably be paid by paper-money, then that passes to the baker or butcher and so on. Then there is the making of roads, parks, mansions, palaces, canals, ships, bridges, garrisons, barracks, and things too numerous to be mentioned here; all of which may be paid for in paper, and which work probably would not have been done had it not been for the paper-money.

While all these things were going on, the demand for labour was so great, that men could get almost any price for it: the money in the market was so plentiful, that one day's labour would procure double the quantity of money that it would prior to the paper-money being issued.

But then comes the charge on the people for the interest of the money which has been borrowed for all these improvements or ornaments, which must be paid. Taxes are then laid on some of the necessary articles of consumption to pay this interest, so that if the poor consume as much of them as the rich, they pay so much tax.

The prices of such taxed articles cannot then be reduced to what they formerly were, therefore, labour must be kept up at a high price to procure the common necessities of life: and even if there should not be a sufficient demand for labour, the price of it cannot fall in proportion, because the taxes laid upon the necessary articles of life are stationary: consequently, if the price of labour be kept up beyond its value, the demand for it will be less, and poor-rates must increase to support those who cannot get employment, and to make up the deficiency of payment to those whose labour will not buy sufficient food to support life; and this operation produces a progressive distress with the multitude.

Now whether wars, are a national expenditure which will cause a national debt, are created for the purpose of keeping the majority of a people in a state of slavish subjection to the rich rulers; or whether for the purpose of making them more independent, happy, and free, need I pretend to say?

But supposing the latter to be the cause or intention of the government, then it must shew how weak and foolish that government is, which is endeavouring to produce peace and prosperity to a nation by a system which has in its commencement created a debt which has been increasing to such an enormous amount, that it has produced trouble and distress to the greater part of

the nation : or else it must clearly shew that the nation has not been governed by its own will, but by the will of a party.

But supposing it has been governed by a party whose interest should be to create war, and a national debt, for the purpose of gaining more power and profit, that they might reduce the people into a state of more servile subjection to their own will, for the sake of gratifying their own vanity, by being worshipped and admired for their pomp and grandeur ; what then does it prove, but that human nature is susceptible of every vice and folly, and that these will act unless that power of restraint and self-defence, which Nature has given to every man, is called into action.

We see in the nation one class of men ambitious without industry, another industrious without ambition ; and one selfish and avaricious, another indolent and careless ; one humble, and another tyrannical. A nation, therefore, possesses, and has in action, all those natural feelings and propensities which Nature has given to man ; but until all these classes are combined together for the purpose of legislation, there can be no restraint on the different dispositions indulging to an excess, until each becomes injurious to the general good.

Now, by drawing together into one focus a representative of each of these different classes in society, we have then collectively all these natural feelings operating together as a check or stimulus to each other : and unless these feelings are all so compounded, what can make man that rational and reflecting being, for which his organization destines him, or in what manner can his judgment be formed but from knowledge and reflection in all these things ? Or, in what way can a nation make wise and just laws for the benefit of itself without consulting the judgment, happiness, and interest of all its members ?

Now, would it not be just to allow all an equal voice in making the laws of a nation ? For who could then feel aggrieved, or who could complain of the injustice of the laws, and who would not be anxious to make such laws as would support his own interest and happiness, for as man derives all his interest and happiness from man, the interest and happiness of all must be reciprocal ?

When any important law is about to be made, the whole nation ought to be consulted on its necessity and utility : for if traders in land, or traders in money, or traders in any other commodity, have influence in a nation to get any law made, such a law will, most assuredly, be partial and injurious to the whole.

Every representative legislator should be paid out of the public purse for his services ; for what right have we to expect that one will expend his property, exert his talents and strength, destroy his rest, and fatigue his mind, without some hope of reward.

But can any thing appear so absurd and ridiculous as the present system of government called the British Constitution ? We see those who are called the representatives of the people paying

large sums of money to become so; we see that instead of the people begging of them to be their representatives, that they are begging, and paying, and bribing the people to let them be their representatives. And what can all this mean? Is it because they are so generous that they will even give away a great part of their property to be allowed to advocate the interest and welfare of the people? Or is it because the people are so ignorant and so stupid, that they have neither eyes to see, hearts to feel, nor minds to understand what is necessary to their own comfort and happiness?

Another strange anomaly appears in this Constitution, and that is, that two parts of the legislature shall be hereditary, and one part elective, and that each of the former shall have the power to reject all laws that are framed and agreed to by the pretended representatives of the people! So that if these representatives were as pure as they are corrupt, the chance would be two to one against getting wholesome laws.

In all well-regulated societies among ourselves we invariably have a written constitution; articles, rules, and regulations, are drawn up and submitted to the whole of the members to be amended, approved, or rejected, as the majority may decide, subject at all times to such alterations as the majority of the members at any time may think fit to make: a president or chairman is also elected in the same way, but he has no power to make, alter, or reject any of the rules, his duty is merely to execute the laws, and see that no individual member infringes on the general rules or constitution of the society. Such is all that is necessary in the government of a nation.

Were a society about to be formed with an hereditary chairman or president, and no rules or laws could be made without his consent, would any man in his senses become a member of such a society? As a proof that he would not, there never has been a society among ourselves upon such a principle.

What is the king of a country but the chairman of a nation? Whether we call him king, president, or chairman, is of no moment; but whether he has an uncontrolled power over the nation in which he presides is of great consequence. As such a power invested in one person in small societies would not be countenanced as a preposterous measure, why should it not be the same when applied to a nation?

Where is the right of a people if their servants are to be their masters? The king is, or ought to be, in fact, but the dignified servant of the people; his duties are to be performed for their benefit; he holds the executive power in trust; he is supposed to act in the behalf and for the good of the whole, and he receives his pay and support for the services he performs: his ministers and all assistants whom he employs in executing the public duties of his office, are also servants, for it is for and by the people they

are or should be employed and paid. Ought they then to have the power of commanding and saying to that people, you shall act as we think proper, pay as much as we think necessary, and not inquire whether we have done right or wrong?

Now, when we find all these men, who are the servants of the nation, the principal promoters and supporters of such laws as will tend to put down public discussion and public opinion on their conduct and doctrines; when we see that three-fourths of the nation have repeatedly given their decided opinion against many measures which concern the welfare of society; and that on this account these servants have declared the nation to be in a state of rebellion, our inquiry must lead us to ask what can it rebel against? Not itself, impossible! It will not rebel against itself. Then against what does it rebel? Why against an extravagant expenditure; against the immense sums that are paid to these servants, and at the undue power they assume of making the nation pay as much as they think fit to levy upon it.

What a strange perversion of justice and common sense it is for a very small part of a nation to declare that the remaining part, (being a very large majority) is or has been "in open rebellion against all good and wise laws and institutions!" How clear it must be to every person who are the real rebels; they are the minority who rebel against the majority; who set aside the laws of Nature and common sense, and assume a power or a right to govern according to the dictates of their own selfish views and interests. If the right exists in the majority, the minority are rebels and traitors if they attempt to deprive them of that right.

The majority ought always to rule the minority. This is a principle of social order which should be acted upon in all societies and in all congregated bodies. If the principle be considered right in all societies, whether large or small, it cannot be considered wrong when applied to a nation.

THOMAS SINGLE.

EPIGRAM.

Says HARRY to DICK, "Come, lad, be of good cheer!

"The Ministry soon will be changed as I hear."

"Good news!" replies DICK; "but it better would be,

"If in *changed* you'd fairly omit letter C."

The Republican.

No. 6. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, Feb. 8, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 3,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

BEFORE this Address will have passed through the Press, the Legislature of the Country will have commenced its session for this year. Weak and deluded minds are drawn towards this matter as into a vortex, and fancy it something important, particularly at this moment, when the distresses of the farmers are expected to change the measures of the County Members, and of many of the Landholders. Whatever may be done or undone, be not you deceived, Republicans, with any false shows, or false pretences, nothing can be done effectually by the present Legislature, nothing will be attempted further than distress enforces. From a sense of general good nothing will arise or be done, and the squabbles of parties must form an amusement for us until our day arrives, to put our shoulders to the wheel of revolution. Make yourselves as happy as you can for a short time longer, every thing seems working to our wishes. The revolution has commenced for sometime, and is still revolving towards our views, but our duty at present is to stand by, and let our enemies exhaust themselves in their mutual struggles for power. The Republicans are now the only happy and contented body of men in the country, all else is disaffection and dispute: whilst we are working silently and rapidly to the hoped for goal. Every new incident that arises, forms matter of pleasure and joy for us, and matter of grief to our enemies, so that all we have now to do is to stand by and laugh, and watch well the struggles of our enemies, until we see a convenient opportunity to snatch the prize of contention from both—the power of legislation and government, which they seek to carry on as a matter of factions

power, and which we wish to invest in the nation at large, by bringing together a National Convention.

To the great body of the people the meeting of Parliament, in its present state, is altogether an unimportant matter, and not worthy of attention, further than that it may be a means of exciting useful discussion, and of still exposing the inability and disinclination of that body to do any good for the people, or to relieve any of their distresses. You will doubtless again hear much talk about sedition, and treason, and blasphemy, but you will laugh at it, as you would to hear the menaced damnation of the priest, if you deviate from supporting him. The word blasphemy is now become so familiar to our ears, that it is really a very agreeable word, and has quite changed its signification in the vocabulary, and is now synonymous with the word truth. It should stand thus in all new editions of Dictionaries or Spelling Books: *Blasphemy, a word once of horrible import among bigots and fools, but now signifies a teaching of sublime truths in religion and philosophy.*

Sedition and Treason may also be defined as *a desire to see every man happy and living under wholesome laws and good government.*

Your nerves are not again to be shaken by such words as these, from whatsoever mouth or mouths, pen or pens, they issue, your past oppressions and distresses have stimulated your minds to the acquirement of useful knowledge, and you are now capable of giving instructions to your present legislators. You will examine their deeds by their words, and ascertain the true meaning of both.

I have felt it my duty to state my view of this matter of the Parliament meeting, because I would wish you not to trouble about it, not to waste your means or your time in seeking information as to what is passing there. If any thing occurs worth your notice, I shall not fail to place it fully in your view, with such comment and information as I can send forth with it, or may think useful. I can assure you, that I feel this meeting of Parliament as a matter of indifference, and were I not a daily examiner of newspapers, I should not seek them on this account. That there will be a battle between the Land and the Fundholders is certain, but our duty is to stand by and pick up the spoils for the present, until the nation as a whole can act with advantage. Our time is not yet come. The factions have too much power at present: they must fight, and we must laugh for awhile.

The County Meetings of Agriculturists in Norfolk, in Suffolk, in Kent, in Sussex, in Huntingdonshire, in Herefordshire, in Devonshire, in Somersetshire, and various other shires sufficiently indicate what is about to be the result. Some demand Reform in Parliament, but all demand the abolition of the Funds; for the very first reduction of the interest of the Fundholder is an abolition of the whole bubble. This the present ministers know well, and they dread the touching of the Funds, as much as they would dread going personally to put a firebrand to a powder magazine: they are therefore linking themselves fast to the Fundholders, with the same feelings as a drowning man catches at a straw. They hope to dupe the Land men by some trick, under the idea that they are not so keen in perception of the result of things, as the Jew Fundholders. The battle is quite a treat for us Republicans: our day of suffering is past, so let us laugh, be happy, and contented, whilst our old enemies are squeaking and squalling from the distress they have brought on themselves, whilst they had hoped to have kept it all on our shoulders.

R. CARLILE.

CASE OF MARY ANN CARLILE.

We inserted in our Second Number the petition to the King of this victim to that common abuse called Common Law. The sending of this petition to the Secretary of State for the Home Department has proved another instance of the inutility of all petitions which impeach the conduct of any of the tools of the present Government. It has not even been acknowledged as received.

In the Third Number we reviewed the conduct of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench on Mr. Cooper's reading the affidavit and moving for a trial: we have also, in a scattered manner, given an outline of the whole case, but we will now proceed to combine that outline within a small compass.

In the spring of the year 1821, Mary Ann Carlile was proceeded against by indictment by the Two Prosecuting Societies of Essex Street and Bridge Street, or the Vice Society and Constitutional Association. The former took the pamphlet entitled the "Appendix to the Theological

Works of Thomas Paine," the latter the "New Year's Address to the Reformers," by R. Carlile, her brother. That the two Societies acted in concert is evident, for as soon as she had been arrested, and had given bail upon the one case, she was immediately arrested, and called on for bail for the other: whilst that shadow of vice, spleen, and corruption, Murray, with his satellites, Sharp, Orton, and Clark, did all they could to deter and annoy her bail, and insult the Defendant.

Both cases came on for trial the same day, the 24th of July, the Vice Society's Indictment as a matter of seniority from longer establishment, took the lead, and it was here the corrupt and intemperate Best, gave a full display of his temper and disposition, in silencing and putting down the defence of a lone female. We shall merely observe on the other case in which Mr. Cooper was employed, that he not only did the part of an honest and bold advocate, but the part of an honest and moral man. From us praise shall never be wanted, when and where praise is due: but we will not praise when and where it is not acquired and deserved. It was during the second trial that the Defendant fainted, and lest it might be supposed to have been from a weakness of nerve, or a dread of the proceedings of the day, we shall state the plain matter of fact that occasioned the fainting. In a trial at Guildhall, in the Court of King's Bench, the Prosecutors, and all concerned for the prosecution, (save the barristers) and the Defendant and all concerned for the defence are huddled together (very improperly) in a crowded state round about a table or desk in the centre of the Court, so that scarce a whisper can pass between the parties but is heard by the opposite or contending party, nor a note written but can be overlooked. In this case the Defendant was seated by the side of Murray's son, an emaciated young man, who had an uncovered running fistula, or a foul King and Priests' Evil, in his neck, and who, together with his father, was much more adapted for a lazar-house than to mingle in a crowded court to the annoyance of by-standers. Every time the Defendant's attention was drawn on the side on which this young man sat, she imbibed a nausea from his uncovered wounds, and this, by a long and frequent repetition, exhausted her powers, and at length brought on sickness and fainting. None are more disposed to pity affliction than ourselves, but we think it grossly indecent that a person in such a state should be unnecessarily thrust forward in a

crowded assembly to the annoyance of all by-standers. That a female, not the strongest, should faint even in a crowded assembly, without any particular cause is not uncommon, but in this case it was not from any motive of fear, terror, affection, or weakness of nerve, but from the abovementioned circumstance. At the time of fainting she was certain of an acquittal from the manner in which Mr. Cooper was addressing the Jury, and from the knowledge that there were honest men on that Jury who would not send her to prison for having published so mild and inoffensive a pamphlet. The Defendant did not faint when a corrupt Judge, and a more corrupt Jury, carried the first verdict against her; neither did she faint on receiving the sentence of the court: she felt a perfect contempt for all the parties, and all they could do to her on each of those occasions.

We can give no better proof of the Defendant's virtue and resolution being sufficient to bear her up through such a prosecution, than to narrate an interview, or the particulars of a visit made to her by a gentleman, who she was informed was Mr. Lushington, the Master of the Crown Office, in the King's Bench Prison on Friday the 30th of November, the day before she was removed to Dorchester. We do not assert that this gentleman was Mr. Lushington, because we have not yet had the means of ascertaining, but it seems almost sufficient that we say, he was attended to the rooms and waited for by a turnkey from the gate, which is quite unusual with an ordinary and indifferent visitor; and a woman, who was confined in the same room, asserted, that he was the Master of the Crown Office; whom she had seen regularly inspecting the prison in his official capacity and appointment as inspector from the Court of King's Bench. The turnkey, when subsequently asked, would not answer, but smiled assent.

This Gentleman, be he who he will, entered her room on the morning before she was removed, and introduced himself by enquiring for her father, and when told that she had no father, but a brother, he said he meant brother, and knew him very well. But little was said at this interview, and he left the room for a quarter of an hour, or somewhere there about, he had a gentleman with him who said nothing on the first interview, and he returned again with another different gentleman, and entered again into conversation, pretending that he came as a friend, and thought he could extricate her from the unpleasant situation in which she was then placed, if she would send in a petition to the G

vernment, with an acknowledgment, that the laws were good, that she had violated them, and that she was very sorry for it: with a confession that the writings of Thomas Paine and her brother were injurious to the morals and welfare of society, and such as the Government ought not to countenance. She answered that she could admit no such thing, and that where she again placed in the same situation, she would again do the same for her brother as she had then done. Upon this the parties withdrew, without passing another word beyond the compliment of good morning. In the evening, after this visit, she had notice to be ready for starting to Dorchester the next morning. This all speaks for itself, and forms a proof, that in this moment of trial, the Defendant was above every thing like fear, or a sense of wrong. She would rather endure any thing than belie her conscience upon such a matter. The proposition was infamous, whoever made it, and displays the narrow-minded villainy of the persecutors in power.

A similar attempt was made towards Mrs. Carlile, but before sentence was passed upon her. Late one evening, a well dressed old lady entered the shop, and asked to speak with Mrs. Carlile. She was introduced and made herself quite free, expressing great sympathy for Mrs. C. and her children, and a desire to make herself instrumental in staying the sentence. She represented herself as well acquainted with Mr. Justice Best, and spoke of him as one of the best of characters, and the most humane of men, assuring Mrs. C. that if she would throw herself upon his mercy and generosity, she would be relieved from all imprisonment. Mrs. Carlile did not believe her for a moment, and had no impression that her visitor was an agent, but opened her mind as to the character of Best, which of course was naturally the reverse of what the old lady had said of him. She rejected every thing like compromise, although she disavowed being a principal in the business. The old lady retired and of her no more was heard.

Whilst upon this subject it may not be amiss to state, that something similar occurred in the case of Mr. Carlile. Whilst he was in the Bench Prison between the time of trial and sentence, among a multitude of other visitors, was one, a peculiar one. He was a plain dressed small man, perhaps sixty years of age. To Mr. Carlile he was quite a stranger, but introduced himself, saying, that he had seen an advertisement in the paper for bail, and he had come to see if he could safely assist him in that object. This was a

mere pretence for introduction, after which nothing more was said upon the subject. After an hours conversation, and a great deal of vague insinuating talk, he walked away not much wiser than he came. He avowed no other purpose for calling but that just mentioned, but the very same day it was discovered, that he was a retired gardiner of Lord Liverpool's, and that he was in the habit of frequenting public places of resort as an agent of this minister, for the purpose of obtaining him information on passing matters. The object of his calling on Mr. Carlile we do not pretend to state, as no definite object was expressed, but, that he was sent, there seems to be little reason to doubt, whilst the rest may be guessed.

But to return to the case of Mary Ann Carlile. We should state, that on the Vice Society's Indictment she was prepared with a defence on paper, and also to take an objection to a Mr. Howton, or Houghton, as one of her Special Jurymen. She had been informed that Mr. Howton was a member of the Constitutional Association; and there were respectable persons in the Court ready to swear to the fact, and to his identity, but on Mr. Howton's rising to say that it was a mistake, that it was not his name on the list, but that of some other person, the matter was dropt, to the great disappointment of those who were anxious to be called to swear to the fact. We have since been informed that Mr. Howton, who was on three Special Jury cases that day, is a regular trading Juror, assuredly a member of the Constitutional Association, and just such another merchant as Sharp in point of making a trade of bankruptcy. We are not aware that he is the companion of Sharp, but we hope this article will bring them together, as the latter must stand in very great need of acquaintances and friends, after having lately tried to establish a fair character in vain, been told by repeated tribunals that he must be content with a bad one, and compelled publicly to confess himself not only a libeller but a liar in his attacks upon private character and family affairs. On the commencement of the trial nothing particular occurred. Gurney declared in his parrot-like manner, and Best nodded assent; but when the Defendant's defence began to be read, both of these hypocrites sat watching it like cats ready to pounce upon an expected mouse. At last, a word or two came; the defence stated that the Common Law, on which the Indictment was founded, was a common abuse: this Best knew too well, and dreading an explanation of the term before the Jury, he corruptly and

intemperately stopped the defence, and would let the Jury hear no more of it.

The Defendant's answer to his objections was admirable, and the best that could have been made, it left him no clue to evade an open illegal corruption. "*If you say that an English woman is not to state that which she thinks necessary for her defence, she must abide the consequence of such a decision.*" "I have decided no such thing," said Best, and instantly acted upon it to render the decision complete, and to give the lie to his contradiction.

The Common Law is a common abuse, is an assertion either true or untrue in a point of view. To assert that it is true is a sort of blasphemy among lawyers, as to say religion is a cheat is a blasphemy among Priests. It is one of those points which is just now beginning to make its way into the world, and before it be fairly discussed and examined, Judges and Lawyers will affect to hear it with horror. But they shall hear it from a certain quarter as often as ever an Indictment be laid upon any other than statute law.

Common Law, in its legal term, signifies an unwritten law, therefore would be more appropriately termed Uncommon Law. It is the law of discretion, for, whatever the Judges dictate as Common Law, unless contradicted, which is often the case, by others, the lawyers and their clients are bound to obey. It is the law of discretion, and has been defined by a Judge himself, when they were not quite so corrupt as at present, as follows: "The discretion of a Judge is the law of tyrants, it is always unknown; it is different in different men, it is casual, and depends upon constitution, temper, and passion; in the best caprice, in the worst, it is every vice, folly, and passion, to which human nature is liable." This man might have been deemed an honest Judge. This is a definition of Common Law.

Common Law is an excrescence generated upon the corruptions of Courts of Law. The administrators of Statute Law have assumed the characters of legislators, and exercise the prerogative of dispensing with Statute Laws, by bringing forward that of their own manufacture, when the former are not sufficiently vindictive to gratify their revenge. The taking off the power from the King to dispense with laws has only generated a more odious tyranny, by allowing the Judges of the Court of King's Bench to do the same thing, and not only to dispense with Statute Laws, but to make laws to suit their own tyranny and that of their employers. The bane of this Island is a multiplicity of legislatures; and

until we can destroy them, and establish one for the whole, we shall possess nothing like liberty. Every corporation, every Court of every description, each House of Parliament, and the King, all assume the power to make certain laws for their own power and aggrandizement, and to the great injury of the community at large. Our state of society is horrible when a full view is taken of it. All our laws are like so many beasts of prey, where the weaker first perish, and the stronger destroy each other. They lead to nothing but mutual distraction and destruction. We must abolish the whole, and establish one general legislature, before we can have peace and happiness. We are now in the height of war and fighting. It is the war of civilization against the barbarism of established customs and institutions. The first victory on the side of civilization must be the possession of free discussion: when we once gain that point all the rest will follow in its train.

Common Law is called the law of opinion, custom, and practice, collected in the Court of King's Bench; but the mischief is, that opinion, custom, and practice are ever varying, and can never form just and equitable law. Common Law is the very reverse of the Law of Nature. Laws made to preserve customs to perpetuity are not only ridiculous but wicked, and inevitably lead to persecution. How is it that through the medium of one shop we can bid defiance to all the power and persecution of what is called Common Law, Sedition, and Blasphemy? It is because the great body of the people call those laws the laws of injustice and oppression. They see that they are the laws of tyrants and persecutors of opinion. They see that such laws are established for wicked purposes, to corrupt and debase the minds of the people and to tyrannize over their bodies. Seeing this, they rush to support any man who will attempt to overthrow or to defy those laws. This conduct is not a vice, but a virtue. The "Temple of Reason" would not have been open for a month if the honest part of the public had not plainly seen that it promulgated virtue, liberty, and truth, and warred with vice, tyranny, and falsehood. It is now a fortress unassailable to all the force of Corruption, and will, like a moral sun, shed its beams upon every extremity of the Island.

It is the sufferings of individuals which generally lead to the abolition of the tyranny that inflicts them; and we hope that the sufferings which the tyrant Best has inflicted upon

Mary Ann Carlile, through the tyranny of his Common Law, will lead to its demolition. Discussion shall be raised upon the subject, and the vice and corruption which this sort of law engenders shall be bared to public view.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

I HAVE been interrupted in keeping my promise with you, to address you weekly, owing to the press of other matter, and to my distance from the press: so you will be pleased to accept this as an apology, and be assured, that the fault is not idleness or inattention on my part.

I have done with your title-page, and now pass to your preface, in which the only sentence worth my notice is the following: "*In these momentous times, when God's judgments have evidently been abroad upon the earth, when so much has occurred to call forth the gratitude of this nation, and when new visitations may be coming upon those who shall not take warning and reform, no attempt to animate and guide devotion should be suppressed.*" The times certainly are momentous; here we agree: but it would be well for me and many others if we had not received more injury and evils from your judgments, than from those of your God or your Idols. And pray what has this nation to be grateful for in regard to those judgments, or in regard to any thing it possesses at this moment? Have the judgments of your Idol benefited the Farmer? Have they lessened his rents, his tithes, his taxes? Do you find him grateful? No, he cannot discover what you have discovered, that a National Debt, and excessive taxation to pay its interest, are blessings to be grateful for. The low price of his produce increases your blessings, and gives you cause to be grateful; but to assist in keeping up your increased salary, to meet former high prices, he is oppressed and ruined by the lowness of his present prices, whilst you do not shew the least disposition to relieve him. You are like the Catholic Priest in the Fable, you will bless him, and pray for him, and pass your judgments upon him, but you will not give up a guinea of your salary to relieve him, to make him grateful with yourself. In other respects I think with you, that it is high time

you should take warning and reform, for be assured, that there are other still heavier visitations awaiting you and others than those which you now feel or have lately felt. You will soon feel the visitations of an injured, majestic, and all-mighty people, roused into action by the caprice and the judgments in which you have assisted in inflicting upon them. You have many things to answer for, so take warning and reform before the final visitation comes. To imagine that many of your late judgments can be forgiven, or pass into oblivion, would be immoral and a compounding of crime. If I felt disposed to forgive all the injury I have received as an individual, and which, I verily believe, no honest man in this country feels less than myself, I cannot feel disposed to forgive the judgment passed on Mrs. Carlile, on my sister, on Mr. Hunt, on John Knight, and many others. No, I tell you candidly that I think you deserve hanging for one half you have said and done in sending your judgments forth upon the earth.

Your prattle to the brave Yorkshiresmen, whom you had arraigned before you for High Treason, because their oppressions and distresses, fanned into a flame by hired spies, had induced them to assemble with arms, about God having occasioned those distresses to try their virtues, and how far they could resist temptation, must not be forgotten: particularly the manner and the promises under which they were seduced to plead Guilty with an idea of free discharge, and then transported for life in chains, must not be, cannot be, morally and humanely forgotten. Talk to me about "blasphemy, and the injury my publications may do to the rising generation," indeed! You are a most daring blasphemer to attribute all the miseries and the distresses which Kings, Priests, and corrupt Judges have brought upon the earth, or among mankind, to the design of the God of Nature. It is from such horrible blasphemies as you have put forth that my publications have been issued to teach the present and the rising generation that the sacred name of the Deity ought not thus to be blasphemed. It is from a connection or presumed connection with your Jew Book blasphemies, and your judicial blasphemies, that I wish to rescue the profaned name of Deity, and to fill the mind of the present and all future generations with a proper sublimity of thought upon the matter, and that, in reality, that all-sacred name should not be used in vain, as you have used it. This is the true state of the case between you and me. - As I mean to be short and pithy with you in my weekly or occasional ad-

dresses, I shall conclude this letter by noticing that your law and your logic about religion, "that a person may think what he likes, but must not publish what he thinks in opposition to the thinking of others, or to impeach faiths established by law," has been caught at as a refinement on despotism by the myrmidons of the Bourbons in the French Legislature. It has been echoed there with ecstasy; and the names of Carlile and the Judges of England have been extolled as having been the means of drawing forth this improvement on all former despotisms. You have even afforded the trembling despots of the Continent an excuse for all they have done, or may wish to do. The Fathers of the Inquisition must stand pure in the eyes of all future generations after your exposition of English Law on the subject of religion.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 3, 1822.

P. S. I am sorry to observe that you have not accepted my invitation to come down the Western Circuit at the next Assize.

CHARACTER OF WOMAN.

Her importance in society—her influence in the political affairs of a Government, and the propriety of her interfering in such matters defended.

NATURE has made nothing in vain—it is man who subverts the benefits of her productions. An amiable woman is one of Nature's perfect works, unspoiled and uncorrupted by man. Any number of men brought together without women could not be kept together in any other character than as slaves, or under military restraint and discipline. Therefore, as women form the ground-work of sociality and civilization, their presence and influence must be beneficial in the same ratio as the civilized is preferable to the savage state. All history gives us proof that the degree of virtue and amiableness in women is in proportion to the freedom they enjoy, or the degree in which they can move and act independent and uncontrolled. The freedom and independency of women is the best proof of and guarantee for

the freedom and independency of man. A despotism never exists in one degree alone—it is expansive and contagious. If it exists in the Chief Magistrate of a State uncontrollable, it will be sure to infect the local magistracy, so as to make every parish-constable a despot in his degree; if it exists in the head of a family, every member of it will be despotic according to the degree of power over some other member or members.

In a nation where women are looked on as slaves, and treated as slaves to the lusts and passions of men; there we find the disposition of men treacherous, designing, and blood-thirsty; and that of women, passive in the presence and intriguing in the absence of their tyrants. There is no virtue in either, which may be attributed to the want of a virtuous and amiable influence in women.

In the best days of Greece and Rome women possessed great influence, not openly in the State, but being free and educated in the most virtuous habits, and perceiving that virtue, bravery, and ability, could alone obtain honours and distinctions, they stimulated their husbands and sons to such acquirements, and their daughters to the same virtuous, amiable, and honourable notions. It was the pride of the Spartan women to train the minds of their sons to think nothing so honourable as the defence and welfare of the State; and if, perchance, their husbands or sons fell in the defence of their country, and fighting against its enemies, they did not repine, but rejoiced, in the idea that both the life and death of their relatives had formed an honourable career. Sparta was then free, powerful, and without corruption: no citizen had the opportunity of acquiring distinction in the State but by virtue, bravery, and ability; and it became the pride as well as the duty of the mother to educate her children accordingly. May its present inhabitants regenerate and imitate their ancestors!

Woman forms a very important part in a well-regulated State: but, on the other hand, women finding virtue an unprofitable quality, or that which debars themselves and families from the little distinctions in society, are the first to lend their flexible minds to support the corruptions, the idle pagantries, and the dazzling, delusive splendours which ever accompany a decayed and falling Government. But here women are in an unnatural state, and not in that high destiny for which Nature has formed and intended them. Where virtue prevails over vice, women will be found in their right element and its most strenuous supporters; and where vice

prevails over virtue, women will be found in the lowest sinks of degradation. The female mind is the most perceptible of degradation and vice, and when it once unfortunately feels the poison, it bids adieu to virtue, conscious that, like Cæsar's wife, virtue should be above suspicion. Virtue abandoned, the female stops at nothing, but sinks to the lowest depths of vice.

It is the misfortune of modern ages and Monarchical Governments to make distinction in society a marketable commodity; and this at once sets the mind of women to work to procure the means of ensuring to their husbands and sons the greatest possible quantity—whilst to effect this object virtue is often sacrificed. We have daily proofs of this recorded on our journals, although, from the nature of the cases, but a small portion of the traffic is brought to light. An important fact for consideration here rises to view, that where vice is the leading feature in the administration of the affairs of a Government, and such is the case with the British Government at this moment, the whole community is inevitably poisoned by it; and should here and there a virtuous mind guard against the infection, it must retire into privacy, or if known, be in danger of oppression, robbery, and persecution.

The female mind is elevated and delighted with apparent honorary distinctions, and whatever procures them she will pursue. When honour and distinction was the reward of virtue alone, the woman stimulated her family to the service of the State. It therefore becomes the duty of those who superintend the regulations of society to avoid every thing but what is calculated to inspire virtuous feelings. Let us once sow the seeds of virtue and they will first ripen in the female bosom. The harmless and pleasing volatility of that bosom will scatter the produce far and wide, and each generation shall bring forth an hundred-fold.

It is difficult to speak of the general influence of women on society, because they never form a primary cause; whatever be that influence, it arises from some other existing principle in the character of men, and receives its tone from some more powerful impulse. As a second link in the chain of animal organization, woman generates nothing of herself, and cannot be responsible for the habits acquired by her education. Where virtue forms the social link, the woman shines predominant in beauty and purity; but where society is diseased with a radical vice, the most loathsome object will be found to be woman. With women there is no me-

dium: they are neuter in nothing. It is then the duty of man to make virtuous the soil on which a woman treads, and she will be found to blossom in purity as Nature's most splendid, most perfect work. A radiant and unclouded constellation, illuminating all within her sphere.

The operations of virtue and vice are the same in the palace and in the cottage, neither what is called high or low life changes the organization: the mistress of the palace is not more virtuous, or of more importance, as a member of society, than the mistress of a cottage, perhaps not so much. The latter is an unmasked emblem of virtue and purity; whilst the former but too often carries the profession of virtue as a mask for the practice of vice. Exceptions are admitted in both cases, whilst the general rule applies. Those who have witnessed many cottage scenes, and have been accustomed to enter the dwellings of the industrious classes, will find a vivid and pleasing recollection of the reality, in a faint attempt to describe it with the pen. A cottage is the scene wherein to search for social purity: here you may behold the children of Nature without disguise—rude, yet benevolent—simple, yet elegant—unpolished, yet invaluable. The cottager who possesses a virtuous wife has a gem in its native state, which, though its outward appearance may not attract every eye, still its intrinsic value is by no means lessened. When we view her preparing the frugal meal with a mechanic precision; working as regular as the wheels of her clock to an invariable period; biding off her children to watch the father's approach from the field, or hastening herself to the wicket to welcome him with a smile, and to proclaim that all was ready and waiting for him; we are compelled to exclaim this is the essence of virtue, which by its peculiar electric powers repels every other sensation, and is attractive of peace and happiness alone. In such a dwelling the clock alone assumes an authority over its inmates: it alone gives the order to arise, to breakfast, to dine, to sup, to retire to rest. The family feelings are all regulated with the same precision as the works of the clock, and even instinct submits to the laws of mechanism. Health is the concomitant of this frugal regularity; and the mechanism of Nature is neither clogged and dull, nor rendered barren. It is here the virtuous woman attracts the husband from his completed period of labour to his innocent and engaging family, and every incident that delays his regular return gives reciprocal pain. May we not exclaim, How happy would a nation be composed of such families as these!

Here would be no jealousies, no quarrels, no distractions, no bloodsheds, no violation of laws, and, what would be still more congenial to human happiness, no barbarous punishments! Each would be content with the produce of his own labour, and rather assist than injure his neighbour! Such would be the happy effects of training the female mind to virtue even in the cottage, which by a connecting link forms both the bulwark and the prosperity of society.

As virtue in a cottage shines as conspicuous within its sphere as virtue in a palace, so also has it the same effect to keep vice at a distance: the former forms a mirror for the latter, where not only its countenance but its character too is reflected. Philosophers in general have not paid that deference which is due to the female in society: in speaking or writing for the improvement of society they have passed by woman as a secondary or insignificant object, whereas she forms the most important channel through which virtue can be propagated and the social state be rendered peaceable, prosperous, and happy. Every impression that is attempted to be made on the female mind that she is an inferior being, every step that is taken to degrade her, is a bar to virtue, an inlet to vice. No man, however bold, however noble-minded, would hesitate to bend and submit to the wishes of a woman, whom he knows to be virtuous; as the virtue of the woman would be the best guarantee against any improper request. Here submission betokens not degradation; it may be rather compared to the fiercer nature of the lion softened down by affection and bland impulses, which, though it yields to kind entreaty and virtuous influence, by no means lays aside its strength and honour when necessary for useful calls and honourable purposes.

It interesteth the welfare of society to raise the female character to the highest possible pitch in the scale of intellect; even to a competition with the male in all the fine arts, the more delicate part of science, and general literature. Who would but rejoice to have a wife who excelled him in general knowledge? Every man who was a step higher than the brute himself. It is an absurd and barbarous notion to imagine that a woman can know too much: for emulation is the high road to bliss and perfection, and should be encouraged in every shape. There is at this moment both a mental and a moral improvement pervading all societies. The Printing Press, which hitherto has been employed to ignore as much as to instruct, is now beginning to assume a more decisive character, and one more essential to the hap-

piness and well-being of society. This is the engine, the mechanical cause by which the condition of societies are to be ameliorated. A free and unlimited discussion on the merits of all subjects by the Press is the sure harbinger of improvement. Women are peculiarly interested in the advancement of this object, as they have in reality more to gain in point of condition than men. At present their slavery and degradation doubles that of the men. They must enter the lists of discussion, and their shrill voices must be heard in demanding that it be free and unrestrained. When we reach this climax, the age of virtue as well as the age of reason will approach.

It is urged by some shallow thinkers that it is improper for women to mingle in or trouble themselves with politics; which is as much as to tell them that they ought not to look beyond their own thresholds. This may answer the purpose of the despot, but not of the freeman or he who wishes to be free. A woman may go to church and trouble herself about the nonsense called religion; she may go to the theatre or any other school for immorality and scandal; but, forsooth, it is improper that she should become either a philosopher or a politician. This is exacting rather too much, and making the woman a thorough slave. What the Priest teaches her she must believe; whilst if she wishes to examine the merits and the foundation of what he teaches, she is denounced as a busy body, a meddler, and accused of aspiring to a knowledge of what does not concern her. That a woman's first duty is her household affairs, is granted, but surely she is entitled to hours of recreation; and every industrious woman can find hours for that purpose without leaving any thing undone: how then should she fill this time, and where seek for recreation? In general knowledge, in politics, in philosophy, in every thing that tends to expand her mind and promote a mutual happiness and improvement. With such a wife the industrious artisan and labourer may amuse and improve himself at home, without spending each successive evening at the ale-house for the sake of what is called company and political conversation. These ale-house politics and politicians are never good for any thing; their ideas and their talk are generally regulated according to the quantity of intoxicating tobacco and liquor consumed. Give me the man who can improve himself at home in conjunction with his family, as a man sound in intellect and stable in principle. The multiplicity of ale-houses in this Island sadly deteriorates the national cha-

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racter. Was it not for the necessities and conveniences of travellers it would be well to abolish the trade, and let those who wanted intoxicating liquors brew or distil for themselves. They were first established for the convenience of travellers, but they have now degenerated into as many schools for vice. Whilst they exist to their present extent there will be no hope of an increasing social and moral reformation in the national character. It is the bane of all domestic happiness where the head or any member of the family is an infatuated visitor of one of these houses. There must be some exceptions allowed to this sweeping assertion, because it is known that there are some select companies who meet in those houses as a matter of business and not as a habit and regularity; but the general effect is as here stated, and in every town or village in the Island, where an ale-house exists, it is lamentably visible: whilst the only moral check for it seems to be the necessity of elevating the female character and of making it intelligent and instructive, so as to form an accomplished domestic companion, qualified to discuss all topics, and to delight by conversation as well as by affection and agreeable manners.

Every husband receives an impression from the character of his wife, every son from that of his mother, every brother from that of his sister; therefore, it becomes important that the woman should be educated in a manner to give the greatest degree of moral force and assistance to the formation of the character of her male relatives. If there be a necessity for men to muddle with politics, and such is the duty of every man in a free State, for every man under a Representative System of Government is not only a member of the State, but a member of the Government, then it becomes the duty of the woman, as a natural correlative, to acquaint herself with every thing that passes in public, to form her judgment upon it, and to discuss the matter with her family, so that its head may be able to give his voice upon the matter after mature deliberation, and not be led by the clamour of a public assembly without thinking for himself. It is at home, in the bosom of his family, that every man ought to deliberate as to what is right and what is wrong. In public boisterous assemblies there is no mental deliberation, no calm discussion; and it would be well if every question was previously stated, and privately deliberated upon, and that the men should assemble in public but to give their voice. Here, then, an intelligent female would be of the greatest importance, and she would be indeed an "help meet for man."

Let not the virtuous matron or the chaste maiden shrink any further from an acquirement of political knowledge as unbecoming her station and condition in life: let free discussion be the right of women as well as men, and we shall not then see that disgusting spectacle of a woman following her husband to the ale-house and the spirit-shop, either to guard him from beastly intoxication or to gratify any bad propensities or ill-acquired habits of her own. Every house should become the theatre of free discussion, and every woman its patron, as the forerunner of sober habits and domestic virtues. The same persons who denounce the interference of women in matters of politics and philosophy are they who would keep the industrious classes of men from the same thing: they are tyrants, who dread the extension of knowledge;—they are hypocrites, who fear the trade of delusion will be spoiled.

I call upon every woman, whether old or young, to shake off those prejudices, those trammels in which they have been educated; I call upon them to assert the right of free discussion, and to partake of it; I call upon them to make themselves acquainted with the science of Government upon the simple base of Republicanism, or the Representative System of Government, and, particularly, to examine and weigh well the dogmas and pretensions of all Priests. It is virtuous, it is honourable to see a woman distinguishing any kind of corruption and vice and denouncing it, whether it be a matter of politics or religion. Let the women of Britain join their voices with those of their husbands in demanding a reformation of the system of Government; let them discuss every question of public importance at home with their husbands and families, and point out to their children the value of freedom and free discussion. Let them be politicians—let them be philosophers—let them acquire every species of useful knowledge that can be acquired, without the neglect of domestic matters and family provisions.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 25.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Sheffield, Jan. 21, 1822.

WE, a few of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, admire your manly perseverance and indefatigable exertions in the cause of Freedom. We admire the patience, resignation, and cheerful-

ness with which you bear your fate; and we still more admire the philanthropic purity of motive which we firmly believe you have acted from. Your private as well as public character; your honest integrity, and the devotedness of your family to the cause; together with the assistance of your friends all contribute to baffle the efforts of your detested persecutors, and command the admiration of every true friend to liberty.

We therefore wish to throw in our mites in so virtuous and laudable a cause, for which purpose we have, under very unfavourable circumstances, collected by subscription £3 which we here inclose, and hope you will accept from a few of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, and poor Mechanics of Sheffield. Signed, on their behalf, by

Yours, &c.

FRANCIS MARSDEN, *Mason*,
Tudor Street, Little Sheffield, Sheffield.

TO THE FRIENDS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AMONG THE MECHANICS OF SHEFFIELD.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 2, 1822.

CITIZENS,

YOUR subscription of Three Pounds has reached me safe, for which you will hereby receive my thanks, and be assured, that my study shall continue to be, to prevent any regret falling upon those persons, rich or poor, who may think proper to identify themselves with me and the cause I advocate.

Citizens of Sheffield, I hope you are sedulously endeavouring to extend, both in your own minds, and in those of others, the only sound principles upon which any thing like an effectual Reform can be brought about—the principles of Thomas Paine—a complete Representative Republic, where the magistrate as well as the legislator shall be the choice of the people.

Every thing below this is ambiguity and delusion, and means any thing but the common Rights of Man. All other principles are partial and factious, and will tend to nothing but the engendering of parties and factions, who will sacrifice the general to their private interests.

Countenance the dissemination of no principles as Republican but those which come up to the principles laid down

by Thomas Paine. Those who say that other principles are sufficient to reach the desired end of the public or general good, are a species of trading politicians and time-servers, whose first principle is a selfish, private, and individual advantage, and who, like Paul of old, would be "*all things to all men*," according to the prevailing delusion.

It is time that all delusions be dispersed, and that the A, B, C, the common sense of politics, be disseminated among a reading and thinking people. In the writings of Thomas Paine you will find not only the correct alphabet of politics, but of religion and philosophy. They are as well adapted to the capacity of the horn-book reader in politics as for the most accomplished politician. Every honest man will there see delineated in a most impressive form his own natural ideas of what is right and what is wrong. His writings are to politics what grammar is to language; you can come to no correct conclusions without them.

Republicans of Sheffield, (and I hope I am not incorrect in giving some of you that epithet), I have addressed you in this plain, candid, and friendly manner, with a desire not to offend, but to advance you in the general feeling. Your neighbours of Leeds, and many other towns in Yorkshire I could mention, are what I call finished in their political and theological education, and preponderate over all deluders. You may be so in Sheffield, for what I know, but I do not see that you venture to express yourself openly, or the particulars of such expressions of feeling, if any, have not come under my eye.

Be not alarmed at weak and timid suggestions: there is not the least danger in giving a full sentimental support to all the principles of Thomas Paine. When you reach this rock of political safety; this rampart of political wisdom, you will feel yourselves impregnable to all the assaults of political delusion. None will venture to combat with you.

Wishing you health and strong mental capacity to dispel delusion,

I remain, Citizens, devotedly yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Bath, Jan. 26, 1822.

THOUGH the evils which afflict mankind are great and many, though over a prostrate multitude the tyrannic few holds lordly

sway, warps the laws to suit their caprice, thus robbing the industrious of the fruits of their labour, and man of his just inheritance; yet when we contemplate the past and the present, when we search the records of history and compare what mankind have endured with what they at present suffer, their former ignorance with their present comparatively enlightened state; we cannot fail gaining a mine of consolation, that will shed a ray of hope on the soul, which like the glorious luminary that lights surrounding worlds, though momentarily obscured by the passing cloud, will again burst forth with undiminished splendour.

Such, Sir, are our feelings on taking a view of the present state of mankind, for though we find them in many countries still degraded and oppressed, though we ourselves are burthened with taxes to pay the interest of a debt, which we had no hand in creating, that paralyzes all our industrious efforts for the comfort of ourselves and families; though we have an horde of unprincipled placemen and pensioners to maintain, that not only consume our substance, but deprives us of our inalienable right, a voice, through the medium of Representatives, fully and freely chosen, in making those laws by which we ourselves are bound. Still we cannot refrain from congratulating you at the commencement of a New Year, on the glorious prospects which dawns on mankind. In spite of the combined efforts of the legitimate ruffians of our day, and their unprincipled myrmidons the priests and aristocrats of every country, thanks to the enlightened patriots of the age, the Empire of Truth and Reason has made rapid strides in Europe within the last four years, in Spain and Portugal the power of Despotism is completely overthrown, the Inquisition, that horrid monster of cruelty and superstition totally annihilated, the Rights of Man recognized; and a temple reared (though it may not be perfect in all its parts) that glares like a meteor on surrounding nations. The Empires of Mexico and Peru are freed from the shackles of their merciless oppressors; and last, though not the least) Greece is in arms combating for her rights? Heaven grant that her triumph may be as signal as her cause is just.

Again, Sir, we congratulate you on this cheering prospect, the Sun of Freedom dawning on so many nations, and ourselves though still struggling against a mass of difficulties, sees our foes beginning to reel with the weight of their own enormities; which gives us reason to believe the day of redemption is not far distant. That you may soon see that day and extort full justice from your merciless persecutors, is the prayer of those who have long admired the undaunted perseverance and noble disinterestedness with which you have braved the malice of your foes, and advocated the rights of your injured and insulted countrymen. Confined, like Galileo of old, to a dungeon, for advocating truths which must, ere long, be as palpable as the noon-day sun; we commiserate your unmerited sufferings, and as a token of our sin-

easy we have enclosed a trifling sum which is all the present state of our finances will admit of, if we could have afforded it the sum should have been as large as your merit is great. Trusting you will accept the will for the deed. We remain your sincere and well wishers for Self and Brother Reformers,

JAMES MABER.

TO MR: JAMES MABER, 6, PETER STREET,
BATH.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 31, 1822.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of One Guinea, as the subscription of a few of the Reformers of Bath to give an expression of approbation towards the Republican principles I advocate, for which I return them my sincere thanks, and beg to assure them; that it is the avowed support and approbation of good men that exhilarates me more than money. The approbation of the virtuous poor man with or without his penny, makes the same impression on my mind as that of the rich man with his pound or pounds. It is the daily extended proof that I am not labouring in vain which becomes in my mind the stimulus for further exertion.

The principles on which I seek support are Republican, and nothing but Republican. They consist of a contention for the right of the Representative System of Government, where both legislators and magistrates shall be the choice of the people. The man who has any smattering taste remaining for Royalty or Aristocracy, or for investing such bodies with power, will oppose himself in supporting me. I shall never retrograde to his principles. In matters of religion, philosophy, and science, I contend for the right of a free discussion, although I do not hesitate to say, that I view religion in all its variety as an idolatry. I know no exception to this general rule. I see that the progress of Common Sense is sufficiently rapid to justify an advocacy of the Rights of Man and an assistance in opening the way for the dawning of an Age of Reason.

Reformers of Bath, the writings of Thomas Paine form the only safe ground on which you can build your principles. I know no other English writer whom you can read without the danger of some delusion. You may find both

amusement and instruction in reading the political writings of the day, but on the point of principle they can add nothing to the writings of Paine. It is important that mankind should have simple, unshaken, and unimpeachable principles laid before them for examination and choice; and under this idea I refer you and every man to the writings of Thomas Paine. In matters of theology you cannot find a better instructor as a Primer in the school of Reason.

I am, Citizens, yours in civic esteem,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Carlisle, Jan. 21, 1822.

You will herewith receive Twenty-four Shillings inclosed, which a few humble individuals have collected, to present to you as a token of respect for your firm and manly conduct in contending for what you conceive to be truth.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

JOHN BELL.

TO MR. JOHN BELL, CARLISLE.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 28, 1822.

CITIZEN,

I RETURN you thanks for the sum of Twenty-four Shillings, subscribed at Carlisle, as a mark of approbation for my conduct, by a few individuals, ardent in the cause of Liberty.

I am happy that I have gained a footing among you in Carlisle, from which I have heretofore had no correspondence with any one individual. My future study shall be to become better known to you, and to lay some claim on your further approbation.

I am, Citizen, gratefully yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

"Who dares think one thing, and another tell;

"My soul detests him as the gates of hell."

"Who was the meekest man?—Moses!!!

NOTHING, perhaps, my dear Sir, affords a greater proof of the absolute sway which priests have ever had over the minds and consciences of their fellow men, than the circumstance of their having been enabled to impose on their belief such characters as the abovementioned despotic and sanguinary lawgiver of the Jews, as being the chosen and peculiarly favoured of heaven. And it cannot fail of exciting within the mind of every unprejudiced individual the utmost surprise and indignation, that there is scarce a *bible*-character, held up by these men as experiencing the almost exclusive love and favour of the Deity, that, in the present day, would not be execrated, and hunted down, as the greatest pest of society. What, for instance, would be thought, by the present generation, of him, who should refuse to administer nourishment to his starving brother, except upon the condition of his resigning of all right to primogenitureship¹; or of him, who from the basest motives of self-interest, should act with the grossest injustice towards a generous and unsuspecting brother, and the most infamous duplicity towards a dying father²; or of him,

¹ And Jacob sold pottage: and Esau came from the field and was faint. And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red pottage; for I am faint. And Jacob said, Sell me this day thy birthright. And Esau said, Behold, I am at the point to die; and what profit shall this same birth-right do me? And Jacob said, Swear to me this day: And Esau sware unto him, and sold his birthright unto Jacob. Then Jacob gave bread and pottage of lentiles unto Esau: and he did eat and drink, and rose up and went his way.—Genesis xxv.

² And it came to pass, when Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see; he called Esau his eldest son unto him, and said unto him, my son, Behold I am now old; I know not the day of my death. Now, therefore, take I pray thee; thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me some venison; and make me savoury meat, such as I love; and bring it to me that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I

who, pretending, like our priests of the present day, to have received commission and authority from heaven, should censure, in its name, acts of mercy towards an humbled enemy, and become himself the bloody executioner'; or of

die. And Rebecca heard when Isaac spake to his son Esau. And Esau went to the field to hunt for venison, and to bring it to his father. And Rebecca spake unto Jacob, saying, Behold, I heard thy father speak unto Esau thy brother, saying, bring me venison, that I may eat, and bless thee before I die. Now, therefore, my son obey my voice, according to that which I command thee: Go now to the flock, and fetch me thence two good kids of the goats; and I will make savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth: and thou shalt carry it to thy father, that he may eat; and that he may bless thee before his death. *And Jacob came unto his father, with the meat that Rebecca had prepared; and said, my father. And Isaac said, Here am I. Who art thou, my son? And Jacob said unto his father, I am Esau thy first-born, I have done as thou badest me; Arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me. And Isaac said, Art thou my very son, Esau? And Jacob said, I am. And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near now, and kiss me, my son. And Jacob came near, and his father blessed him. And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing Jacob, that Esau came home from hunting. and he made savoury meat and brought it to his father, and said, let my father arise, and eat of his son's venison; that his soul may bless me. And Isaac his father said unto him, Who art thou? And Esau answered I am thy son, thy first-born, Esau. And Isaac trembled very exceedingly, and said, Who! Where is he that hath taken venison and brought it to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him; yea, and he shall be blessed. And when Esau heard the words of his father, he cried, with a great and exceeding bitter cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father. And Isaac said, Thy brother came with subtilty, and hath taken away thy blessing. And Esau said, Is he not rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times. He took away my birthright; and behold, now he hath taken away my blessing.—Genesis xxvii.*

* And Saul smote the Amalekite from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt. And he took Agag, King of the Amalekites, alive; but utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword. But Saul and the people spared Agag, and the best of the spoil; the sheep, and the oxen, and the fatlings of the lambs, and all that was good; and would not utterly destroy them: but every thing that was vile and refuse, that they utterly destroyed. Then came the word of the Lord unto Samuel, saying, *It repenteth me, that I have set up Saul to be king: for he is turned back from following me; and hath not performed my commandments. And Samuel came to Saul and said; Bring ye hither to me Agag, the*

him, who should conspire against his lawful sovereign, only because he refrained from practising the most wanton cruelties, and insolently set up another in his stead: affirming it to be the will and command of the Deity⁴; or of him who should declare, that it was to the glory of God, and the *delight of chaste and honourable maidens*, that he exposed his person in the most beastly manner⁵; or of him, who could be induced, by any provocation whatever, to proclaim rewards and honours to him, who should smite the lame and the blind, even though they belonged to the cities of his enemies⁶; or of him, who, from motives of a narrow-minded and jealous policy, should treacherously give up those, whom he had sworn to protect, to be put to a cruel

King of the Amalekites. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal. And he had repeated that he had made Saul King over Israel.—1 Samuel xv.

⁴ *And the Lord said unto Samuel, How long wilt thou mourn for Saul, seeing that I have rejected him from being king over Israel? Fill thine horn with oil, and go, I will send thee to Jesse the Bethlehemite; for I have provided me a king among his sons.* And Samuel said, How can I go? If Saul hear it he will kill me. *And the Lord said, Take an heifer with thee, and say, I am come to sacrifice to the Lord. And call Jesse to the sacrifice; and I will show thee what thou shalt do: and thou shalt anoint unto me him whom I shall name unto thee. And Samuel did that which the Lord spake; And he came to Bethlehem. And the elders of the town trembled at his coming, and said, Comest thou peaceably? And Samuel said, peaceably. I am come to sacrifice to the Lord; sanctify yourselves, and come with me to the sacrifice. And when Samuel had called and sanctified Jesse and his sons, he took the horn of oil, and anointed David, the youngest son of Jesse, in the midst of his brethren. And the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward.—1 Samuel xvi.*

⁵ *And David returned to bless his household; and Mical the daughter of Saul came out to meet him, and said, How glorious was the King of Israel to-day, in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, when he uncovered himself before them, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself. And David said unto Mical, It was before the Lord, who chose me before thy father, and before all his house, to appoint me ruler over the people of the Lord, over Israel. Therefore will I play before the Lord: and I will yet be more vile than thus, and will be base in my own sight. And of the handmaids of whom thou hast spoken of them shall I be had in honour.—2 Samuel vii.*

⁶ *And David said, on that day: whosoever getteth up to the gutter and smiteth the Jebusites; and the lame and the blind that are hated of David's soul, he shall be chief and captain.*

and ignominious death'; or of him, who should first seduce the wife of his friend, from whom he had experienced the most faithful services; and then devise means for his assassination'; or of him, who, when preparing for death, should give orders to his son to become the butcher of an individual who had grown hoary in his service, and who, in all his troubles and adversities, had been amongst his firmest friends, supporters, and safeguards'; or of him, who should

' Then there was a famine in the land, in the days of David, three years; year after year. And David enquired of the Lord. And the Lord answered, It is for Saul and for his bloody house: because he slew the Gibeonites. And the King called the Gibeonites, and said unto them, What shall I do for you, and wherewithal shall I make thee atonement, that ye may bless the inheritance of the Lord? And they answered the King, The man that consumed us, and that devised against us, that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of Israel. *Let seven of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord, in Gibeah of Saul.* And the King said, *I will give them.* And he delivered them into the hands of the Gibeonites; and they hanged them on the hill before the Lord.—2 Samuel xxi.

' And it came to pass in an even-tide, that David arose from his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house; and from the roof he saw a woman washing herself; and she was very beautiful. And David sent, and enquired after the woman. *And it was told him, that she was Bathsheba, the daughter of Eliam, and the wife of Uriah the Hittite.* And David sent messengers and took her. *And she came in unto him, and he lay with her; and she returned unto her house.* And the woman conceived, and sent and told David that she was with child. And David sent to Joab, saying, *Send me Uriah the Hittite.* And Joab sent Uriah to David. And it came to pass in the morning, that David wrote a letter to Joab; and sent it by the hand of Uriah. And he wrote in the letter, saying, *Set ye Uriah in the fore front of the hottest battle; and retire ye from him, that he may be smitten and die.* And it came to pass when Joab observed the city; that he assigned Uriah unto a place, where he knew that valiant men were. And the men of the city went out and fought with Joab, and there fell some of the servants of David: and Uriah the Hittite died also.—2 Samuel xi.

' Now the days of David drew near that he should die, and he charged Solomon his son, saying, *I go the way of all the earth,* be thou strong therefore and show thyself a man. Moreover, thou knowest what Joab, the son of Zeruiah, did to me, and what he did to the two captains of the hosts of Israel; unto Abner, the son of Ner, and unto Amasa, the son of Jether, whom he slew; and shed the blood of war in peace; and put the blood of war upon his girdle, that was about his loins, and in his shoes, that

sacrifice his brother from motives of deadly hate and jealousy¹⁰; or of him, who, after having been distinguished in the most exalted manner, as the peculiar favourite of heaven, by the actual visitations of the Deity, and by the most extraordinary gifts conferred upon him, should apostatise from his great Benefactor, and become the worshipper of strange deities, the lewd companion of prostitutes, the firm friend of idolators, and the staunch supporter of the most cruel and infamous idolatry¹¹?

View the conduct and character of this host of worthies, as they are presented to us, and then candidly confess, whether any monster, however infamously vile, cruel, and abandoned, may not, with equal justice, lay claim to the peculiar care and favour of heaven. What other motive can be entertained, in holding up such characters, as deserving heaven's peculiar love, and man's highest veneration, than that of vindicating kings and priests when detected

were on his feet. *Do therefore according to thy wisdom, and let not his hoar head go down to the grave in peace.*—1 Kings ii.

¹⁰ And Adonijah, the son of Haggith, and the elder brother of Solomon, came to Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon, and said unto her, Speak, I pray thee, unto Solomon the king, (for he will not say thee nay) that he give me Abishag the Shunamite to wife. Bathsheba therefore went unto Solomon, to speak for Adonijah. And she said unto him, I desire one small petition of thee, say me not nay. And the king said unto her ask on my mother; for I will not say thee nay. *And she said, Let Abishag the Shunamite be given to Adonijah, thy brother, to wife. Then Solomon swore by the Lord, saying, God do so to me, and more also, if Adonijah have not spoken this word against his own life. Now, therefore, as the Lord liveth, Adonijah shall be put to death this day. And Solomon sent Benaiah, and he fell upon Adonijah that he died.*

¹¹ *And the Lord was angry with Solomon, because his heart was turned from the Lord God of Israel, who had appeared unto him twice; and had commanded him concerning this thing, that he should not go after other Gods; but he kept not that which the Lord commanded: For it came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives (of whom he had seven hundred, besides three hundred concubines!) turned away his heart after other Gods. For Solomon went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians, and after Milcom, the abomination of the Amorites. And Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord; and went not fully after the Lord, as did David his father. And Solomon builded a high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem; and for Moloch, the abomination of the children of Ammon; and likewise did he for all his strange wives; who burned incense, and sacrificed unto their Gods.*—1 Kings xi.

in the commission of such abominable deeds, I am at a loss to imagine. Are low cunning, the basest duplicity, the most despicable cowardice, and the meanest servility, to be caressed and applauded, it is only requisite to refer to the patriarch Jacob, in his dealings with his father and father-in-law; and in his conduct towards the noble-minded generous Esau. Is rebellion towards the first magistrate of the realm, or avarice, pride, cruelty, intolerance, persecution, and tyranny towards the people of all ranks, all ages, and both sexes, to be designated by the term of *loyalty* on the one hand, and *necessary chastisement* or *correction* on the other, it is only requisite to quote the conduct of Elijah, and Elisha, in their secret excitements of Jehu and Hazael; the bloody assassination of the priests and followers of Baal; of the companies of fifty men each; and in the devoting to destruction of the infant children for a playful and jocular remark. Are the crimes of seduction and assassination on the part of a king or a priest to be extenuated or justified, it is only necessary to refer to the conduct of David in the affair of Uriah; and of Moses, in the affair of the Egyptian. Are plunder, rapine, and insatiable thirst after innocent blood to be palliated or excused, the same characters may be brought forward, in instances too numerous to find a place here; those who are anxious to peruse them, must be referred to the *sacred* scriptures. Are the villainous, monstrous, and inhuman crimes of brutal lust, the ravishing of virgin innocence, the butchering in cold blood of unarmed inoffensive men, unprotected women, and innocent children, to be praised and rewarded, still it remains to allude to the *bible worthies* in their invasion of inoffensive and comparatively innocent and virtuous nations, who, nevertheless, are represented by priests as the *best and meekest of men*, the most highly favoured of the most merciful and benevolent Being!

In fact, there is no crime, however infamous, no imposture, however palpably gross, but may receive countenance, sanction, and support from the character of Holy Writ. Hence, no doubt, have originated those foul and damned deeds of darkness, which have been practised by kings and priests from the commencement of the Christian era even to the present day. View the crimes, debaucheries, rapacities, cruelties, tyrannies, and diabolical persecutions, of which Christian kings and Christian priests, in every age and in every country, have been guilty; crimes, debaucheries, rapacities, cruelties, tyrannies, and persecutions, which,

if they had not been made *as notorious as the sun at noon-day*, would have been considered as the grossest libels, the most malignant calumnies, that could possibly be uttered against human nature.

View, especially, the conduct of those monsters, designated the order of Jesus, who were sworn to act upon the very principle laid down by the Jewish impostor, that upon the least secession from, or disaffection to, the established faith, whether on the part of father, mother, wife, friend, sister, or brother, they were to disregard every sacred bond and sentiment of duty and affection, and were either to destroy the party thus offending with their own hand, (which, history informs us, was frequently done without any seeing or ever arriving at the knowledge whence the blow proceeded, except the wretch who gave it), or deliver it over to the secular arm to be dealt with more cruelly!

Recent events have satisfactorily proved, that Kings and Priests would go equally as far, even in the present day, as their brethren of former times, if they dared so to do. They are, however, cunning enough to know, that despotism and persecution must not extend certain boundaries, or, at least, that they must be disguised under the cloak of justice, or of religion, and they are politic enough to practise what they know. Still, however, it affords matter of the greatest surprise that such beings should be enabled to command the respect and homage, which, it must be conceded, they do, from almost every rank of society. The insatiation, however, subsides rapidly, at least, with the more enlightened part of mankind; which is composed of what is most insultingly termed the *lower orders*; and in less, perhaps, than half a century, we shall scarcely find fifty individuals of a different opinion from ourselves on this subject, for the notorious fact begins to be perceived, even by the most prejudiced, that where Kings and Priests have borne the sway, nothing has existed but violence, misery, rapine, and bloodshed.

Surely, then, it is high time to drive these usurpers of the rights, privileges, and immunities of mankind from their present place, and to make trial what may be experienced without them. With every sentiment of the most heart-felt admiration of your conduct, and respect for your family, I subscribe myself yours most sincerely,

T. WHITWORTH.

France.

QUEEN MAB; CAIN, A MYSTERY; AND A ROYAL REVIEWER.

It is reported that the King has expressed his disapprobation of the works of Lord Byron, and more particularly of his last work entitled "Cain, a Mystery." This is not to be wondered at when we consider that Kings are animals without intellect; and that in this country a King is the tool of his Ministers and his Priests, and has no will of his own beyond sensual gratifications, in which he is encouraged to an excess, that his name may be the easier abused by those who wield his power.

We should think it the greatest honour to hear that the King had expressed his disapprobation of any of our publications—aye, an honour preferable to knighthood or peerage. How Lord Byron may take it we cannot pretend to say, but we are of opinion that he knows too well the stuff that Kings and Priests are made of, to feel the least uneasiness about a Royal disapprobation of his writings.

"Cain, a Mystery," is an Atheistical poem, the groundwork of which is borrowed from Shelley's Queen Mab; but as a poem, as a work of sentiment and merit, the former is much inferior to the latter, and not worthy of resting on the same shelf in the library. Why the Vice Society does not attack Murray, the publisher of Cain, it is difficult for an honest, impartial man to divine, for Jehovah, the God of the Jews, is exhibited in it as a capricious, murderous, and implacable tyrant—whilst Lucifer is painted as a much superior animal, or spiritual, in moral virtue, in manners, and in knowledge. In "Cain, a Mystery," as in Queen Mab, the Bible and its supporters find some terrible and irrecoverable blows; and the cause of Lord Byron's putting his name to such a poem, or publishing it at such a moment, cannot be doubted or misunderstood. It is a ponderous blow at superstition from his pen.

The third Guelph condemned the publication of Hume's Essays, but we believe there was some sincerity in that, although Hume was the Secretary of one of his Ambassadors at the same time; but for the fourth Guelph to condemn the writings of Lord Byron, seems to be a complete finish to his character, by adding to it the vice of hypocrisy, of which we never heard him accused before. It is all over, Mr. Royal Reviewer, with your joint trade of Kingcraft and Priestcraft, and you had better yield silently to the improved knowledge of the People.

EDITOR.

The Republican.

No. 7. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, Feb. 15, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 8,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

I HAVE now to congratulate you on an important acquisition to the principles we avow, which I trust will be the means of advancing many indecisive, wavering persons to an open advocacy of the political sentiments laid down as the basis of Republicanism in the writings of Thomas Paine, and copied into the pages of "The Republican." In consequence of an expressed wish, in addressing you in the third number of this publication, that Mr. Cobbett would give some reasons to the people of this country why he would wish them not to seek a Republican form of Government, or a complete Representative System, that gentleman has thought proper to address me in a public letter in answer to the wish expressed; which letter is not in his usual style, and gives us no information on the point whatever, for all his objections on the matter in question are now reduced to an avowal, that "*it is matter of taste*," mere personal taste, that has induced him so often to denounce Republican Government. The shape of our hats, the cut of our coats, or the colour of our hose, form matters of taste, but it is something quite new in the political world to hear that forms of Government are matters of taste. With me they are not matters of taste: they are matters of good or bad principle, morality or immorality, humanity or inhumanity, and relate to general good or evil, and not to matters of individual taste, or in other words, to mere whim and caprice. Whatever relates to general interest cannot be matter of individual taste, or rather, beyond practical Republican principle—individual taste cannot justly controul general interest. However, that you may have a full view of the matter, and give it the very best consideration, and that you

may be assured that the great Mr. Cobbett himself can find no argument, or shew no cause why you ought not to persevere in a support and propagation of the political principles of Thomas Paine, I will insert his letter verbatim, and shew you that to form an excuse for not answering the call upon him, Mr. Cobbett has made some erroneous assumptions as to my opinions and principles. His letter is as follows, extracted from the 5th Number of the 41st Volume of his Register:—

“ TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

“ *Kensington, 27 January, 1822.*

“ SIR,—You have publicly, and in a tone somewhat imperious, called upon me to state the *reasons*, on which I ground my dislike to *Republican Government*. I might as well call upon you (which I am by no means disposed to do) for the reasons on which you have grounded your change from the religion of Mr. Paine to that of M. Mirabeau; that is to say, from Deism to Atheism. It is matter of *taste*; and, when we are ourselves complaining of *persecution for opinions*, we should be careful how we attempt to controul the opinions of others. I have merely stated my *opinion* of Republican Government, as you have yours about what is to take place in the next world, and, surely, I am as likely to be well informed with regard to the former as you are with regard to the latter. However, if, in the absence of that elaborate confession of political faith, which you demand and against which I protest, a practical anecdote or two will afford you any satisfaction, here they are at your service. In the year 1819, a man was tried in NEW JERSEY, under the Act of King William III. *for impugning the Holy Trinity*, found guilty and punished by imprisonment, in the common jail. A few years before MR. PAINE's death, a man *shot at him*, through the window of his own farm-house, as he was sitting by his fire-side, missed him, indeed, but sent the ball and slugs into a table, or some other thing, near him. The man, who had no hesitation in *acknowledging* and *boasting* of the deed, was held to bail, tried and acquitted amidst a *cheering audience*! MR. PAINE tendered his vote at an election in the county where his farm lay. *They would not let him vote*. He brought his action against the parties, lost his cause, and had to *pay costs*! These, I take it, which are facts quite notorious, might suffice; but, I will just add, that the Republican, BRYNS, who slipped his head out of the noose at Maidstone, leaving that of poor FATHER O'QUIGLEY in it, keeps a newspaper-office at Philadelphia, which was, in 1817 and 1818, also an office for *openly trafficking in places* under the government of Pennsylvania; that particular instances of this trafficking, with names, sums and all the circum-

stances and proofs, were laid, in the form of petitions, before the Legislature; and that the Legislature *passed to the order of the day!* Not to tire you with a thousandth part of what you have so loudly called for, let me conclude with a caution that may be of real use. You talk about *this, and that, which you will say to the Americans if you ever go to that country.* Now, if you were, in that country, to put forth a paper, dated "*in the year 1822 of the Carpenter's wife's son,*" you would, as surely as your name is Richard Carlile, be instantly dressed in a coat of tar and feathers, and, in that dress, be ridden *bare-rumped upon a rail,* till you dropped off by the side of some wood or swamp, where you would be left to ruminate on the wisdom (to say nothing of the modesty) of setting up for a maker of span-new governments and religions.

"With as deep an abhorrence of persecution and of your persecutors as you can yourself feel, and with a determination not, on any account, again to trespass on your time,

"I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

"WM. COBBETT."

If in this letter I could have perceived that it was a matter of duty, or respect due, on my part, to Mr. Cobbett, to have addressed him a public answer, I certainly should have done it, as I feel the same disposition towards him at this moment as I have always felt; I feel that he is an important character on the political stage, and a man whose esteem I would rather seek to excite than his anger; but as I perceive he forbids the discussion I have sought, I will seek it no further, but content myself by shewing you, to the best of my ability, that the political writings of Thomas Paine are unanswerable and unobjectionable in their moral, social, and political relations, and the reason that no solid objections have been advanced against them is, that it is an impossibility, and beyond even the powers of Mr. Cobbett. But if Mr. Cobbett should continue to denounce the Republican form, or Representative System of Government, in the fullest sense of the word, without accompanying such denunciation with the necessary reasons for so doing, I shall feel called upon again to ask for those reasons, not in an *imperious tone*, but in the spirit of free discussion and calm and fair enquiry.

In proceeding to state my complaints of some phrases in Mr. Cobbett's letter, I would first observe, that I cannot admit my *tone* to have been *imperious* in calling upon him to state his reasons for objecting to a Republican form of Government, and advising others, even all the Reformers, to do

the same, however impulsive Mr. Cobbett might have felt the language used. I must request every reader to refer to the 3d Number of the present Volume of "The Republican," and judge for himself, whether I merit the charge of having been imperious upon the matter. I felt it to be an important matter, but I will not plead guilty to an imperious feeling. If Mr. Cobbett had not introduced the subject by a sort of request, that I would reconsider the propriety of giving a publication the epithet of *Republican*, I should not have presumed, at this moment, to have questioned the propriety of his objection to that epithet, and to have asked for reasons. I was driven to a defence of a principle professed, and I hope I shall never make a profession of a principle which I fear or feel ashamed to defend.

The second sentence of the letter has another error; it represents that I have changed "from the religion of Mr. Paine to that of M. Mirabeau; that is to say, from Deism to Atheism." Now the fact is, I have never changed my opinions upon this head since I first began to think upon it, and to investigate it, or since I first gave the Theological Works of Paine a thorough reading. I never expressed a coincidence in all the opinions of Paine upon the subject of religion, and all those which ever had, still have my coincidence: and if Mr. Cobbett, or any other person, can dispute my assertion by a reference to any thing I have ever said or written, I challenge the exposition. I adhere to that God of Nature of which Mr. Paine writes, and of whom his language is sublime and beautiful in the extreme; but I reject what Mr. Paine retained upon the subject of spirituality, or souls, or future existences that shall be sensible of the present. This objection I stated to the men who sent me to this Gaol, in open court, and told them that with this exception I supported every other opinion and principle of Mr. Paine. I now find myself in exact the same disposition as then, with the exception, that I have clearer ideas, or such as are more satisfactory to my own mind, of the principles of materialism, or matter and motion, from a further investigation of the subject.

In M. Mirabeau's System of Nature I know no one sentence or opinion but has my coincidence, and this because he has exploded all idea of spirituality; but I would tell Mr. Cobbett, that Mirabeau was not an Atheist, in the vulgar acceptation of the word. He wrote a long article in his System of Nature on Deity, in which he makes it clear that no man of science, or man of sense, can be an Atheist upon

the vulgar sense of that word, and that, in fact, there can be no such a man as an Atheist; or no man of sense, or with the faculty of thought, but must admit a great controuling power in Nature, or as Nature, and that this power is the only Supreme Being, the only God, or whatever other name or idea might be attached to it. Without meaning the least offence, or without the least ill nature, I hesitate not to assert, that M. Mirabeau was not more an Atheist than is Mr. Cobbett at this moment; and I do not know that I can pay Mr. C. a greater compliment, or confer a higher honour upon him, than to mention his name in conjunction with that of the author of the *System of Nature*.

I do not reject the appellation of Atheist, if any man thinks proper to bestow it upon me, but I do not assume that appellation, and that upon the principle above stated. I recognize a great controuling power as Nature, or in Nature: I call it the God of Nature, and myself a Deist. Paine went this far, but had an abhorrence of the word *Atheism*, without giving it a fair consideration. The words *Deism* and *Atheism*, upon my view of them, differ more in sound than in meaning. In one point of view they are considered an antithesis, but on a close investigation and definition, they are not so in reality, but are as near as possible words of the same import in relation to idolatry. If Mr. Cobbett wishes any further explanation upon this matter, or any further reasons for the opinions which I hold and publish, I will not say they are a *matter of taste*, but freely give them as a matter of conviction upon conscientious principle, and as a matter of morality and honesty. I am not ashamed, but glory in them, and in proof of this I will relate what has passed on the 6th instant in this Gaol.

I have before introduced the name of Dr. England to my readers and the public, as a visiting magistrate, and a man who has put a sermon of Beilby Porteus's in my hand, with the avowed object of stating my opinions. On Wednesday last, just as I had heard that the public and legalized robbers had broke into my house in London, for the avowed purpose of a second time carrying off all the property there, the Turnkey of the Prison came to my room to say, that Dr. England would like to see me, if it was agreeable or convenient. I sent him back word that I was quite ready to meet him at the moment, and he came with the Keeper and took a seat, which is quite unusual on all ordinary or magisterial visits. He began the discourse, by saying, that he had formerly put a sermon in my hand, and that I had

assured him no impression had been made on my mind from reading it, but that he now wished to try the effect of another work, if I would do him the favour to read it, on mentioning its title, "Leslie's short and easy Method with the Deists," I assured him, that all its arguments were quite familiar to me from having formerly read it, at which the Doctor seemed surprised, but still begged that I would again read it attentively. Mr. England, is a Doctor in Divinity, as certain men are called, the Archdeacon of the County of Dorset, and the highest Church Dignitary in the county. I have again read the little work he left with me, and I now mean to invite him either to a private conference, or that he may bring with him any person or number of persons he likes, and I will controvert every argument in the book that opposes Deism, or tends to support the Christian or any other religion, and every objection he or they can advance against me to support it.

That the Doctor was commissioned from some higher source to call upon me and see what sort of a humour I was in at such a moment, I have no doubt, as it is the first and only private visit he ever made me, and I have heard further that two other clerical gentlemen, the one a visiting magistrate, came to the Gaol with him, but did not come into my apartment. He made no direct overtures of compromise with me, but he went a round about way to do it, by pretending to feel for my family, and by saying, that I ought to sacrifice more of my feelings and opinions for them, if nothing else could induce me to do it. No disposition of the kind was shewn to him, and even Mrs. Carlile and my sister did but smile at his affected kindness, and shew no disposition to second his kind feelings and notions, while I told him flatly that I was hostile to all religion, that the God of the Jews, the God or Gods of the Christians, and the God of Mahomet or Mahometans, were nothing but idols, and had no relation to the God of Nature. The Doctor had nothing to say, but that he had heard of a Goddess of Nature, but never before heard of a God of Nature! I put two or three pointed questions to him upon the subject of the impropriety of persecution for matters of opinion, to which he could give me no answer, but was glad to withdraw, without having said one word in defence of his own opinions, or against mine, save that he thought I was wrong in opposing an established religion, and that there ought to be no change or difference of opinion upon such matters. I silenced him in a moment by referring him

to Luther; and by a few other pertinent remarks, I made the Doctor blush a scarlet, and every fibre in his frame was suffused with it. Bear in mind, Republicans, this man is the highest Church Dignitary in the County of Dorset, he is considered a man of very great ability, and as a man of appearance and commanding aspect he cannot be excelled.

I proceed to the third sentence of Mr. Cobbett's letter, which is still more erroneous, both in assumption and inference, than the two former. In the first place, I do not think Mr. Cobbett will find the support of a single reflecting man that forms of government are matters of taste, in a general point of view, they may be so to the members of a Royal Family, and an Aristocracy, but not to the bulk of a nation, or the industrious classes. The question about persecution for matters of opinion by no means applies to the question at issue between Mr. Cobbett and the Republicans: no one has made any attempt to controul Mr. Cobbett's opinion upon this matter, but he has made an attempt to controul the opinions of the Republicans, by saying to them "*do not seek a Republican form of Government,*" without assigning any other reason for the expression, than that it is a matter of personal taste with himself. I have made no attempt to controul Mr. Cobbett in matters of opinion, I have applied to him as to a senior, as to the leading political writer of the day, as to a man with extraordinary talents and powers of argument, to give me, and thousands with me, instruction and explanation upon a point on which we feel interested and on which Mr. C. has shewn a wish to controul us. When Mr. C. says, that he has merely stated his *opinion* of Republican government, as I have mine about what is to take place in the next world, and that he is as likely to be well informed with regard to the former as I am with regard to the latter, he would be correct if the expression was master of fact, but as it is not he is incorrect. I have never stated an opinion about what is to take place in the next world. I have uniformly scouted the idea of such a future state as that to which Mr. Cobbett alludes, so if he intended to throw any ridicule upon me, by the comparison, he may here take it back again with the additional charge of misstatement.

As to the anecdotes, they are not in point; they decide nothing as to the principle of a Republican form of Government, and if they did, how easy would it be for me to take a series of Mr. Cobbett's Registers, and overwhelm them by a selection of abuses practised under the Monarchical

Government of this Island and its colonies, Surely, upon this view of the case, Mr. Cobbett will give the preference to the system that generates the fewest abuses. Besides, I did not contrast the government of the United States with any other government: I stated objections to the manners of the people of the United States, and to their form of government, in the very article which has drawn forth this letter from Mr. Cobbett. I consider them a people who stand in need of moral and social reformation, in a much greater degree than do the people of this Island. The inhabitants of the United States are semi-barbarous in manners, when compared with the inhabitants of Great Britain, but for reasons in giving a preference to their form of Government, I refer every man to the pages of Mr. Cobbett's Registers. During his late residence in the United States, it was the constant boast of Mr. Cobbett, that there were no internal taxes worthy of mention, and that the same quantity of salt, which costs in England twenty shillings, was there imported and retailed for half-a-crown! He was continually contrasting the state of living among the industrious in that country with their state of starving in this, and we were as often told, that a beggar was an anomaly there, unless it were a negro, or an immoral and profligate emigrant from Europe. In the United States of America the form of government is much less corrupt than the people; in Great Britain, the people are much less corrupt than their form of government.

Now, as to the alleged consequence in the United States of calling the Christian era the era "*of the Carpenter's Wife's Son*," I cannot contradict it, odd and odious as it is; but I think it fit matter for some of the American writers to give an opinion upon. This I can say, that I first saw the phrase, "*of the era of the Carpenter's Son*," in a written letter from New York, and I understand, that in the United States, it is a very common mode of expression with the Deists. I turned the phrase to that of *the Carpenter's Wife's Son*, out of compliment to the Christian world, as we are told that Joseph, the Jew Carpenter, had no further share or concern in his wife's son, than to be jealous and to dream about the matter. Although the phrase is to be found in the New Testament, it appeared to me to be an incongruity to call Jesus the Jew the Carpenter's Son, when the Carpenter himself disowned him, although he had his jealous scruples pacified by a dream.

Citizens, I have now discharged a duty both to you and

myself, and I assure you, that I am equally disposed with Mr. Cobbett to let the matter drop here, on the condition that our principles are not to be objected to without accompanying reasons. Public opinions are public property, and if erroneous must be rectified by a conflict. Discussion does not constitute controul or persecution of opinion, and I was surprised at such a construction from Mr. Cobbett. There is no value in opinions, as they apply to individuals, the question at all times is as to their relative value with society at large; and discussion and experience alone can test that value. I coincide with the expressed opinion of many of my friends that Mr. Cobbett's letter to me must give weight to the principles of Republicanism, and tend to convince many, who had doubts, that those principles cannot be either morally or politically impeached: for if Mr. Cobbett cannot impeach them with reasons and arguments, no man living can do it; and in failing to do it, or rather in declining to do it, he has given them a tacit assent and approbation. The jeer of immodesty or folly in setting up for a maker of span-new governments and religions is an erroneous application to me from Mr. Cobbett. It is well known to those who think proper to read what I publish, that I advocate the abolition of all religion without setting up any thing new of the kind: and as to a span-new government, I am not more its advocate than Mr. Cobbett. We differ only, or he affects to differ from me, as to its future form. I am not a maker of governments, I advocate a certain system of government that was known and in being before I was, but it seems to be unpardonable in me to say that I am the disciple of Thomas Paine rather than of William Cobbett. I am the advocate of nothing new; I cannot boast of invention in any thing. I am the disciple and not the originator of a system of government, and with all my lack of modesty, I have not ventured to call any persons my disciples, because they had come to the same conclusions with myself, and perhaps through different sources of information.

Reform is a word which signifies making a new, it does not apply to mending or patching a thing; and, although I am sorry to say, I cannot boast of being a very correct and accomplished grammarian, I can see an inconsistency in a man, who calls himself a Reformer of a government, jeering another for setting up for a maker of span-new governments. If a man had a worn-out and ragged coat on his back, and was offered the choice to have it patched or to have a new

one made of new cloth, which would he be likely to accept? The same principle applies to a worn-out, rotten, and corrupt government: it must be reformed, not patched and mended, to be useful and lasting.

No, Republicans, we will not yield our convictions and sense of right to the taste of any man: we will have reasons strong and sufficient before we change our opinions and views of what is best as to the future form of government. Whether we are assailed by Methodists, by Moderates, or by Radicals, we will stand unshaken on the rock of a pure Representative System of Legislation, and demand the additional right of choosing our own magistrates. Without the possession of both these points, Liberty cannot be universally extended: if one man has it, another will miss it, if the legislation be pure and the magistracy impure; and above all things bear in mind this one axiom, that an impure and corrupt magistracy will be sure to lead on to a corruption of the Legislature, as cause and effect necessarily combine. A corrupt magistracy cannot conveniently exist without the support of a corrupt Legislature, and if you countenance the one you will not long be free of the other.

Since Mr. Cobbett declines to impeach by reasons those simple principles which he rejects by taste, I shall not think of calling upon any person beneath him to do it, but exhort you to a perseverance in, and to a propagation of them. We will hoist those principles as a standard for union, and say to all, since you cannot shew us that we are wrong, you are in honesty bound to advance and unite. Our motto shall be UNION UPON SOUND PRINCIPLES.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

MR. CARLILE,

Jan. 29, 1822.

ACCIDENT presented to me, some of the numbers of your resumed publication of the Republican, on reading them a train of reflections arose in my mind; as to who *you* were? Why you were suffering incarceration? and what interest the country at large had in you, or your writings? a little enquiry soon informed me, you were a man of the most industrious habits, that you possessed a liberal and an inquiring mind, and a strong natural genius, the force of which had elevated you from the humble sphere of a journeyman mechanic to that respectable situation in society, which the possession of mental acquirements so justly claims,

when attended by moral rectitude; and in the discharge of those duties which are the purest evidence of moral rectitude, I find you have been pre-eminent. Thus, Sir, your virtues have inspired me with an esteem for you, although personally unknown to you, and though dissenting decidedly from your Theological opinions. Yet how could I refuse you my esteem, when I found you upon minute inquiry, after supporting a wife and several children, sparing from the scanty produce of manual labour (*the 18s. or 20s. per week, which you received as a journeyman*) a mite to be an offering of filial affection to an aged parent, and of brotherly kindness to your sisters. One of those sisters now your co-mate in prison, participating in your sufferings, and no doubt soothing them by every effort, which a recollection of past kindnesses can suggest.

And together with a wife whom the same fell mandate gave to the jaws of a prison, and completed that phenomenon in English history, of a husband, wife, and sister, incarcerated in prison, and amerced in ruinous fines, for a suppositious crime which no law specifically prohibits. But of this anon. To pursue your character. You add to that of the dutiful son, the kind brother, the tender husband, the fond father, the steady and warm-hearted friend. Thus much for what may be deemed the domestic duties. For that wider circle which belongs to your trading intercourse, you have the reputation of being punctual, just, and liberal: and though you commenced business without a capital, and have sustained an oppression that would have made a wreck of a fortune, had you possessed one, I do not find that you have created any undischarged debts, or, that you have left it in the power of any man to upbraid you with aught dishonest in your dealings. Nor does your heart appear chilled with a miser-like love of gain, nor can I, on the other hand, learn that you seek to indulge in the debilitating luxuries of the sensualist, but rather, that you are rational and temperate in your living: and that you spare liberally from what your means produces to the support of those who are the victims of the same tyranny, and who suffer because they dared to act in your business.

Thus far as to my inquiries of who you are. Now, as to why you are suffering incarceration?

I perceive that you exercised the right of investigating those subjects, that you felt most powerfully to influence your actions and happiness; that is, Religion and Politics, and that you ventured to disseminate such ideas as were either the offspring of your own mind, or the emanation of others; as tended most to elucidate those subjects, and shew what was true or false in either. Reposing in the confidence that the laws guaranteed the right of investigation, you submitted to the public your doubts, and your reasons for entertaining them, on matters of religion; and on politics, your censures on men and measures. You dared

to call the massacre of your peaceable, unarmed, unresisting countrymen at Manchester—murder.

Such honest boldness rendered you obnoxious to the men, who were the authors and abettors of such bloody deeds. It was necessary to their existence that you should be put down, and it was resolved that coercion should destroy you. But who was called to exercise this authority, that was to be so terrible and destructive in its effects; that was to sweep a virtuous and industrious individual from society, that was to shut up his person in prison, and to annihilate his property by enormous fines? Persons clothed with the majesty of the laws, the sacredness of whose office was sanctified by legislative enactments, who stood before the public as the conservators of the morals, clothed in robes of the purest innocence, and revered from the antiquity of their origin? Were those the persons who opposed to you their hallowed authority, who consigned you to a prison, and the enormity of whose fines must rob you of all, your talents or industry may ever hope to create. If they were such, bow to them, cease to murmur, blame only your own temerity; chastisement coming from hands so pure and holy must be just. But, alas! they were not; they were men who exercised an authority unsanctioned by the laws, foreign to the constitution, and which can claim no kindred with years gone by, except with that period of ever execrable memory, when the accursed Star Chamber held its diabolical reign, traversing the law, and dragging from every house, which dark suspicion marked, its devoted victims, to chains, to prison, and to death. Listening to no laws but its own fierce will, hearing no evidence but its own malign accusers, and attending to no pleadings but the fears inspired by tyrannies and injustice. Such was the Star Chamber; and such would be these monsters in embryo, the Vice and Constitutional Societies, unless they are crushed before their power is matured.

Is there a man in England, who loves his country and glories in the name of Englishman, who wishes that the laws should equal-handed deal out justice? And who would spurn at the idea of any petty junto of low conniving villains, whose sordid souls to buy the paltry gain that some base minister might dispense, would combine in dark and infamous association; selecting for their Secretary, and led by his suggestions, one so infamous, so bankrupt in all character, that when asked in a public court to describe himself, he could find no mode of honourable livelihood that attached to him. No way by which he could say the bread he eat was won by fair or manly exertion; and was compelled to own, that covered with infamy, he lived the pimp and pander of that Society? Is there an Englishman, I say, who does not feel indignant at the existence of such a society. Whose blood does not boil, when he sees such a combination of scoundrels subscrib-

ing their pounds, shillings, and pence, to beat down every man who dares to advocate free discussion, who would direct the public eye with keen observance to every violation of its rights; who would unmask the calm, smooth-tongued, deep, designing minister, whose secret aim was to undermine the constitution, and on its ruin build an absolute despotism.

Is there an Englishman that is not horror frozen when he contemplates such a Society, all the members of which have grown rich upon the plunder of the people, pouring out a vast hoard of wealth, and placing it at the disposal of a wretch so infamous as this Secretary, to institute prosecutions, in which are involved the liberty and the property of the individual who is attacked. Nor will even a verdict of acquittal, if there be a chance of obtaining one by a fair impannelling of a jury, save the devoted victim from ruin, for the expences of litigation will effect, that if the public becomes not a party in the defence. Can then Englishmen become indifferent spectators of such operations? Do they not see that every bulwark which the blood or wisdom of their forefathers erected round their chartered rights, will be levelled by these pioneers to the advance of despotism? Do they not see that this execrable junto are the scavengers of the ministry; that in becoming the nominal prosecutor of any hero who dares to advocate the cause of the people, the minister is saved the odium that attaches to the act; while he in return gives the society all the aid his power can effect, with the Magistrate, the Judge, and the packing of the Jury?

Is there an Englishman, who even calls himself Christian, who will not turn with disgust from beholding such Societies marshalled by men whose moral character does not yield a single fruit but what proves it is the growth of a poisonous tree? Do they revere the doctrines of the Divine Author of their Faith, he who summed up his holy law in that sublime mandate "love one another," and deem it right to see all the fury of the worst and most malignant passions of hypocritical zeal let loose, to torture and oppress, to imprison and to rob? Can they be calm spectators of persecution, and reflect upon the first promulgators of the Christian faith.

Was the lash of thorny persecution which they suffered so gentle, and the bloody hands that inflicted it so amiable, that they are emulous of imitating acts so humane? Were impaling faggots and torture so effectual in extinguishing the love of truth in the hearts of the first martyrs to the Christian faith; when conviction arising from investigation had flashed upon their minds, as to inspire the hope that persecution and coercion would arrest the march of opinion? Are they so partial and unwise, as to call in as aids to the support of their faith, that persecution and injustice which the first promulgators of that faith so triumphantly died to

oppose? Or are they indeed so weak as to think that their faith wants for its support the aid of human power, and least of all that power which is derived from tyranny? Or have they the presumption to arrogate to themselves the right of deciding the sole way in which the Almighty shall hold communion with the hearts of their fellow men; and that when those reasoning faculties, which the Maker has in his infinite bounty given to all, and which are the medium of all knowledge to man, have been fully exerted by any individual, to ascertain what is worthy of his belief, and what is not; is then that individual to be hunted down, because he holds an opinion that does not coincide with his fellows? Is he to be punished because his powers of perception do not make manifest to him the same objects of faith? And are one set of men for this difference of opinion to dare to anticipate the justice of Omnipotence; and in inflicting a chastisement fling back upon heaven an upbraiding for the tardiness of its vengeance? A true Christian would shudder at the idea, and exclaim, It was better for him to strive to preserve his own faith pure, and to evince it by his works, than attempt to coerce the faith of others.

Is there an Englishman that calls himself a Protestant that does not tremble when he contemplates those Societies? Does he not see in them the germ of an Inquisition? Has he forgot the bold and manly principles of a Luther? He who so successfully taught the doctrine of resistance to any existing system that tended to enslave the understanding. Does he not blush to think he has not advocated the cause of an oppressed and injured individual, whose crime was a love of liberty? A candid avowal of opinions, proving the sincerity of his conviction of their truth by his manly and firm support of them.

Thus, Sir, the view which my mind takes of your conduct, and the cause of your imprisonment, places you, in my estimation, in a point of contact with the interests of every individual in Great Britain. For in your person the laws are outraged, and they are, or ought to be, the common shield to protect all from injustice and oppression; and when they are broke down, or trampled on, the circumstance is of interest to all who live within their pale.

Yes, Sir, you are the victim of a power whose existence is not recognised by the law of the land, and which has no name in the Constitution by which we profess to be governed: for now an individual suffers in his person and his property, and we ask by whom is the suffering inflicted? By a non-descript in our law; by a fungus, which has grown upon the decaying roots of our Constitution, and which the breath of a corrupt Ministry has raised into mushroom existence, and under whose shade it seeks a disgraceful shelter.

How are we to combat this new germ of evil, which seems to be eating its way into the very core of our liberties and laws? If its vegetation is permitted its shade will soon become so ample,

that the whole tree of our liberties and laws will be shadowed by it; and it will be so identified with the Executive or Ministerial branches, that our whole political existence will be poisoned.

Who can say where the effect will cease, or what the consequence will be of a thing so monstrous as for a set of private individuals who possess no responsible situation in the Government, who have no name or description in the law, arrogating to themselves the right of becoming the conservators of the public morals, the censors of what is admissible in political investigation; looking round them with the law-defying power of the Star Chamber, and inflicting with petty malice their malignant tyrannies upon their fellow-countrymen, their neighbours and equals. The reflection is appalling, and doubly so, when we see mixed in its composition, and directing its operations, a needy and hungry lawyer, destitute of all practice but what his villainies may hunt up in the prosecutions of that Society; and a man so reckless of reputation as to avow he could give no other description of himself but as the Secretary of that Society, or in other words, that he lived upon his means, and those means were derived from the infamous duties of his Secretaryship. What may not be apprehended from a Society constituted of such succumbing materials? Give it but time to mature its strength, and will not its power to inflict evil be omnipotent? Will it not chain down discussion and extinguish investigation? And what will the country present then but a land of slaves?

Thus, Sir, as the cause of your imprisonment places you in point of contact with the interests of every man in Great Britain, it is the duty of every man to identify himself with you, and assist you to triumph over that knot of poisonous reptiles, who, if they succeed in destroying you, will ultimately destroy him as a free-man—for investigation stifled, liberty dies.

But how, it may be asked, can every man in Great Britain identify himself with you, or how can the community serve you now that the law has given its *fiat*? I answer, that they can identify themselves with you by shewing by their sympathy that all suffer in the person of one, when in the person of that one the laws have been outraged. And by contributing from their purse they will rescue you from that confinement which was contemplated to be perpetual when the fine was made so enormous.

By acting thus, the public would most gloriously defeat those Ministers who calculate that by the existence of a system of terror they can stifle investigation, and ruin all who dare to oppose their misrule. It would prove to them that with whatever facility they can pass laws destructive of liberty, the will of a whole people is paramount to those laws, and can nullify their worst intentions, and at any time snatch from their gripe a devoted victim. That such may be your case, Sir, that you may be restored to society

clothed with honour, your property reimbursed, and may live to see your grand-children celebrate the achievement, is Sir, the wish of

A LIBERAL CHRISTIAN.

Observation.—This “Liberal Christian” ought to have given his name as supporting the example he recommends to others. Anonymous professions amount to nothing unless supported by the example recommended to others. The letter is printed more to accompany it with this rebuke than from any other motive.

EDITOR.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

DEAR SIR,

London, Jan. 24, 1822.

PERMIT me to congratulate you upon your being able to resume the *Republican*; and also upon the mode, which *Trinity Murray* has compelled you to adopt to disseminate your truly valuable publications, although I am fully aware you prefer doing things in an open, straight-forward, and honourable way: but if your Christian persecutors drive you to extremities as they have done in arresting your shopmen one after the other, you are, in my opinion, justified in resorting to any stratagem that will baffle their illegal and wicked persecutions. We all know that the two Societies employed in attempting your utter destruction are composed of the most illiterate, immoral, and hypocritical Villains that ever disgraced the fair face of the creation; and the only reason that can be assigned for such a nest of Robbers and Fools remaining so long embodied as they have been suffered to remain, is that disgraceful apathy which pervades the minds of the English people. It is a stigma upon the country to allow these detestable hordes to exist for no other purpose but to harass, torment, and ruin peaceable and honest Citizens. How these RESPECTABLES can reconcile their cruel practices with the precepts of that religion they pretend to uphold, which tells them to “do unto others that which they wish should be done unto them,”—“to love their enemies,” and “to return good for evil.” And, moreover, “to bear no malice nor hatred in their hearts,” and “to love their neighbours as themselves,” is a point I leave to my little *Saint Wilby* and *pious Blacow* to explain; but certain it is, they appear to me, from their prosecuting every work that tends to inculcate true principles of theology and politics, to be such an unprincipled and tyrannic set of Rascals, that their only aim in suppressing what they term sedition and blasphemy is nothing less than an attempt to put down the liberty of the press and the right of free

discussion : this is the sum total of their disinterested loyalty and exemplary piety. Is it likely, my Friend, that they who will lend their assistance to enslave and oppress the people in every shape possible, should have such an unaccountable anxiety for the safety of their souls ? Oh no, certainly not, their conduct gives the lie to it ; and it must be obvious to every observer, that they have no such feeling, and that they are actuated by no other motive than the one just named, in order the better to keep the people in profound darkness, and to prevent them breaking their chains, which these wretches have so inhumanly helped to rivet. This is too plainly their object, and I call upon every honest and virtuous man to come forward, either with his abilities or his purse, to counteract their nefarious and hellish designs.

As to *Mr. Secretary*, I really am at a loss how to express myself, but as I have eulogised the *Crews*, I think it would be unjust in passing unnoticed the *Commanding Officer*, and paying him a similar tribute of respect ; especially as he has been so indefatigable recently in taking out warrants for the apprehension of persons in your employ : but in performing this task I can assure you I feel no inconsiderable embarrassment, inasmuch as it is a subject I am not qualified to enter upon, neither should I attempt it but from the manner in which this man has obtruded himself upon notice ; this alone induces me to offer a few observations respecting his infamous conduct towards you, and in doing this I must forego those finer feelings which would otherwise be observed. This fellow, then, (who I think resembles a description of animal I once heard of, called an Humfudgeon, a frightful beast between an Hog, Dog, Devil, and Porcupine), affords one of the finest treats to those persons who are fond of pantomimes, or farce, that can well be conceived ; and in justice to the Bridge Street Congregation, I think if they had searched the country throughout they could not have selected such an appropriate personage to act for them, for in his horrible ghastly visage is correctly depicted the views and intentions of that "Hell-born Banditti." Only figure to yourself this Mankee strutting and stumping about upon his *Trinities*, giving himself all the airs and consequence of Triangle Derry, with his head reclining upon one shoulder, and which actually gives him the appearance of having escaped from the operations of the halter, reconnoitring No. 55, Fleet Street ; till, at length, having wrought himself up to that degree of frenzy because he cannot bum the house down with its inmates, posts off, foaming at the mouth like an over-driven ox, accompanied by his ready-swearing Yeomen, to Guildhall, or the Mansion House, where, after hopping and hobbling from one place to the other, meets with your old friend, *Thames-fir'd Jack*, and Billy Bubble-nose, (the Trinket Man's Companion), and who, after a grave consultation with their brother Magistrates, grant *Humfudgeon* a warrant against some person serving in your shop, whose name this

TO MR. HOWARD FISH.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 8, 1822.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

I WAS happy to hear from you, as the idea of not being forgotten, or of still holding on the approbation of former acquaintance, is at all times agreeable. I have never yet found that man, who, having once avowed himself the admirer of the principles of Thomas Paine, from a thorough understanding of them, ever apostatized, unless it was produced by a visible lust of gain in some other opposite way, or, unless there was a notorious dishonesty and immorality connected with his character.

In the school of Paine, or the Satanic school, as Robert Southey calls it, and to which Lord Byron, by the publication of "Cain," has given a never-fading respectability, you are my senior; and you may be assured that I feel a satisfaction in your approbation of my career: and as I cannot offer you instruction on any subject, I must conclude by returning you and your companions my thanks for your support.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,
R. CARLILE.

P. S. During the time that my shop may be kept shut by the Robbers, or until I can open another, I must request you and all friends to assist in giving the ordinary circulation to the Republican, and any other publication. Any individual may do this by taking as many as he can conveniently, and with safety to himself, dispose of; and should he overcharge himself, they shall be exchanged for succeeding Numbers or any other publications.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR,

IT has long been my intention to address you on your unmerited confinement, and am now happy to inform you that I have reason to believe a subscription will be entered into

for you in this part of Manchester. It is certainly the duty and the interest of all who are oppressed to do their utmost endeavour to redeem you from the tyrannical grasp of the lawless oppressor. But, on the other hand, I regret to contemplate, that Superstition, with her haggard form, stands in battle array against you. There are many Reformers who are votaries to her infernal charms; there are many who see and feel the effects of slavery and want, who see the unjust proceedings of the Leaders of the State; but when you touch upon that which they have learned, like parrots, from a set of sole interested men, they shrink back as if you were some unnatural being. You heard it expressed during your trial that Christianity was part and parcel of the law of the land. Parcel of the law of the land! parcel of the law of the land! why, if a school-boy had expressed such a sentence he would either have been laughed at for his absurdity or whipped for his profaneness. But then it was first spoken by some great man with an unmerciful wig on and a dreadful garment; it was spoken by my Lord Chief; so that every word he uttered breathed intellectual illumination into the very souls of Placemen and Pensioners. But, however, gross as the sentence is, let them take it, and let the whole tribe of tyrannical Robbers see what they can make of it. If, then, Christianity be part and parcel of the law of our land, let us see how far they live in subordination to that law. First, then, in what does Christianity consist? Does it consist in stag-hunting, in boar-hunting, in gluttony and drunkenness, in horse-racing, in cock-fighting, in gambling, or in the oppression of the poor? Does it consist in laying upon men's shoulders burthens too grievous to be borne, or in continually living on the fruits of the labour of others? Does it consist in living in idleness and heaping up riches, or in waging war against a neighbouring nation that was endeavouring to throw off the superstition and slavery of accumulated ages, in consequence of which, thousands and tens of thousands of human beings were butchered? Witness the last conflict—I mean that of Waterloo, reader! picture to thyself the carnage that was there! Look at the dead and the dying! Harken to the woeful groans of thousands! Behold the crimson gore flowing from the veins and pores of the victims; it flows in such copious effusion that the fertile earth seems to pause at the outrage offered to suffering Humanity, and for a moment refuses to drink the polluted draught! Ah! my friend! does Christianity consist in these things, or does

it consist in a number of men in black coats appointing a day to return thanks to the God of Mercy because he has assisted them to destroy a multitude of their fellow-creatures? Or does it consist in a monstrous Yeomanry sabring and destroying a number of unoffending men, women, and children? Does Christianity consist in any of these things? If it be answered No, then I say, if Christianity be as they have said, part of the law of the land, all those who are guilty of these things are guilty of violating the law of the land, and as such they ought to be punished with the utmost severity. Now, ye slavish multitude of every religious persuasion, do you not clearly see who are your enemies? And do you not also see who are your friends? Do you not clearly see that it is your duty to assist those who have forfeited their liberties and their small properties in your defence? It is no matter whether they are of the same religious opinions or not.

Are you not well aware of the wide-spread havoc that Superstition has made amongst mankind in different ages of the world? Behold suffering, bleeding Ireland at the present moment! Behold her half-starved slaves murdering one another through the direful and deadly hand of Superstition! And as long as Religious Bigotry and Superstition reign amongst mankind, just as long will the injured slaves murder each other. We talk of the wisdom and spirit of our forefathers, but they never knew what the rights of man were: all the great changes and revolutions that have been boasted of were nothing more than putting down one species of tyranny to establish another.

Even if we come down as late as the year 1746, we find a man coming out of Scotland with a number of superstitious bigots with him, making them believe that he was the right heir to the British crown. It is evident that they knew nothing of the rights of human beings, for if they had they would have known that no man living was ever the right heir to any crown; and the modern Reformers must all relinquish such ideas before ever they have a Government founded upon reason and intrinsic justice; and they must tear from their eyes the bandage of Superstition in all its varied deformity. For a moment, permit me to take those upon their own ground who refuse to help the man from fine and imprisonment because he believes not in religious matters as they do; I would recommend such (upon their own grounds) to remember the parable of the man who fell amongst thieves; which thieves stripped him of his raiment

and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead : we need not here mention the Priest and the Levite passing by him, for it was Priest-like : but the Samaritan, the good Samaritan, when he saw him he had instant compassion on him ; he did not stand asking what religion he was, whether he was of the same opinion as himself or not : no, but the moment he saw him he had compassion on him—he saw he was a fellow-creature in distress, and that was sufficient. And to those who are determined to be Christians I would say to such, Go you and do likewise. Go, my friends, it is your duty, a duty that you owe to your suffering country, and to your fellow-creatures that are now suffering unmerited imprisonments and under most grievous fines. None have suffered more than that family, because none have combated corruption more—no, nor none equal. And what can be said of his religious sentiments ? Examine them well and contrast them with your own, and weigh them in the balance of reason and matter of fact ; and by so doing you will discover something perhaps that you have not yet thought of.

I say if every man must be rewarded according to his works, there can be no such thing as redemption ; that is evident to common sense. And again, if the nature of man be originally evil, then I say every evil action is an act of humanity, and every good action is an act of inhumanity. This is so clear, that it cannot be denied. But I must conclude, wishing all who are oppressed to take the above in deep consideration ; and my incarcerated friend, I naturally hope you will excuse me in forgetting to address you in the principal part of this letter, and for the present I bid you farewell.

RICHARD MOORE:

18, John Street, Manchester.

APHORISMS OF CONDORCET.

It was no longer practicable to divide mankind into two species, one destined to govern, the other to obey ; one to deceive, the other to be dupes : the doctrine was obliged universally to be acknowledged, that all have an equal right to be enlightened respecting their interests, to share in

the acquisition of truth, and that no political authorities appointed by the people for the benefit of the people can be entitled to retain them in ignorance and darkness.

These principles, which were vindicated by the generous Sydney at the expence of his blood, and to which Locke gave the authority of his name, were afterwards developed with greater force, precision, and extent, by Rousseau, whose glory it is to have placed them among those truths henceforth impossible to be forgotten or disputed.

Hence it appears to be one of the rights of man that he should employ his faculties, dispose of his wealth, and provide for his wants in whatever manner he shall think best. The general interest of the society, so far from restraining him in this respect, forbids, on the contrary, every such attempt; and in this department of public administration, the care of securing to every man the rights which he derives from nature is the only sound policy, the only controul which the general will can exercise over the individuals of the community.

The period at length arrived when men no longer feared openly to avow the right, so long withheld, and even unknown, of subjecting every opinion to the test of reason, or, in other words, of employing, in their search after truth, the only means they possess for its discovery. Every man learned, with a degree of pride and exultation, that Nature had not condemned him to see with the eyes and to conform his judgment to the caprice of another. The superstitions of antiquity accordingly disappeared; and the debasement of reason to the shrine of supernatural faith was as rarely to be found in society as in the circles of metaphysics and philosophy.

Run through the history of our projects and establishments in Africa, or in Asia, and you will see our monopolies, our treachery, our sanguinary contempt for men of a different complexion or different creed, and the proselyting fury or the intrigues of our Priests, destroying that sentiment of respect and benevolence which the superiority of our information and the advantages of our commerce had at first obtained.

TO MR. CARLILE.

SIR,

I AM anxious to call the attention of your readers, to a subject which to me appears not to have been sufficiently noticed; and in offering you the following observations upon it, my object is principally to throw out a few general hints, that some individual more capable than myself, may be induced to take the subject up; and do it that justice which its importance requires and deserves.

I am, Sir, yours gratefully,

A DEIST.

THE EFFECTS OF A BELIEF IN A FUTURE
STATE OF EXISTENCE ON SOCIETY.

THE only effective objection advanced against the principles of Deism, is its opposition to the dogma of a future state of existence. And when I say effective, I do not wish to be understood, that the doctrine of a future state of existence can be supported upon any rational grounds; still however it is effective, because many individuals who themselves reject it, give it their support, from an idea that it is necessary to restrain the vicious passions of our nature. That this is not the case, and that this doctrine, so far from repressing vice and crime, is calculated to nurture and support it, I do not doubt but that I shall be able to establish. I conceive the chief causes to which vice and crime are attributable, are first, Ignorance; and secondly, Poverty. That ignorance produces vice and crime of every sort, is a truth so self evident, that I do not apprehend any one will deny. It may however be said, every one has sufficient knowledge to inform them, what is right and what is wrong, granted; yet still though men have this knowledge, their minds are not sufficiently enlightened to see the necessity of strictly regarding it. In proportion as men obtain knowledge, so they despise and detest vicious actions, thus a man who has obtained a superior degree of information to others of his fellows cannot be more punished than to be compelled to associate with ignorant and illiterate men. Knowledge it is that expands our minds, that teaches those views of right and wrong, and of philanthropy

which enlightens, without it men would be little better than brutes. Every day's observation affords us an additional proof of the truth of this position, if we are among individuals who have obtained an education, and who are anxious to obtain knowledge, we find them better moral characters, better society, and better men in every shape. And if we refer to history, it will also support this position in the strongest manner. Let us look at our own country, four or five centuries back; what does it present to our view; the most horrible picture of vice and infamy we can imagine. And surely if the fear of a future state of existence could controul the vicious passions of mankind, it would have done so then, because then it was more firmly believed and supported than it ever has been since. I think we may also attribute crime, in a certain degree, to poverty; poverty will compel honest individuals to commit dishonest acts, and though it will be said it will not prompt them to commit any of the worst of crimes that disgrace human nature; yet we must look a little further than this; suppose a man with a family is compelled to resort to any species of fraud to support them, what effect will this have upon his family, will not his example operate powerfully upon their minds, most certainly; by having bad examples before their eyes, they become initiated in vice. Seeing then, that in ignorant times, and among ignorant men, vice and crime has been most prevalent, what are the causes that have operated to keep mankind in ignorance. I think I may safely answer, the belief in a future state of existence has been the principal one. This is the direct tendency of this doctrine, and I may say the direct object for which it was instituted. It is impossible that any man, or set of men, sincerely believing in it, can be otherwise than ignorant; because, it must become the very centre of their ideas, every other object must be neglected to attain this grand one. Of what importance can be Literature, or the Arts and Sciences, or any thing else that is not directed directly to the object in view, to men who believe in such a doctrine as this, none whatever; their object is how they shall obtain future life, they must be continually at prayer, their whole time and attention directed to attain this grand object; it follows then as a natural consequence that such men must become every day more ignorant. And if we refer to history it will point out most clearly that such is the fact. Rome, for example, before Christianity was established, Rome was every thing that was great, her Arts and Sciences had risen to a pitch,

which if equalled have never been excelled since. But no sooner had Christianity established itself in the minds of the people, then she sunk into ignorance and barbarism. And if we look at our own country, or in fact at any country, it will obviously illustrate my argument. What has been the cause of the improvement in the condition of England, from the barbarism and ignorance into which it was sunk four or five centuries since. The cause is obvious to the commonest capacity; as religion has been shaken off, as the belief in a future state has less doated upon, we have gradually improved. And with very little observation, even in the present day, we shall find that the most enlightened men, are those who least attach themselves to religion, and religious parties. Another of the ill effects, produced in a great measure by a belief in this doctrine, is poverty. Convinced I am, that the condition of the poorer classes of society would be improved, very much improved, if this doctrine were eradicated from their minds; because they would then have a stimulus to exertion; instead of building there hopes on a future state, they would exert themselves to be as happy and comfortable as possible. But what now is the fact, many, very many, men, instead of exerting themselves to support themselves and families in as comfortable a manner as possible, are attending prayer meetings, subscribing to Bible and Missionary Societies, and so forth; and if they are embarrassed in circumstances, instead of stimulating them to exertion, it attaches them more firmly to religion, they console themselves with the idea that the poorer they are in this world, the richer they will be in the next.

It has been asked how Deists can reconcile to their consciences, the bitter cries of thousands whose hopes they have destroyed. The answer is simple and easy; those who have rejected the doctrine upon the evidence that has been adduced against it, so far from uttering bitter cries, so far from desponding under such circumstances, will be grateful to the honest patriots, who have rescued them and their posterity, from the fangs of interested priests; who in spite of persecution of the most malignant kind, have still dared to point out the absurdities of the illusive dogmas they have been believing.

This doctrine has been pictured also as a most powerful support and consolation in circumstances of distress. For my own part I can see in it no consolation, is it a consola-

tion and support when an individual has lost some relation or friend whom he has much-valued. No? It must indeed be to him a terror; he knows not whether his friend will be lifted to the mansions of eternal bliss, or whether he will be tormented in hell; he is in doubt and fear, surely then this can be no consolation, no support to him, in such a situation. Picture on the other hand a Deist, under such circumstances. He will look upon his loss like a philosopher, he is in no anxious fears about the fate of his friend's soul, he is certain he will perish in the earth, he knows it is the common fate of all, and the regular course of nature, and will therefore look upon it as such. Is it then a consolation to an individual whose family is in a state of starvation; if it is, it is a horrible one; instead of stimulating him to exertion for their support, it encourages a despondency fatal to his welfare. To this I would also answer that such distress would probably never have existed, had it not been for this very doctrine.

Such then are the effects produced by a belief in the doctrine of a future state of existence; and can we look upon them without horror; can we countenance such a dogma by our silence; or can we (to say nothing of the Book upon which it is founded) recommend it as a valuable boon to the rising generation? I think not; it behoves every Deist, and friend of his country, to openly avow his opinions, and act upon them accordingly.

Let them instruct their children in their moral duty, and instead of suffering them to waste their time in reading the Bible, learning Church Catechisms, and all such ridiculous nonsense, and exciting in their minds a superstitious veneration for religion, let them read such books as will both amuse and instruct, and it will excite an inquiring ardour in their minds, which will produce the best effects to themselves and society.

TO RICHARD CARLILE.

SIR,

Liverpool, Feb. 6th. 1822.

IMPELLED by a conviction of the truth of the principles you profess, we beg to offer you our best thanks for the noble stand you have made against the infuriated professors of a popular system of error and superstition.

Bigotry, has ever been the parent of vice, the abettor of crime, and the promoter of cruelty and persecution; and every system of religion which has arisen in the world from the earliest recorded periods, has originated in ignorance, has been cherished by blood, and had its consummation in the subjugation of every principle which ennobles man, or distinguishes him from the brute creation; and even under the Christian dispensation, avowedly the mildest that has been propagated, more blood has been shed than can be attributed to the influence of every other passion, which disgraces human nature.

If it could be proved that the spread of revealed religion had produced a redeeming degree of virtue or happiness, or had tended in the least to lessen the sum of human misery, we might give it a favourable consideration; but, when we find that the darkest pages of history record the deeds of those times, when superstition has had the greatest influence over the minds of men, and when our own experience teaches us, that Priests and the dupes of Priests, are the supporters of tyranny, and the instigators to persecution, we cannot but look upon Christianity, and indeed all other systems of religion which are not deduced solely from nature and reason, as the greatest curses of society.

The benefits you have rendered by fearlessly disseminating the works of that great Apostle of Reason THOMAS PAINE, entitle you to the warmest gratitude of the lovers of truth in the present generation, and will give you a place in the affections of posterity, when time shall have consigned to oblivious contempt the very names of your enemies and persecutors.

Dark and gloomy as are the present days, we hope to live in times when the clouds of ignorance, and superstition shall be dispersed, when the moral horizon shall be clear and spotless, when the SUN OF REASON shall shine in all the glorious refulgence of meridian splendour, and the edifices of idolatry shall be converted into temples of truth, where mankind may assemble to contemplate the purity of

that religion which the GREAT ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE has revealed in his works, to ALL mankind, works which stand imperishable monuments of the mutability of creeds, works which shall survive the wreck of priesthood, and the crush of canon law.

You Sir, have been a faithful and zealous servant in the cause of truth: continue your efforts and they must be crowned with success; our hearts, and the hearts of every REAL FREE MAN are with you.

Finally, to convince you and the world, that we are not your friends in words alone, we beg to transmit you a portion of the worldly good, which we have been able to save from the grasp of our corrupt governors, and hope shortly to establish some means of supplying you with our periodical contributions, to enable you to persevere in the cause of virtue, and of truth.

We remain, your true friends and brethren,
THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE FUND.

With this address a Ten Pound Bank of England note, was received. A private letter of thanks has been returned.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

DEAR SIR,

Newgate, Feb. 6th. 1822.

WE have just heard of the conduct of your unfeeling enemies, at Fleet Street. We are unable to express our indignation at such villainy, but we fervently hope you will live to have justice done you for all your sufferings.

We beg you will not give yourself any trouble on our account; we will not accept of any pecuniary assistance until your affairs are in a different situation to what they are at present.

H. BOYLE.
W. V. HOLMES.
JOSEPH RHODES.
JOHN BARKLEY.

As a mark of admiration for the virtues of such men, the above article is made public, and the subscribers may be assured, that, the first prisoner from the Temple of Reason, who confines himself to Gaol allowance, as a matter of necessity, shall be

R. CARLILE.

THOMAS PAINE.

The difficulty of obtaining information respecting the private characters of those who opposed established creeds and opinions, is well exemplified by the following circumstance. It was well related to the writer, by the late Mr. Robert Sutcliff, a well known and most respectable Member of the Society of Friends, and author of *Travels in the United States*:—Entering an Inn at Burford, in Virginia, he thus addressed some persons who were in the same room:—"The celebrated Thomas Paine lives in this town, I am informed; what kind of a character does he bear here?" "Oh! he is a drunken profligate fellow! you may see him drunk in this house every day of the week." In this the whole company agreed. A little time after, the landlady, who was not then in the room, brought in Mr. Sutcliff's dinner; whilst she was attending him, he said to her, "I understand Thomas Paine often comes to this house, and is frequently drunk here?" To which she replied, "No, Sir, he never was in this house, that I know of at any time: he comes to the window every morning for his letters, and that is all we see of him." The persons who had given first information being thus convicted of falsehood, appeared very angry, and said that if he did not get drunk there, they were sure he got drunk somewhere. To which the landlady replied—"I can readily believe that; for I never had a good opinion of him since he sold the Americans to the English during the war."—"Pray how did he betray the Americans?" "When he had the command of a fort on the Delaware, he supplied them with black sand instead of gunpowder:—he is a very bad man: and yet he does more good to the poor of Burford than any other person in the place." "In what way?" "By visiting them when they are sick, and relieving their distresses." These circumstances do not require comment.—*Monthly Magazine*.

J. JONES returns his sincere thanks to the amiable and patriotic Lady, who left the following note, with a subscription, at 55, Fleet Street; and feels himself highly honoured in receiving the approbation of so virtuous and patriotic a female, born in that land of liberty, a land that suffers not that animal called a king to disgrace its soil.

"Fourth Subscription to the English Patriot, J. Jones, who volunteered his services in the *Temple of Reason*, Fleet Street; by an American Lady, 2s. 6d."

THE Proceedings of the 29th of January, the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine, are delayed for another week, for the purpose of concentrating and exhibiting them to one view. The reports from London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Stockport, Stokesley, not forgetting the brave fellows in Newgate, have reached Dorchester Gaol: we wait for Leeds, and a few other places.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 9.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. B. is informed that his note was received on the 4th instant, and the sovereign on the same day. The bearer was not admitted to see R. C. nor was any communication made through the officers of the Prison; but he has learnt from the shopman, who is now in Newgate, that the message was an offer of a dozen of wine. R. C. returns his thanks for the kind offer, but begs to observe, that he drinks no wine at his own expence, and therefore he does not desire it at the expence of another, for, if it were as cheap as milk, he would give the preference to good milk; but he is candidly instructed to say on the part of Mrs. C. and his sister, that they prefer an occasional glass of wine to milk or water. A letter of thanks would have been addressed to R. B. if his address had been known, or if the shop in Fleet Street had not been closed by the Public Robbers. For the moment the present is the only available channel for communication.

Janus is informed, that No. 45, of the North Briton, will be copied into the Republican, with a suitable historical preface.

Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street. All Communications (post paid) are requested to be sent to Dorchester Gaol, until a further Address to some House or Shop be given.—Orders, with remittances, or references for payment, will be punctually attended to. Country Agents will find the most liberal Terms for prompt Payment.

The Republican.

No. 8. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, Feb. 22, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 18,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

I PROMISED you in my Sixth Number, that I would lay before you every thing of importance that occurred in the Parliament in the present Session. The first thing that did occur, as a matter of course, was the King's Speech; but as it was, what it has ever been, an unmeaning thing, a mere thing of form and ceremony, words of sound without meaning, thrown together to tinkle in the ears of empty heads, I shall not copy it here. This speech was no sooner uttered, than down came Castlereagh with two new laws for Ireland, or one it may be called, which legislates that the people of Ireland shall perish quietly, or be transported to Botany Bay without trial, charge, or any waiting for the commission of offence: that is to say, they are not to be out of their hovels after sun set, or before sun-rise, without being liable to be sent on board a convict ship, and that in chains to Botany Bay, or to some other part of New South Wales, and if it be the pleasure of their tyrants, they are to be imprisoned with or without cause, and, to a certainty, without redress: the whole of which signifies, that the magistrates of Ireland have power absolute over the lives and properties of every human being that treads the Irish soil, as much as the Grand Turk has absolute power over the lives and properties of his slaves.

These laws, or this law, was passed in violation of all the usual forms of legislating, that is, they were hurried through both Houses of Parliament within thirty-six hours, and received the Royal Assent, as it is called, at the first moment that it could be given.

In this affair Castlereagh was seen to dance and fidget with delight. He was in the very element that always ex-

hilarates him, and the only element that can warm his cold blood. If Milton had lived in our days, or had seen a Castle-reagh in his, he might have added a new feature to his Devil, or have placed an entire new character in his Pandemonium.

The readers of newspapers are apt to be filled with horror at the conduct of the Irish Insurgents, as they are called, but their horror ought to be transferred towards the tyrants and robbers of Irishmen, and sympathy alone be felt for the latter. A Correspondent has furnished me with a picture of Priestcraft in Ireland, which developes the whole cause of Irish misery, and fully justifies the cry of Irishmen as to "No Tithes." Similar statements have been published in various papers, but none that has come under my view has displayed so fully the real cause of all the disquietudes of Ireland. I give it insertion here just as I have received it, and I have every reason to believe its accuracy in a general point of view. It will be here seen that the miseries of Ireland are to be placed to the account of Kingcraft and Priestcraft alone. This is the cause of all human misery.

Some Account of the Revenues of the Established Church of Ireland.

The Archbishops and Bishops are in number twenty-two, and their Revenues are estimated, as under-mentioned:—

	Revenue, per Annum. £.
Archbishop of Armagh	14,000
Dublin	14,000
Tuam	9,700
Cashel	9,000
Bishop of Clogher	9,000
Dromore	6,500
Down	7,000
Derry	15,000
Kilmore	7,000
Meath	8,000
Raphoe	10,000
Ferns	8,000
Kildare	8,000
Ossory	6,000
Cloyne	7,000
Cork	6,500
Killaloe	7,000
Limerick	8,000

	£.
Bishop of Waterford	8,000
Clonfert	4,000
Elphin	12,000
Killala	4,000
	<hr/>
	187,700

By far the greater part of these enormous incomes arise from estates belonging to the different sees, and a very small part only from tithes. The incumbents are restrained from granting leases for a longer term than twenty-one years, but they have obtained an Act of Parliament enabling them to renew the leases every third or seventh year, on receiving a fine or grass sum. This system has been almost universally adopted, and, consequently, the apparent rental, is much below the real rental. Mr. Wakefield is of opinion, that the lands belonging to the following sees would, if fairly let, bring the sums attached to their names: viz.

	Per Annum. £.
The Primacy	140,000
Bishopric of Derry	120,000
Kilmore	100,000
Clogher	100,000
Waterford	70,000

The real rental of the whole of the ecclesiastical property in Ireland, amounts to upward of one million a year.

During the last twenty years, the Parliament of the United Kingdom, has granted the sum of one million of pounds sterling, for the purchase of glebes, and the repair and erection of churches in Ireland, beside large sums in stock and debentures for the same purpose.

Number of Parishes in Ireland	2,246
Living in the Gift of the Bishops	1,470
Crown	293
Laymen	367
College	21

Amount per Annum.
£.

Archbishop of Cashel	35,000
Cloyne	50,000
Ferns	30,000

The Bishop of Cloyne has in his gift one living, producing £3,000 a year; one, £2,000 a year; and three, £1,500 a year each.

The Deanery of Down produces, per year	£. 3,700
Number of beneficed Clergy in Ireland	1,309
Average Amount of their Livings, per annum ...	£. 800

Living^s are considered low, if not more than £500 a year each.

Aggregate Amount of the Revenues of the beneficed Clergy of Ireland, per annum..... £1,047,200

Before the Reformation by Henry VIII. one-fourth of the tithes was applied to the benefit of the bishops; one-fourth to the clergy; one-fourth to the poor; and the remaining one-fourth to the repair of the churches. Now the clergy swallow up the whole, and in Ireland, leave the poor destitute, as there are no poor-laws as in England.

The grants of the Government to the Public Protestant Schools of Ireland amount to from £40,000 to £50,000 a year, beside an old grant of land which produces £6,000 a year. These grants are independent of all emoluments derived from charters.

The total expence of the Protestant Established Church of Ireland is considerably above Two Millions a year, and it is supposed to be the richest church in Europe.

Population of Ireland is estimated at..... 6,000,000

Catholics five-sixths, or..... 5,000,000

Protestants one-sixth, or..... 1,000,000

Protestant Dissenters..... 700,000

Followers of the Established Church about

one-twentieth, or..... 300,000

N. B. Some estimate the last at 400,000 or 500,000.

The Protestant Dissenters in the north of Ireland pay very little of tithes, and in some places nothing; so that the burthen of the Protestant establishment is, almost exclusively, thrown on the Catholic population, who derive no benefit from the Protestant schools, nor ever attend the established Protestant churches, and having their own clergy to provide for besides. One instance has occurred of a Bishop who enjoyed all his revenues till his death, and never even saw Ireland. Another instance, of recent date, of a Bishop retaining the whole of his emoluments and residing twenty years abroad. Pluralities are common; and often the Rector never lives in the parish, or even in Ireland, and is, in course, unknown to his parishioners. The tithes are collected by persons termed tithe-proctors, who are, as relates to tithes, the same as middle-men as to rents. Sometimes the tithes are farmed by the tithe-proctor, and are frequently let by private contract, or by auction, to the highest bidder.

By a vote of the Irish House of Commons, in the year 1735, all who in future should pay tithes on pasture land were declared enemies to their country. Since that period, the vast and magnificent pleasure-grounds and parks of the wealthy, the powerful, and the titled, have contributed nothing to any globe, nor paid either church-rate or tithe: while the miserable Catholic peasant, in his mud hovel, occupying at an enormous rack-rent the smallest portion of the soil, on which to grow potatoes for his almost starving children, is tithed with inexorable rigour. If he is unable

to pay the composition for tithe when due, it is customary to take a promissory note for the payment, to allow him time as it is called, at the expiration of which, if, as often happens, he is still unprepared, he signs what is usually denominated a Kerry bond, when on the first failure of payment at the time specified, by a speedy process his miserable furniture, the remainder of his crop of potatoes, and his hog or cow, if he has either, are all seized, and irrecoverably swept off together, and he, with his wife, and clamorous and famishing children, turned out of doors!

Oh system! the envy of surrounding nations! the admiration of the world! Alas! poor Greece!!! poor Ireland!!!

Thus far my Correspondent, and to him I respond, alas! poor Ireland! and may you imitate Greece! for Ireland has found something worse than a Turkish Government in that of Britain. The condition of the Greeks under the Ottoman empire was never half so bad as that of Irishmen under this Government; and in their struggle for a better condition I sincerely hope they may be equally successful. Those who are now called Insurgents, or Rebels, or White Boys, or Captain Rock's men, are justifiable in every step they have taken. Owing to the system of pillage and tyranny that grinds them to the earth, their life is a complete state of wretchedness, and they fare much worse than the dogs and cattle of their Robbers and Tyrants. Death or liberty is an alternative that every man should seek, but death to an Irishman is ten times more desirable than his present state of existence; and it is from suffering alone that we find them driven to such excesses. Painful as it is to read of the massacres committed, still it must be acknowledged that there is more of humanity in the conduct of the Insurgents than in that of their Tyrants. The first principle of the Insurgents is evidently humanity, the next is self-defence and self-preservation. Those are the outragers of humanity who have kept Ireland in such a miserable state, or who, by an unnatural union of the Government of the two Islands, have capped the climax of the miseries of both.

Read the foregoing estimates of the reveuues of the Priests, then judge what is drained for taxes and parochial and county rates, and you will not wonder at what Irish White Boys are doing. As a toast in this Number expresses, they ought rather to be designated the Right Boys; and that such they may prove, in spite of Castlereagh's Insurrection Bill and Absolute Power of Imprisonment Bill, is a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

Another measure of the Ministers has been developed in

the Parliament respecting the relief to be afforded to the overtaxed Agriculturists, and what think you, Republicans, that it is? Why the first proposition is an admission that the Farmers are too heavily taxed; that they are so heavily taxed they cannot pay the demands upon them; and how do you think they are to be relieved? By reducing the taxes you will naturally suppose. No such thing! Castlereagh has caught the lore that taxation to any extent is not an evil, and that it is only necessary to enable the payer to pay to make him prosperous and happy; and whether he can do it out of the profits of his industry, or by borrowing money, is all one to Castlereagh. Well, what do you think? That master-piece of intellect, the present Administration of Government, is about to lend Four Millions to the Farmers to enable them to pay their taxes; and they are to mortgage the little property they have left to obtain this loan. Wonderful relief! But what are they to do next year, when they have no property to mortgage, will another loan be made without any kind of security? I think not. Nothing can tend to a more absolute despotism than this measure, for it will be calculated to make the whole land, with both live and dead stock, the property either of the Bank Company or the Government; and when this becomes the case, although they will possess the land upon terms very similar to what we read in the Jew-Book of Genesis, Joseph did with the Farmers of Egypt, still I fear they will not rent it out again at one-fifth of the produce as he did. Our modern Pharaohs are far more despotic and cruel than they were of old. The simile is striking in the two cases, as to the miseries of the people and the schemes of the Government, with the exception, that the distress in Egypt arose from famine, and in England it arises, as the wise ones say, from a redundancy of produce. Joseph talked about trusting to the God Jehovah, and Castlereagh begins to talk about the assistance of Nature, as if Nature was to bring him and his associates relief whilst they are constantly at war with every natural right and feeling. He who outrages every principle of Nature, and has done ever since he has held power, is now beginning to invoke Nature, and Providence, and the English Farmers, to aid him in destroying themselves! Wonderful Castlereagh! How any man, with a spark of humanity and fellow feeling, could sit and hear his jargon about the relief of the Agriculturists, I am at a loss to conceive. An honest man must have burst forth in indignation at every half a dozen sentences he utter-

ed. There certainly is a total absence of humanity and honourable feeling in that Parliament. All is a scheme of robbery and division of plunder. But this loan of Four Millions is to be made to the Overseers of Parishes, upon the security of the Parish Rates, and to be paid back again by instalments at short notices: that is, whenever the Government thinks proper to demand payment of any portion, or the whole of the loan, the necessary sum must be levied in the shape of Parochial Rates, and then those who borrow nothing will have to pay their share as well as those who borrow largely! Admirable system! Joseph with all his foresight, cunning, wisdom, and divine inspiration, was a fool to Castlereagh!

On reading the particulars of this loan I was filled with delight at the scheme, as it supersedes the necessity of the loan I have solicited in another part of this publication. Surely, I said to myself, I have friends enough in this country among Farmers and Overseers of Parishes to furnish me with a sufficient portion of these Four Millions (which are to be scattered for the good of the people) to cover my fines. Surely, I shall be able to borrow £1500 out of the Four Millions, or fifteen of my friends can do it for me by hundreds. I shall then be able to pay the Crown in its own coin. It is a well-timed scheme for me, if I do not mistake; and I charge all my friends to look well after this money, and give me the best assistance they can with it. It is a giving back of plunder, and I have a claim upon £3000 of it; but as I am confined, my friends must catch it up for me.

The Farmers have now nothing to do but to give up all their substance to Castlereagh, and he, like Joseph of old, will dole out their daily bread or potatoes to them. If they do not grumble or make much noise, they may occasionally get a little sour milk, as the poor Irishmen seek as a luxury. Castlereagh certainly strives hard to enforce a uniformity of opinions and manners, and it seems that his dear Ireland is to be the example or the pattern for union. Instead of putting Ireland upon the same footing as England, as was promised and expected at the Union, it appears we mistook his meaning, and that England is to be brought to the condition of Ireland, to prevent all jealousy between the inhabitants of both countries as to superiority. Every thing at present tends to this point, and if Castlereagh can bring "the working of events" in his mind into action, he will certainly reduce the Farmers of England to the condition of the Pea-

santry in Ireland, for we hear of no such things as Irish Farmers.

Republicans, hold fast the good faith : our prospects daily brighten. Nature is on our side, and not on that of Castle-reagh : he must appeal to his Idols and not to our God. Be steady, be ready to take advantage of all his working of events, and be assured and cheered with the idea that the hour of your triumph can no longer be delayed. It is fated ; it is fixed ; and will come at its proper time.

R. CARLILE.

CÉLEBRATION OF THE 29TH OF JANUARY, 1822.

The Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Paine.

LONDON.

At a numerous and highly respectable meeting held in London, the following Toasts and Sentiments were delivered.

Mr. BOWES in the Chair.

1. The Immortal Memory of Mr. Thomas Paine, may the Sons of Liberty ever cherish his Name.

An excellent Poetical Address was spoken by Mr. Dunstone to the Company, and the Address of the former year called for and repeated.

2. May the Works of Mr. Paine be read by every Tyrant and Bigot, and while they read may they vanish.

Scotch Song.—“ An honest independent mind may look and laugh at a’ that.”

3. Richard Carlile, the intrepid Assertor of Republican principles, and Propagator of the Theological and Political Writings of Paine.

Mr. Heaman rose to return thanks for Mr. Carlile, and addressed the Company as follows :

“ Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : After this enthusiastic unison displayed on the announcement of the name of Richard Carlile, I felt impelled to rise to thank you for coupling that name with the name of our immortal countrymen, Thomas Paine. I am glad to see you have done this, because you have shown yourselves capable of appreciating the advantages derived from the late extended publication of the writings of that truly great man, and their importance in the cause of freedom. Your enemies have repeated their efforts to suppress those works, but the man, whose name you have just toasted, declares they shall not, so long as the public will stand by him and support him. The cause is yours, stand by him, give him your support, and he will still continue to fight your battles. Whilst you are gaining the advantage and the satisfaction of his exertions, he is suffering with his wife and sister in a prison, and content to suffer, whilst he can see the principles, which you have now met to countenance, gaining ground. Gentlemen, for Mr. Carlile and for myself, I return you thanks.

4. The immortal Memory of General Washington and American Independence.

5. May the World soon be blessed with Representative Systems of Government founded on the solid basis of Liberty, Equality, and the indefeasible Rights of Man.

The last toast called forth a torrent of eloquence from Mr. Gale Jones, to which we cannot profess to do common justice. After some prefatory observations, he remarked, that if any man deserved more thanks than another for an open avowal and propagation of Republican principles, that man was Richard Carlile. Shakspeare had written and Garrick had spoken, and what Garrick was to Shakspeare, that was Carlile to Paine. Garrick by his eloquence gave an additional splendour to the writings of Shakspeare; Carlile by his courage, has dispelled the prejudice and bigotry which overwhelmed the writings of Paine; and now this greatest of all moral dramatic writers, and this greatest of all moral political writers, are exhibited as monuments of imperishable British genius and honesty, exciting our equal admiration and imitation. Mr. Jones avowed his opinions to be in unison with those of Carlile and Paine: declared he would never more attend any hustings to support the election of any man, unless he stood forward as the avowed advocate of Republican principles; nor would he ever again talk of sending men into the House of Parliament to reform it. It was all a delusion. The only way of reforming it was for a hundred thousand men to go to their doors, turn the rogues out, lock up the place, and throw the keys into the Thames. He would not approach them on any other condition.

He reminded the company that there was a little house in the city that defied as yet the united efforts of the whole government. It was held out that a violent entry would be made by a new law, or against law, but he hoped they would come forward with every possible assistance, or forget that they had read the works of Paine and Carlile. The object of the despots would be not only to crush Mr. Carlile, but every man who followed him in the same line. They know well that if such a shop as Mr. Carlile's be kept open, it will soon put them all down: for whatever be their power, in a physical point of view, they cannot stand against a single Printing Press, that continually disseminates common sense and sound reason. He therefore hoped they would rally round Mr. Carlile, as the most important post to be defended. We have given but a faint and very brief outline of this speech which drew forth the plaudits of the company incessantly, and continued long after Mr. Jones sat down.

6. The sevenfold Shield of Protection against the despotism of Priests, Tyrants and Boroughmongers—a free and unlimited Press.

7. Mrs. Carlile, Mary Ann Carlile, and the Female Patriots of the Country.

Mr. Henman again addressed the Company to thank them for the last toast, passed some encomiums on the females whose names had been mentioned, and on the importance of cherishing the exertions of females generally. He characterized in strong language the sufferings that had been inflicted on Mrs. Carlile, and expressed his admiration of her fortitude, and hoped that the example set by those two females would be followed by others, and not go unrewarded.

8. To Thomas commonly called Lord Cochran: the disinterested Simon Bolivar; and success to the total emancipation of South America.

Song, by Mr. Bowes—"Auld lang syne."

9. May our Religion be the Religion of Nature, which is sufficient for our own happiness, and that of all men.

10. The immortal Memories of Wallace, Bruce, and Burns.

11. May the Irish White Boys prove the Right Boys to redress their wrongs and restore the long lost liberties of their country.

12. Success to the free cause of Spain and Portugal and may the Greeks gain their liberty.

Song, by Mr. Henman.

13. Success to the persecuted and imprisoned Victims of Tyranny and Superstition in every quarter of the Globe.

14. Speedy downfall to Kingcraft, Priestcraft, and Craft of every kind, which has a tendency to delude and enslave mankind.

Thanks having been voted to the Chairman for his impartial conduct, the Company separated after spending the evening with great conviviality.



EDINBURGH.

Edinburgh, 4th day of February, in the Year 1827,
of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

SIR,

ACCORDING to my promise I hereby send you an account of the second anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine, held in this City, upon Tuesday last, the 29th January, when nearly fifty Freethinkers assembled in a Tavern, in High Street, about 6 o'clock in the evening. Mr. David Leitch was called to the Chair; after which we partook of an excellent dinner; and the whole was conducted upon the true principles of Republicanism, as five shillings per man covered all our expences; and after the cloth was removed, the following toasts were expressed, and drank with enthusiasm:

1. The immortal Memory of Thomas Paine.
2. May the Will of the People, expressed by true Representatives, be the Law of the Land.
3. A speedy downfall to all Governments that are supported by Priests and Spies.
4. The Reformers of Great Britain, who have been, and are still suffering for their exertions in the cause of Liberty.
5. A speedy Relief from the Oppression and Imposition of an established Clergy.
6. The Republicans of Hayti, and may the Blacks convince the World that they are more deserving of Freedom than the slave-dealing Whites.
7. May the Efforts of the Philosopher and Man of Science, drive from the World that Superstition which has enslaved and brutalized Mankind.
8. May Synagogues and Churches be turned into Temples of Reason and Science.
9. May Christians abandon slavery; though their Founder had not the humanity to forbid it.
10. The Universal Liberty of the Press, none need fear it but those who are guilty.
11. Mr. Richard Carlile, the upright and undaunted Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty, may his exertions be successful and his sufferings rewarded.
12. Mrs. Carlile, and Miss Mary Ann Carlile, and all those Females who have stood forward in the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty.
13. Mr. Carlile's invisible Shopman, and all the others who have voluntarily come forward to keep open the Temple of Reason.
14. The old veteran Major Cartwright.
15. Mr. Wooler, the bold and undaunted Advocate of Reform.
16. Mr. Cobbett, and may he live to see a Monument raised in honour of Thomas Paine, and the bones of that injured Philanthropist faithfully deposited under it.
17. Mr. Hunt, and the Great Northern Union, may they apply their Funds to the best advantage.

There were many other toasts, with very appropriate tunes, and several excellent songs, besides some new pieces of poetry composed by gentlemen of the party expressly for the occasion; one of which I have inserted for publication; and the evening was spent with the greatest harmony and conviviality until twelve o'clock; when the company broke up, highly gratified

with the proceedings of the night; indeed it might be called altogether a mental feast; for my own part, I can safely say, that I never was in a more intelligent and agreeable company. Such meetings, Sir, if more general, would be of great advantage to the cause of liberty; but there is little doubt that kings and priests and those drones who fatten on the credulity and stupidity of their fellow men; will bellow forth their hatred to such assemblies, but they may puff themselves up like swelled toads, and spit their venom against the wind, and it will fly in their own faces, but can never do any material injury to the friends of freedom, while they act with union, firmness, circumspection, and perseverance to obtain the rights of man, and free inquiry and discussion on every subject, all which we will ultimately obtain in despite of their combinations and Christianlike persecutions, which are the grand causes of promoting our object.

I have inclosed you five pounds being the remainder of a subscription of seven pound, two of which I remitted to you at a former period: and the following is a list of the Subscribers which you are at liberty to publish.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
*James Affleck	0	10	6	John Young, a poor Weaver,			
*Robert Affleck	0	10	6	who was attempted to taste			
*William Hay	0	10	6	that forbidden fruit, <i>Reason</i> ,			
*David Leitch	0	10	6	by M. Volney	0	5	0
*John M ^c Niven	0	16	0	David Dervan, an Enemy to			
M. W. Mountcastle	0	14	0	all Persecution	0	2	0
Wm. Mountcastle	0	10	0	James Sandiland	0	1	6
An Enemy to Cant and Hy-				George M ^c Latchie	0	2	6
pocrisy	0	7	6	Thomas Petine, a decided			
Adam Crawford	0	6	6	Enemy to Kingcraft and			
John Kesson	0	6	6	Priestcraft	0	1	6
David Finlay	0	2	6	Duncan Cameron	0	1	0
Thomas Finlay	0	2	0	Thomas Richardson	0	1	0
Nicol Alexander	0	3	0	John M ^c George	0	1	0
Thomas Moir	0	3	0	James M ^c Intosh	0	2	0
Alexander Gray, a Sceptic	0	2	6	A Friend to Civil and Reli-			
James Dunkell	0	1	0	gious Liberty	0	1	6
Clark Hastie	0	1	0	Andrew Lauder	0	1	0
Ebenezer Smith	0	2	6				

N. B. Those marked with a star, are most of the friends who subscribed the first Ten Pound to you.

I shall be happy to receive a letter from you as soon as convenient, for I assure you, to correspond with you gives me great pleasure. My kindest respects to Mrs. Carlile, and your sister Mary Ann, and believe me, dear Sir, your true friend,
J. AFFLECK.

Song, composed by Adam Crawford, for the Occasion of celebrating the Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Paine.

Air.—“IN THE DEAD OF THE NIGHT.”

WHEN Kingcraft and Priestcraft move hand in hand,
To make mankind their slaves, to ruin the land,
Each rogue craft in turn does the other applaud,
So boundless their intrigue, injustice, and fraud.

With a vulturous eye to the loaves and the fishes,
The Priesthood squeak out, what a vain world this is,
And Kingsmen to prove that brave Britons are free,
Trepain for the army, and press for the sea.

When these fiends of Deceit had outstript the Devil,
 'Midst tumults and broils, religious and civil,
 Arose Thomas Paine, free Nature's first born,
 On Kings he brought terror, on Priests he brought scorn.

With sound moral truths, their falsehood exploding
 The monsters roar'd out, his attacks well foreboding,
 Let us rally our forces, affecting disdain,
 And crush Reason's sons, who follow Tom Paine.

They may crush, persecute, imprison, and fine,
 But the more Truth's opposed, the more it will shine,
 And Time soon shall prove all their efforts are vain,
 When mankind discover the beauties of Paine.

Yes, Paine, the immortal! whom tyrants abused,
 Yes, Paine, the immortal! has man's rights diffused,
 Paine's genius shall flourish the whole world around,
 Paine's genius *doth* flourish though Paine is not found.



BIRMINGHAM.

IN this very populous town 'due honour was done to the memory of Thomas Paine, by forming a Paine Club, which we predict will outlive all the Pitt and Fox Clubs in the country. As the spirit of the meeting corresponded, as near as possible, with those in other places, and as we have not been requested to insert any report of the proceedings, nor been furnished with any on which we can rely as authentic, we make way for those that will not find insertion in any other publication.



MANCHESTER.

THE Republicans of Manchester, as many as could be accommodated, assembled at the house of William Walker. JAMES THOMPSON was called to the Chair. In rising to commence the business of the evening he observed, it would be unnecessary for him to make a long harangue, or to attempt to describe a character, the particulars of which he trusted every one present, was well acquainted with. He should propose to drink:—

1. To the Memory of the immortal Thomas Paine.

James Wheeler shortly addressed the company, urging them to unite under the common title of Citizens, and not indulge in the paltry designations of Carlileites, or Huntites, or Paineites, or Cobbetites; which could lead to nothing but factions and factious proceedings. A complete Representative System of Government, or Republicanism, was the only system worth contending for, and those who will not come up to it, had better go back and support the system of Pitt. The future historian will view the present struggle as that between the principles of Pitt and Paine, and such has evidently been the struggle these last thirty years. There is no midway name, that could hold its head up for a moment, and no party between those two, that will be recollected twenty years hence. Pitt's name will crumble into oblivion as having been the curse of mankind, whilst power was connected with it, whilst the name and principles of Paine will go on to shine more and more refulgent.

Mr. Wheeler sat down and sung, "The mighty Thomas Paine," &c. Tune, Auld lang syne.

2. Richard Carlile, the Disciple of Thomas Paine.

Song, by James Houlby.—"Man free by Nature."

In the course of the evening all the toasts and sentiments in No. 4, of the Republican, were drank.

Song, by John Gratrix.—"When Freedom first in France appeared."

Song, by Mary Barlow.—"United we stand, divided we fall." Written by Richard Hayes, of Blackburn.

3. May Thomas Cochrane, commonly called Lord Cochrane, soon return and convey the Enemies of this Country to St. Helena, according to his Promise.

Song, by Charles Kneasly.—"Book appears to Book."

Song, by Mary Walker.—"Millions be free."

4. Henry Hunt, the Dungeon-proof Radical, and may he come out safe and without an Hereditary Cancer.

Song, by John Gratrix.—"Hail! Henry Hunt, in the dark Day of Danger."

5. Jane Carlile, and her infant Son, Thomas Paine; to which was added by the Females, "A Safe Delivery with the Next."

Song, by Mary Barlow.—"The Philadelphia Lawyer."

Charles Kneasly then rose and addressed the company as follows:—

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens—I acknowledge I am exceedingly gratified to behold so many of my fellow-townsmen, men of common sense and reason, gathered together to celebrate the birth-day of one of the wisest, poblest, and best of men that ever trod on English ground: still I confess I feel a degree of sorrow and shame whilst I stand amongst you, not because I am found here celebrating the birth-day of Mr. Paine—no; not because I am an advocate and an admirer of both the political and theological principles of Thomas Paine—no; my sorrow and shame arise from another idea; I am ashamed that I was once found to ridicule the name of the immortal Paine, and to stigmatize his writings as untrue. But this ridicule and stigma I do not consider as an act of my own, it was the effects of the instruction of my youth; I was taught from my childhood to join with the poet, or rather the fool, and sing,

Cheer up, cheer up, my lively lads,

And let us join in singing;

When Thomas Paine is in the flames

We'll set the bells a ringing.

The first time I took the Age of Reason into my hand to read, my heart was full of prejudice and superstition; I fully believed it to contain nothing but lies and blasphemy; it was with fear that I touched it; I searched its contents with diligence in full expectation to find out Mr. Paine's errors; I referred to the passages in the Bible: but, oh! astonished was I when I could not find what I began to search for, viz. lies and blasphemy. I confess when I had searched and proved Mr. Paine's assertions in his Age of Reason, I was like a man in a ditch; I could not believe the Age of Reason because of superstition the parson and the instructor of my youth had crammed into me from my cradle; and I dared not disbelieve the Bible for fear of the Devil, hell, and damnation, which I had heard pronounced against unbelievers. I then resolved to read and search for myself, and began to see if the books ascribed to Moses were written by Moses: but when I found the four books ascribed to him contained accounts of circumstances four hundred years before Moses was born, and also of circumstances as long after his death, how could I, or any other man of common sense, believe Moses to be the writer of the books? Therefore, as the translators have not informed us who the writers were, I consider them to be without authenticity; and on this ground I venture to disbelieve them, either as the writing of Moses or the Word of God. The book ascribed

to Joshua declares Joshua to have stopped the sun. Before I believe this story I will know by whom the book of Joshua was written. It is quite evident from the 31st verse of the 24th chapter, that the book could not be written till after the death of Joshua; and it will be nonsense to say it was written before the death of the Elders that overlived Joshua. The passage runs thus: "And Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the Elders that overlived Joshua." Where is the man of common sense and reason that will say this book was written by Joshua? The book itself proves that Joshua was not the writer; therefore we know not who it is that has told the tale; and none but fools and fanatics will believe it. The next subject I shall call your attention to is the passages in the Old called prophecies in the New Testament, although the word Jesus, or Christ, is not mentioned from Genesis to Malachi. In searching the pretended prophecies of Christ in the New Testament and comparing them with the passages in the Old Testament, I not only satisfied myself there was no prophecies of Christ, but by searching and examining I found that some of these pretended prophecies were false, both in premises and inference; for the proof of this assertion I refer you to the 7th chapter of the prophet Isaiah; the passage runs thus. "Behold a virgin, or, (as the original says) a young woman shall be with child, and bear a son, and call his name Immanuel." This is called a prophecy in the New Testament of Christ. If you refer to the above-mentioned chapter you will find upon what subject Isaiah spake these words, it is as follows: "Judah or Jerusalem is likely to be surrounded by two armies, the army of Israel and the army of Syria. These tidings come to king Ahaz, king of Judah, and the heart of the king and the hearts of his people was moved as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind." According to the 3d verse, the Lord sends Isaiah to meet Ahaz; in the 4th verse, Isaiah, in the name of the Lord, encourages Ahaz not to be afraid; and in the 7th verse, Isaiah, in the name of the Lord, declares that the project of the two armies shall not prosper nor come to pass; and then, in the 11th verse, Isaiah wishes King Ahaz to ask a sign of the Lord, but he refuses to ask a sign. King Ahaz appears to disbelieve Isaiah's prophecy; Isaiah then in a rage declares, in the 14th verse, that "The Lord himself shall give them a sign: Behold a young woman shall be with child, and bear a son, and call his name Immanuel: butter and honey shall he eat that he may refuse the evil and choose the good." And then Isaiah, in the name of the Lord, declares that "Before that child should have knowledge to refuse the evil and choose the good, that both the king of Israel and the king of Syria shall be driven from their kingdoms." This child was to be a sign to Ahaz, and not a prophecy of one to be born five hundred years afterwards. But now for the truth of this prophecy. If you refer to the 28th chapter of the second book of Chronicles, you will find, from the account given of the armies of Israel and Syria, that all the farce of Isaiah to Ahaz is false, although Isaiah declared, in the name of the Lord, that the projects of the two armies should not prosper; yet the 5th verse of this chapter says, "That the king of Syria besieged Judah, and smote the people, and carried a great multitude of them captives and brought them to Damascus." The 6th verse declares that Pekah, king of Israel, slew in Judah one hundred and twenty thousand in one day. In searching those pretended prophecies of Christ, and finding that not one of them referred to Christ, and that many of them were false prophecies, I came to the determination to throw off the galling yoke of priestcraft and superstition, and imbibed the belief of one God, or the theological principles of Thomas Paine. When the instructors of my youth came to know that I had renounced the Christian faith, and

the belief of the Bible to be the word of God, they did not meet me with argument and point out my errors; all they could do was to threaten me with hell and damnation. This only served to confirm me in my new principles. If we turn our attention back to the days of the immortal Paine, we find that the pretended Christians did not meet him with argument; they drove him from the land by force, and caused his effigy to be burnt in every town in England. When we view our hero Carlile, his wife, and sister, contending with the Christians of our day, nothing but force, and dungeons, and chains, is the Christian protector. Their cause is bad; it will not bear examining. Hypocrisy and falsehood is its foundation; and reason and common sense will be its destroyers. Therefore let us as fellow-citizens strive together, in the face of persecution, dungeons, and chains, to spread reason and common sense through our land, so that we and our children may be free from the iron yoke of Oppression, and our minds free from priestcraft and superstition. It was my intention to have spoken more, on the subject of politics, but I have taken up so much of your time already, and there are men in the room whose abilities are more adequate for the purpose than mine, I shall conclude by saying, let Liberty or Death be our motto.

This speech excited great interest, as the speaker had been until very lately a local Preacher in the Methodist connection, and had his eyes opened entirely by James Wheeler putting the Theological Works of Paine in his hands.

6. He proposed the health of Mary Ann Carlile, and Prosperity to all the Family.

James Houlby gave us a sentiment the following lines from Swift:—

7. " From the bottom of my heart I hate
Despotic Kings and Ministers of State."

Song—" Bruce's Address."

8. Charles Wolseley, commonly called Sir Charles Wolseley, Treasurer of the Great Northern Union.

9. Politics of Paine—Theology of Mirabaud.

Frederick Faulkner addressed the meeting, and concluded with giving "The memories of Mirabaud, Voltaire, and Volney."

James Wheeler then read two placards and a letter from Leeds.

10. By the Chairman.—The Republicans of Leeds, and may their Example be followed throughout England.

Song—" God save the Rights of Man," in full chorus.

11. The Lancashire Witches.

Song, by James Houlby.

12. May Révolutions never cease whilst Tyrants exist.

13. By William Walker.—May the Principles, (both Political and Theological) advocated in this Room to-night take Root and spread all over England.

14. By the Chairman.—William Campion, and thanks to him for his bold and manly assistance to James Wheeler during his late trying struggle about his Correspondences.

Mr. Wheeler returned thanks and said, that it was he who was most indebted to Campion, and he should never be able to reward him, for by his assistance he had been able to overcome and defeat the intrigues of his enemies and pretended friends, who were now writhing under the effects of their bad and disappointed passions. He could wish that Campion had been present to have made a better acknowledgment, he was prevented from attending, but will never fail to do all he can to assist the cause.

15. Mary Walker, and thanks to her for the Accommodation free of Expence.

Mary Walker rose and said they were welcome at any time to use her house for such patriotic meetings.

The Chairman being about to leave the chair, his health was drank as one of the oldest and staunchest Republicans and Deists in Manchester, for which he briefly returned thanks.

Many other songs and toasts were given, but our limits defy us.

STOCKPORT.

SIR,

THE Republicans of Stockport assembled in various places to celebrate the natal day of Mr. Paine, whom Englishmen ought to consider the greatest man their island ever produced, and according to your desire those excellent toasts and sentiments published in No. 4, of "The Republican," were given, and received with the warmest enthusiasm, as also many other appropriate toasts and songs on the occasion: Some of which I am particularly requested to forward to you, if you think them worthy a niche in the pages of "The Republican," the proposers will think themselves highly favoured.

1. Mr. Richard Carlile, his Wife and Sister, and may they triumphantly leave their unmerited dungeons, and exult over their dastardly and cowardly persecutors. 3 times 3.

2. May the principles of Thomas Paine, which we are this night met to celebrate, be extended over the Globe, and speedily be acted upon.

3. May every honest Republican soon have the pleasure of seeing every Priest and superstitious Bigot become good Citizens.

4. William Cobbett, and may he soon see the propriety of adopting and disseminating the opinion of Thomas Paine.

5. The Captive of Ilchester, Sir Charles Wolseley, and the great Northern Union, and may their pens, and the funds of the Union soon be appropriated to the patriotic purpose of destroying Priestcraft and promulgating the doctrines of unsophisticated Republicanism. 3 times 3.

6. Mr. Wooler, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Knight, Mr. Davison, and the old veteran Mr. Burtenshaw, who has just left his dungeon, after two years imprisonment, and in the 70th year of his age, and may they live to enjoy the reward of their labours.

7. May the Republicans of England never cease their exertions until they have obtained justice for the wanton, cruel, barbarous, and horrid Massacre committed on the Plains of St. Peter's, August 16, 1819.

This was received in solemn silence, after which a gentleman gave the following Song which was composed for the last Anniversary of the 16th of August, 1819.

Pitiful, I behold St. Peter's,
 Pitiful, oh! pitiful, oh!
 Saw the sad distorted features,
 Pitiful, oh! pitiful, oh!
 Gazed upon the fiends back'd by knavery,
 Rivetting the chains of Britain's slavery,
 Saw the mad blood thirsty creatures,
 Pitiful, oh! pitiful, oh!
 Cruelly I beheld them trample,
 Cruelly, oh! cruelly, oh!
 Saw them set the dire example,
 Cruelly, oh! cruelly, oh!

If the hirelings' pranks be required,
By a Tyrant's thanks be united,
Prepare to shew them vengeance ample,
Cruelly, oh! cruelly, oh!

Terribly will the tyrants tremble,
Terribly, oh! terribly, oh!
When their victims they resemble,
Terribly, oh! terribly, oh!
Soon shall Freedom's sons be rewarded,
And the Tyrant's thanks be unregarded;
Gladly would the knaves dissemble,
Terribly, oh! terribly, oh!

Liberty, thou shalt be our motto,
Liberty, oh! Liberty, oh!
We'll shout through mountain, vale, and grotto,
Liberty, oh! Liberty, oh!
'Tis slavery alone that can harm us,
Liberty alone that can charm us,
Loud through Palace, Town, and Cot, oh!
Liberty, oh! Liberty, oh!

There were many other songs and toasts on the occasion, but these are the general outline.

Yours, respectfully,

WILLIAM PERRY.



STOKESLEY, YORKSHIRE.

A few of the Lovers of Civil and Religious Freedom, met in this Town, on the evening of the 29th of January, to celebrate the Anniversary of the Birth-day of Mr. Paine.

Mr. JOHN APPLETON, (aged 76) in the Chair.

After partaking of a plain Supper, as most consistent with the plan of Republican economy, the following toasts and sentiments were given:

1. The Immortal Memory of Thomas Paine, the Masterpiece of Nature, the most useful man that ever lived.

Song:—"Come, all ye true Republicans," being the Ranter's Hymn, No. 42, *parodied* for the occasion.

2. Richard Carlile, the most consistent and straight forward Advocate for the Liberty and Happiness of the human Race.

3. The persecuted Family and Shopmen of Mr. Carlile, and may they live to see their injuries redressed.

4. The Sovereignty of the People.

5. Major Cartwright.

6. William Cobbett, and may he soon come up to the full support of the principles of Paine.

7. Henry Hunt, the brave Captive of Ilchester, and may he soon come up to the full support of the principles of Paine.

8. The Memory of Daniel Isaac Eaton, the martyr to Deism.

Many other Toasts and Sentiments were given, too numerous to mention, amongst which were Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Wooler, Alderman Wood, Lord Cochrane, General Bolivar, Success to the Patriots of Spain, To the revived Republicans, Health to our Neighbours the Republicans of Stockton, &c.

The following was proposed by Mr. J. Coates, and drank in pure water.

Perdition to all intoxicating Liquors, the prime Cause of all the domestic Mischiefs, Misery, and Slavery in this Island.

Vol. V. No. 8.

NEWGATE.

In Newgate the four brave shopmen of Mr. Carlile regaled themselves, and drank their toasts and sang their songs.

The following was composed by Mr. Holmes for the occasion :—

SONG.

Composed by W. V. Holmes.

When the bright beams of Truth all their splendour bestowing,
With convincing proofs on our reason shall pour,
And Paine's glorious maxims like suns shall be glowing,
Oh then, King and Priestcraft, you'll blast us no more.

When those dogmas which fanatics constantly cherish
Shall flee before Truth, and their fiction be o'er,
And religion with all its base cruelties perish,
Oh then, King and Priestcraft, you'll blast us no more.

When the smile of Fraternity is seen on all faces,
And Bigotry's reign in our bosoms be o'er,
When the clear Sun of Freedom illumines all places,
Oh then, King and Priestcraft, you'll blast us no more.

THE PROGRESS OF TRUTH.

By the Same.

Keen Murray and Pritchard are striving to gain
A victory o'er truth, and its progress to stay,
But they must acknowledge their efforts are vain,
And it still marches on with all-conquering sway.

It shall triumph in spite of their wicked designs,
In vain they the aid of their patrons implore ;
See, see, o'er the earth it triumphantly reigns,
And Murray and Pritchard can touch us no more.

CASE OF MR. DAVID RIDGEWAY, OF MANCHESTER, NOW A PRISONER IN LANCASTER CASTLE.

IN spite of all ideas of decency in law, and in our Courts of Law, the Constitutional Association has brought up Mr. Ridgeway for judgment ; and those vile panders to corruption in the Court of King's Bench have sentenced him to one year's imprisonment in Lancaster Castle, and to find sureties for three years at the expiration of that time !

Mr. Ridgeway was an industrious tradesman in Manchester, with a large family, and by way of increasing their

comforts, in addition to his trade of a Fustian Cutter, he took orders for Newspapers, Books, and Pamphlets. It has been falsely insisted upon and falsely sworn by the Manchester Police Officers, that he was in the habit of selling my publications without waiting for orders for them; but I have no hesitation to support the assertions of Mr. Ridgeway, by saying, that from all I can infer from his letters, and the general run of his orders for my publications, it appears to me that he never ordered any thing unless he had first an order for it in Manchester. It is possible he might have exposed some of them in his window, which is no uncommon practice in all trades with bespoke goods, for the purpose of drawing fresh orders; but I have every reason to think that he never exceeded in his orders the orders he had received. As to the swearing of the Manchester Police to the contrary, it might answer the purposes and views of the panders in the Court of King's Bench, but no person who knows their general characters would believe them, either in word or oath. Of the readiness of such wretches to swear any thing they are asked or ordered, I need only to mention what happened during the last Old Bailey Sessions, in London, in the case of Joseph Rhodes, of Manchester, who has acted as one of my shopmen.

Joseph Rhodes was one of those arrested, at the instance of the Constitutional Association, in my shop without a name. He persisted in refusing to give up his name, and went to Prison to wait the result of his arrest. It appears the Society had laid three indictments in three different names, and one in a name unknown. When the men were called upon to plead there were two of them, Joseph Rhodes and Humphrey Boyle, who heard nothing resembling their names on any of the indictments, and consequently refused to plead. In the case of Rhodes, the Society brought forward Cooper, an Officer, to swear that his name was William Holmes, and the Court forced him to plead to that name, at least, so confused him by menace of one kind and another, that he, not knowing what to do in the matter, pleaded not guilty, whereas he was never called or known by such a name before, and what is still more strange, his right name has been repeatedly mentioned in my publications, and his coming from Manchester fully stated.

No sooner had Cooper, the Officer, retired from the bar, than Bland, the Marshalman, (I believe) accosted him with "*By God, Cooper, you have sworn to my man; you are wrong!*" Now, will the Court of Sessions, or the Law

Officers of the city, prosecute Cooper for perjury? He was told to swear to this man, and sent for by the Counsel for the prosecution purposely to swear to him, and came and did it without any hesitation. This is a specimen of what Police Officers can do. It is an infamous practice to allow them as evidences in any case, much more in a case where their patrons are the interested prosecutors. It is notorious that they are themselves the dregs and refuse of society, and that there is no such thing as a moral and honest man among them. They are a part of the fungus generated by corrupt Governments since Despotism has been driven by popular knowledge to insidious and hypocritical measures. Yet, in the Court of King's Bench, in the case of Mr. Ridgeway, their affidavits were preferred to the affidavits of honest and industrious householders! Scroggs and Jefferies will merit monuments, and civic crowns, and every other kind of laurel, when their histories are contrasted with those of the present Judges of the Court of King's Bench! The course of this prosecution has entailed on Mr. Ridgeway a ruinous expence. He has thrown himself into the hands of Lawyers, and has suffered them to manage his defence in their own way. I do not complain that these Lawyers have not given him fair play; they have done every thing that Lawyers could do, and that at very moderate charges; in fact, they have been generous towards him, for if a full Lawyer's bill had been made out, his charges would have been £200. However, as it stands, it forms an instance of the folly and inutility of employing a Lawyer in a case of libel, particularly for so simple a pamphlet as that on which Mr. Ridgeway has been prosecuted. He might have defended every sentence in it with credit and honour to himself, instead of attempting to shew that he had never sold it. I beg leave to state that I have never, from first to last, been consulted about the prosecution, or I should have advised a very different course. Mr. Ridgeway has been advised as far as possible to disavow any connection with me, and I doubt not, from the manner in which it has been done, in addition to his Lawyer's bill, it has doubled his imprisonment. He is naturally an honest, inoffensive man, and it would not have shewn him different in the eyes of the world if he had avowed the sale of the pamphlet, and made a full defence of it. I am sure he would have got off with more credit and less imprisonment. I am sorry for him, he has been badly advised. After my sister had been acquitted of malicious intention for publishing the whole edition of the

same pamphlet, Mr. Ridgeway had every thing in his favour for defence. He might have defended his conduct entirely upon the precedent of what had passed in London, for it is monstrous that the original publisher should be considered not guilty of a malicious intention in publishing a whole edition of a pamphlet and reprinting a second, and that a country vendor, for taking an order for and getting one copy, shall be imprisoned twelve months in addition to an expence which must beggar him if it be not made up by public subscription. This is one of the anomalies of Libel Law. Nothing in legislation or administration of Law can be conceived more odious.

Dr. Stoddart, the Editor of the New Times, and the organ of the Bridge Street Gang, has falsely asserted, by way of apology for bringing up Ridgeway for judgment, that the trial of Mary Ann Carlile for publishing the whole edition of the same pamphlet is only suspended, and whether it comes on again or not will depend on, whether she shews a becoming contrition or not. This is horrible as a malicious falsehood. The Gang themselves have threatened another trial upon the same indictment, but it was altogether a paltry bravado and menace to cover a little of the disgrace they incurred.

Dr. Stoddart knew well, and the Committee of the Bridge Street Gang knew well, that it has never been their intention to move for a new trial, although the falsehood has been publicly stated. They had not the least ground for moving, and Mr. Cooper, the Defendant's Counsel, always treated the menace with contempt. The case was this: the intemperate Best was the Judge on the trial, and when he found the composition of the Jury was not sufficiently corrupt for his purposes, he staid away the next morning and sent Holroyd. As soon as Holroyd came to the Court, he sent a note to Mr. Cooper at his chambers, requesting his attendance in Court, for the purpose of consenting to the breaking up of the Jury, with a distinct pledge that the case should end there. This was the condition on which Mr. Cooper consented to a *nolle prosequi*, whilst the eight Jurors in the Defendant's favour were enraged at being separated without returning a verdict of Not Guilty. Stoddart, Murray, and Sharpe, contradict this if you can. The contrition that I and my sister will shew you shall be the same as you have had heretofore.

Accustomed as I have been to procreations, I was really surprized to see the New Year's Address the subject of one.

The passages selected amount to nothing as an incitement to popular anger and insurrection, but the very reverse. I stated that "Reform would be obtained when the existing Authorities had no longer the power to withhold it, and not before, and that we should gain it as early without petitioning as with it." By this I meant to advise the Reformers to give themselves no further trouble about petitioning, to keep at home and not waste their time for such purposes; and this upon the principle, that the present Government is working its own destruction, and will shortly break up as a matter of inevitable necessity, when the Reformers will be left to form a new Government to their own mind. It was upon the same view that I used the expression, "I will not say a word about insurrection at this moment; but be ready and steady to meet any concurrent circumstances." Nothing can be possibly less objectionable to any party than this, for the whole is an incitement to order, patience, and quietude. Such, in fact, is the drift of the whole pamphlet, and if the Members of the Bridge Street Gang, or the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, can enjoy themselves in the idea of having incarcerated a husband, a father of a large family, and a honest, industrious tradesman, for taking an order for such a pamphlet, none need envy their feelings and powers. But few, I believe, do envy them.

The case of Mr. Ridgeway is a case which demands the sympathy of every honest man and woman in the country. He is the first victim to the conspiracy of the Gang in Bridge Street, and was it only for this, he and his family ought to be made as comfortable as money can make them. He is a man truly worthy of support, as a moral, virtuous, and honest tradesman, and a man who, I believe, from all the information I can get of him, has not one single action of his life wherewith he might reproach himself as having done an injury to any one. The Judges of the Court of King's Bench may prate about sedition and blasphemy, but it would be well for them, and the country at large, if their minds, their morals, and their consciences were as pure as those of David Ridgeway, whom they have sent to Lancaster Castle.

The Lawyer's bill is inserted here, as a beacon against all further employment of Lawyers. There is no complaint to make against any of the charges, but their manner of doing things is such as should deter any application to them upon such a subject without defining what they shall do and how far they shall go.

MESSRS. CANDELET AND WALKER,

To Edward Foulkes and Sons, Dr.

£. s. d.

ATTENDING upon you as to the Friends and sureties for the Defendant, and advising as to an Indictment preferred against David Ridgway for selling a seditious libel, and as to the Defence, when you desired me to get a copy of the Information. . . . 0 3 6

EASTER TERM, 1821.

Agents attending to instruct Clerks in Court . . . 0 6 8
 Paid filing recognizance 0 7 4
 Paid on appearing to Indictment 0 4 8
 Controlling appearance 0 3 8
 Paid for office copy of Indictment, folio 23 and Duty . . 0 16 0
 Paid portorage for same from Crown Office 0 0 6
 Close copy of Indictment 0 7 8
 Term fee, Clerk in Court, and Solicitor 0 13 4
 Letters and Messengers 0 6 0

TRINITY TERM.

Attending to instruct Clerk in Court 0 6 8
 Accepting and transmitting Rules to Plead; Clerk in Court and Solicitor 0 6 8
 The like for peremptory Rule 0 6 8
 Paid portorage same from Crown Office 0 0 6
 Instructions for Plea 0 6 8
 Paid on Pleading not Guilty 0 4 1
 Paid Controlling Plea 0 3 4
 Close Copy of Plea 0 1 0
 Paid for Office Copy Issue, folio 33 and Duty 1 3 3
 Paid Portorage same from Crown Office 0 0 6
 Close Copy Issue 0 11 0
 Portorage and booking same 0 1 2
 Ingrossing the Rule 0 11 0
 Fee on Plea, Clerk in Court and Solicitor 0 6 8
 Accepting and transmitting notice of Trial, Clerk in Court and Solicitor 0 6 8
 Term fee, Clerk in Court, and Solicitor 0 13 4
 Letters and Messengers 0 6 0

VACATION.

Close copy Rule for Special Jury 0 2 0
 Attending nomination of Forty-eight Special Jury . . 0 6 8
 Paid Clerk in Court 0 6 8

Carried forward

9 19 10

	Brought forward	9	19	10
Paid for Copy List		0	5	0
Close Copy		0	5	0
Attending appointment to reduce Special Jury List		0	6	8
Paid Clerk in Court		0	6	8
Copy of reduced List		0	2	6
Letters and Messengers		0	6	0
Several attendances on you, advising as to the necessary Evidence to be produced, and as to the Defence		1	1	0
Instructions for Brief		0	6	8
Attending at Defendants in Swarbrick Street to view the house; and Drawing Brief, 14 Sheets		4	13	4
Two fair Copies thereof		4	13	4
Attending Mr. Brougham with Brief		0	6	8
Paid him and Clerk		5	10	0
Attending Mr. Evans with Brief		0	6	8
Paid him and Clerk		3	5	6
Attending to mark Cause defended		0	6	8
Paid Court fees as under, (viz) Marshall Tipstaff		1	12	0
Prothonotary's fees		1	16	0
Journey to Lancaster, to superintend trial of this Cause absent 11 days when a verdict was given against the Defendant, paid Coach-fare, and expences, should be 2 Guineas a day, but we say only half that sum		11	11	0
Very many enquiries as to the Jury, and writing to Liverpool, Bury, Bolton, &c. as to the political sentiments and character of several of the Jury, no charge.				
Paid Postage of Letters		2	8	0
Postage of a Letter from Messrs. Taylor and Co. saying, the Jury had not all concurred in the verdict, requesting we would make the necessary enquiries		0	11	0
Journey to Leigh to speak to Mr. Leigh one of the Jury, 14 miles, horse hire and expenses		1	5	0
Writing to Messrs. Taylor and Co. in answer		0	3	6
30th Oct. Drawing affidavits of Defendant, James and Maria Daniel, folio 9.....		0	9	0
Ingrossing same.....		0	4	6
Duty and Oaths.....		0	5	7
Postage of a Letter from Messrs. E. Taylor and Co.		0	0	11
Answering same.....		0	3	6
Two Brief copies of affidavits, two sheets each.....		1	6	8
Writing to them with affidavits and Brief copies, and paid booking parcel, &c.		0	3	8
Drawing affidavits of Ann Whittingham and Mary Ann Murdock, folio 7.....		0	7	0
	Carried forward	54	8	10

	Carried forward	54	8	10
Ingrossing same		0	3	6
Duty and Oaths.....		0	4	7
Two Copies for Counsel, two sheets each.....		1	6	8
Drawing Affidavit in contradiction of Mellor, folio 8..		0	8	0
Ingrossing		0	4	0
Duty and Oaths		0	4	7
Two Copies, two sheets each.....		1	6	8
Writing with same to London, booking parcel and portage.....		0	3	8
Attending Court of King's Bench, and afterwards on Messrs. Taylor and Co.		1	3	0
Drawing affidavits of P. T. Candelet, Samuel Johnson, Edward Fallows, and James Walker, folio 10.....		0	10	0
Ingrossing same, 5s. duty and four Oaths 6s. 7d.....		0	11	7
Attending to get them sworn thereto.....		0	3	4
Drawing Affidavits of Mrs. Ridgway, her Daughter, and Joseph Ashton, folio 8, 8s. Duty and paper 2s. 7d.		0	10	7
Ingrossing same		0	4	0
Attending to get them sworn thereto and paid for Oaths		0	6	4
Writing to London, therewith 3s. 6d. bill of costs and copy, 2s.....		0	5	6
Letters, &c.....		10	7	6
		59	14	10
Cash received from Messrs. Taylor and Co. London..		10	0	0
		49	14	10

I repeat again, there is no overcharge in this bill. The charges are moderate, and in addition, I should add, that it appears, the fees which were paid to Defendant's Counsel have been given to him back again; and the whole process in the two last Terms, which would have been a far greater expence than the trial and all its preparations if charged for, has been done gratuitously. In this respect the Defendant has met with friends among Lawyers: but they have done him no ultimate good, and I verily think he has six months imprisonment more than he would have had if he had pleaded his own cause by a written defence.

In the years 1819 and 20, several vendors of the Republican in London were proceeded against by the Attorney-General. Some of them came to me and asked, "How are we to proceed; so and so tells us that we can do nothing without employing a Lawyer; and that to get through the

process of the Information a grievous expence will be incurred?" I told them all not to trouble, nor to spend a sixpence in law or among Lawyers upon the matter. The first step was to get them all bailed, which we did without the payment of sixpence as a fee. I told them then they had nothing to do but to wait the issue of the trial, taking care to appear to plead Not Guilty at the proper time. They were all brought to trial for selling pamphlets, very different to that which Mr. Ridgeway sold, being the Letters to the Prince Regent in the First Volume of the Republican, and returned Guilty as a matter of course; they appeared for judgment, not one of them denied the selling of the pamphlets, but one of them actually boasted of selling 600 of the very pamphlet for which he was arraigned; and the highest punishment was six weeks, some of them got off with a month's imprisonment. They defended themselves, and pleaded the custom of their trade as newsvendors, taking orders for every thing that was published periodically, and I am not aware that any one of them was put to sixpence expence, or any other loss than a loss of time in attending the Courts and filling out the period of imprisonment. How different is the case of Mr. Ridgeway by trusting his defence to Lawyers! A hint here may not be amiss to those who are hereafter subjected to prosecution for what are called seditious or blasphemous libels. The first thing to be done is, in case of arrest, to find the necessary bail, but refuse the payment of all fees: none can be legally enforced upon the Defendant. It would be well if all persons, who may run the chance of prosecution for such publications, were beforehand prepared with two housekeepers, ready to come at any call and give bail for the party arrested, as this preparation saves much trouble and expence, most persons feeling alarm at the moment of a friend being arrested. If your case be in the Court of Quarter Session, or Court of Assize, you have only to attend at the proper time to plead and take trial, if it be removed into the Court of King's Bench you must do the same. A Defendant will do much better with a written defence, if he be not capable of making his defence orally, than by employing a Counsel, unless some clever fellow would do it without the intervention of an Attorney, a thing a Barrister does not like. They all like to have things done in form, and those forms entail a ruinous expence upon the Defendant. If you are found Guilty, and judgment be not passed immediately, you should be prepared with further bail, to be at large until judgment be passed.

There is scarce a town in the country but contains an intelligent Reformer capable of writing a defence upon any subject of the kind; but should there be a deficiency anywhere, I am ever ready, if asked to do it, in defence of any of my own agents and publications. With Mr. Ridgeway the case is decided; we have now nothing to do but to make his imprisonment as light as possible by retrieving his pecuniary losses. This can only be done by subscriptions, and it appears to me, that £200 will be the least sum that can accomplish the object in view. This sum is a trifle when divided among the Reformers, if each will throw down his mite. I have an idea that the funds of the Great Northern Union ought to be applied to such purposes, and not to that worst of all purposes, the sending men into the present Parliament. I will never advise the least subscription or support towards it until some such application of the funds be decided upon. I am convinced that the men who seek seats in Parliament from this source, do it more from personal vanity, and gratification of ambition, than from any idea of national good. I call upon the Reformers to do something for Mr. Ridgeway as an injured, honest man in their cause. To be effectual it should be done immediately, whilst he is suffering. Subscriptions for that purpose will be received by Mr. P. T. Candelet, 31, Market Street, Manchester; and if it be any convenience to persons in London, or other parts of the country, I will, through my agents in London and Manchester, receive and pay over to Mr. Candelet any sums subscribed for that purpose.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 17, 1822.

ADDRESS TO BRITONS.

BRITONS, break your chains of slavery,
 Pull Corruption's pillar down;
 Trample on despotic knavery,
 Drag all tyrants to the ground.
 Be proudly free in Nature's charter,
 Let freedom be your dearest joy;
 Nor let the Priest your reason barter,
 Teach it to the prattling boy.

Tyrants vile have long oppressed you,
 Robb'd you of the sweets of life;
 Wrung from you the all that blessed you,
 Revelling in wicked strife.
 They say taxation is a blessing,
 Your poverty gives them the lie;
 Your meagre forms, and oh! distressing!
 Dungeons, chains, and slavery.
 Degraded Britons, cease to slumber,
 Support Carlile against the knaves;
 Enrol your names among the number
 Sworn to break the chains of slaves.
 Then Monarchs on their thrones will tremble,
 And Priests upon their altars weep;
 Religion can no more dissemble,
 Her vile commands you'll cease to keep.

E. R.

TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON ENGLAND, D. D.
 STAFFORD, NEAR DORCHESTER.

SIR, Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 14, 1822.
 You have twice stepped beyond your magisterial duties in this Gaol to question the propriety of my advocating and avowing certain opinions, and, although I grant you the right of so doing, if the intention was to convince me of error, still I should be unworthy of the confidence and support which thousands in this country yield to me; if I were not prepared for and equal to the defence of those opinions; I therefore take the liberty to inform you, that, pursuant to your request, I have attentively read the little volume you last left with me, and I venture to invite you to a private conference, or that you shall bring with you whatever person or persons you may approve, and I will undertake to controvert every position which Leslie has taken in defence of the Christian Religion against Deism.

I take the liberty also to enclose with this, the little work for which I searched in vain during your last presence in my apartment. In my opinion, it is the most pithy and most complete work of the kind, but I have not shrunk from answering its leading points*.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
 R. CARLILE.

* Deism Refuted, by Thomas Hartwell Horne.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR,

Bolton, February 13, 1822.

I TAKE leave to inform you that a few friends in Bolton have made up the sum of £2.7s. 11d. and paid the same into the hands of Mr. Wheeler of Manchester on your account, and they request you to acknowledge the receipt in your printed report. Meanwhile permit your friends in Bolton to congratulate you on the victory which your undaunted, courageous, and persevering efforts has secured to you, over your cruel and unrelenting persecutors, yours is the triumph of Reason in the Temple of Truth; whilst your persecutors, by their imbecile endeavours, remind us of the emblem of the viper gnawing the file. That their malice against you personally may succeed is within the bounds of possibility, but ultimately Truth is eternal and must prevail. In the gloom of your Prison, let the prospect cheer you, that the day-spring of Reason *will* arise with conviction in her wings; that a time *will* come when men will love Virtue for her own sake, and hate Vice because it is really odious; then shall the efforts of Mr. Carlile and his family be appreciated according to their merits. Be pleased to offer to your Wife and Sister our unfeigned respects, and that you and they may preserve that determined fortitude which has hitherto signalized you, is the sincere wish of your friends in Bolton, in common with all those who disinterestedly worship the God of Nature at the shrine of Truth. If circumstances permit, we should be glad to hear from you by letter, in which case address to me, who am, for friends in Bolton,

Yours, with sincerest esteem,

JOHN HEYS, Spaw Lane, Bolton.

TO MR. JOHN HEYS, BOLTON.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 16, 1822.

I KNOW you merit the epithet: although I have never before corresponded with you; your name and your fame have reached me through various channels.

I return you thanks, with all friends at Bolton, for the sum of money they have subscribed to my support. I have once made an appeal to the honest part of the public to support me, or themselves through me, against the united efforts of the two prosecuting gangs, the Vice and the Con-

stitutional Associations; and I have the satisfaction to say, that my appeal was effectually answered, and the support I received was such as completely defied the powers of those two Associations. I triumphed over them, and the fuss and cry they made quadrupled the circulation of my publications, and kept a continual cheering crowd around my shop windows.

I have often said that these Associations are part and parcel of the Government, and I have now called forth every necessary proof of the assertion. The Government, finding I was too strong for these Associations, has again been obliged to step forth as my combatant, and by a measure beyond law to shut up, for a second time, my shop. In the name of that chief of all Robbers, the King (I speak of his office, not his person) my shop has again been shut up, under the pretence of seizing my property to meet my fines, but in reality to check the sale of my publications. Yes, they have allowed the shop to be open above two years, since they seized a sufficient property to cover my fines, if it had been fairly disposed of, and finding that the good sense of the people supports me against the united efforts of all their underlings in association to put me down, the King himself has been again brought forward to combat with me single-handed. I will defy even his power to chain the Press that circulates my principles. I will now make it a trial of moral strength with him. To do this it is necessary that my fines be instantly paid, to put a stop to any further violent entries on my premises, and carrying off what is there, without giving me an account of what is done with it, or what it produces. Bear in mind, that in speaking of the King, I speak of his office, and those who practise their villainies in his name. The King as a person, as an individual, knows not the millionth part of what is done in his name, therefore, I make no personal allusions to him in this matter. I speak of him as his officers do, when they say the Crown has done this or that, or will do this or that. I respond to all their ways, means, and powers, that I will defy the Crown in its attempt to controul opinions, and to put down the moral right of free discussion. It now remains for me to put this defiance in execution. To do this it is my intention within the next Term to make a settlement with respect to my fines. This will be a great struggle on my part, considering the expence and persecution I have encountered, but I am put to this trial of strength and I will make it. After I have made this settlement I will defy all

prosecution. From a continual fighting we learn the art of war, and this shall be found to be my case.

I have now to call upon every friend to my principles, and upon every abhorrer of the persecutions I have encountered, to give me aid to this purpose, and to make every possible exertion for me between this time and the first of May. I shall need no subscriptions after this is accomplished, nor even now, if any capitalist, or person who is in the habit of speculating by the advance of cash, will make a loan for the purpose of meeting my fines, upon that best of all securities a deposit of property to double the amount of the loan in money. Any persons disposed to take a share of this loan to the amount of £100, will find every satisfaction as to security for principal, interest, and compensation.

Although my shop in Fleet Street is now closed, do not imagine that there is any stay to the circulation of my publications. There is a check, a lessening of chance custom, in not having a shop in so great a thoroughfare, still, all regular subscribers get supplied as before. I have agents worthy of the cause I advocate, and who act up to all my wishes. There is no stand, every thing is going well, even for the present, but I am determined to open another TEMPLE OF REASON for the example and the principle of the thing. I will do this in Fleet Street, London, from the notoriety of the situation, and from having been situated there near six years. I may be prevented from doing it for two or three months or more, but I will do it if I live another year. I mean to proceed in future upon a perfectly secure ground.

Now, Citizen, and Bolton Friends, I have introduced a subject into this letter, which, as it will be a public one, is addressed to the public at large. You, I know, will perform your share of my request. Let none wait for the example of the other. What is now to be done must be done spontaneously. The return I shall make for the support I ask will be a succession of the most valuable publications in the cheapest possible form.

The renovation I felt from the support received for the last six months had put me in a progress that alarmed the enemy, and he was obliged to make his last effort, and an appeal to his last resource. I will now settle my fines and leave him no excuse for further robbery.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

A
PUBLIC MEETING
 OF
THE FRIENDS OF MR. R. CARLILE,
 WILL BE HELD ON
MONDAY EVENING,
FEB. 25, 1822,
 AT THE
Paul's Head Rooms,
CATEATON STREET.

The attendance of the real Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty is particularly requested, that they may, by their exertions and example, render all attempts to tyrannize over the minds and consciences of men, by time-serving and self-constituted associations, entirely abortive, and repel every measure which has for its object the support of the existing system of Civil and Religious Persecution.

SUBSCRIPTIONS WILL BE RECEIVED AT THE ROOMS.

CHAIR TO BE TAKEN AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

In consequence of the interruption of the regular place for publishing "The Republican," any Subscriber who will pay for any Number in advance shall find clean copies left weekly at any house appointed. Orders and cash left with any of the Members of the Committee for managing the Subscription for Mr. Carlile and Family will be duly transmitted to the Publisher. Most Pamphlet-Vendors will take orders upon these terms.

R. Carlile acknowledges the receipt of One Pound Subscription through the hands of Mr. Mann, from the Society of Faithful and Firm, at Shipley, Yorkshire, received February the 15th, for which thanks are returned; no communication having accompanied it for publication, or that required any answer.

Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street. All Communications (post paid) are requested to be sent to Dorchester Gaol, until a further Address to some House or Shop be given.—Orders, with remittances, or references for payment, will be punctually attended to. Country Agents will find the most liberal Terms for prompt Payment.

The Republican.

No. 9. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, March 1, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 26,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

As it is probable you will expect to have from me some particulars as to the cause and the manner of my shop in Fleet Street being shut up, and the house in the possession of a King's Officer, I will state to you all that I know about the matter.

On February the 5th, in the afternoon, the house was surrounded by a large posse of Police Officers, with whom were all the Agents of the Prosecuting Gangs of Essex and Bridge Street. They entered the shop and said they had a warrant to seize every thing on the premises, as an extent in aid towards my fines due to the King. Waddington, who was serving in the front shop, swore that all the property there was his, and dared them to touch it, and the back part of the shop being barricadoed, the Officers hesitated to proceed, and dispatched one of their body to the Lord Mayor for instructions. This Bankrupt Lord Mayor, this man, who is in London just what the late Lord Mayor of Dublin was in that city, a Stationer to the Government Offices, sent back word that they were to stand on no ceremony, but to break through every thing into the premises; which was accordingly done about five in the afternoon, and the shop accordingly shut up. Purton, who figures at the tail of Murray and Sharpe as their swearing yeoman, rushed into the shop, and began to pilfer every thing he could lay his fingers on, for the benefit of his employers, until he was resisted by Waddington, and the next day, or day after, he was encouraged in it by this Bankrupt Lord Mayor, who, it appears, since this shutting up of my shop, has been honoured with the company and the congratulations of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops, the Duke of

York and other Members of the Royal Family, and all the Ministers. However, they shall not long ride through Fleet Street without having to pass another TEMPLE OF REASON! This Bankrupt Lord Mayor received no such company whilst the battle in Fleet Street lasted. It was evident that we were impregnable to all the assaults of the Prosecuting Gangs, and this extent in aid from the Court of Exchequer was the last resource on the part of the enemy. This interruption shall soon be surmounted, and defiance to all prosecutions exhibited again. The printed papers, without a printer's name, were simply copies of my Appeal to every part of the Public but Public Robbers, that framed an excuse for Purton's Robbery, and was sanctioned by the Bankrupt Lord Mayor.

It will be recollected, that at the moment sentence was passed upon me, Rothwell and his Under-Sheriff, Turner, were waiting in Court to receive a writ from the Court of King's Bench, to make a levy for my fines upon the premises in Fleet Street. Scouts were previously sent to Blackbeath and various other places to ascertain if I had property in any other place and shape. So deep was the scheme laid between these Sheriffs, the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, and the Ministers or the Cabinet, that my house in Fleet Street was surrounded with Officers, who interrupted the removal of any property, two or three hours before the warrant for seizure had arrived, and Hopwood, the Sheriff's Officer, finding there was a determination to remove some property, actually entered the house and took possession in the name of the King, without any writ or warrant, which was subsequently brought to him a full hour after he had been in possession.

Then, as now, the shop was kept shut, and on the 24th December, because they would not incur the rent due the next day, they moved off every thing to an Auction Mart in Chancery Lane. During this six weeks possession Mrs. Carlile kept the bailiff in the house, who filled up his time very well in eating and drinking, and added at least £2. per week to her expences, yet when he removed he was paid the full price and wages as if he had been keeping himself. No account whatever has been given to me of what was done, or intended to be done, with this property, and although I was well informed, that Mr. George Maule, the Solicitor to the Treasury, gave every instruction upon the matter, he now refuses to give me any kind of information, but says, pay your £1500 fines, and get back what

you can of what has been taken from you; to do which would saddle me with an expence equivalent to the fines.

Frequent threats of another seizure have been held out from the time of opening the shop again, to the time of its second closure, and in the summer of last year, the officers actually entered in the names of the Ex-Sheriffs Rothwell and Parkins, and took possession, but on going over the house, and perhaps finding less there than they expected, they gave it up again after leaving an officer there about six hours. Soon after this time, that lump of ignorance, Rothwell, who dreaded discussion, because he could not comprehend its bearing, dissolved, died, gave up the ghost, and as Mr. Parkins had never been consulted upon, privy to, or countenanced the robbery upon me, the writ of *levari facias* could be used no further for the same purpose.

The present Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, being decidedly the tools of Castlereagh for any purpose he may want them, have undertaken to rob me a second time, by what I understand to be, from the best information I can get, a process from the Court of Exchequer, called an Extent in Aid, which signifies, that I owe money to the Crown, and this process authorises the application of any property I may possess towards defraying it. Upon this ground of proceeding, if I possessed property to any extent, these robbers may by law come and take it, get it valued at the Secondary's Office by a set of wretches, who are hangers-on for that purpose, called a Jury, and get paid sixpence each for every case they are called upon to decide by their verdict, which is simply to say that such and such property is of such and such value, according as the Secondary tells them, and then this is called a transfer of my property to the King!!! Thus I was allowed £6 for my stock in trade, and the lease of the house, the value of which to me was at least £500.

By what few ideas I have about what is law, I feel assured that I shall by and by be able to shew all these Robbers that they have taken steps beyond law. I can do nothing at present but pay down £1500 as the first amount of my fines, which I shall endeavour to do within the next Term. I shall then have put a stop to further robberies. I shall then be able to keep a shop open the Robbers cannot enter, and to do this, Republicans, I ask your most speedy and most ample assistance.

R. CARLILE.

* * The Committee will sit every Monday Evening from 6 till 10 o'Clock, at
R. Helder's, 10, Duke Street, Smithfield.

cal Reformers, attached to the aforementioned Number of your Memoirs, the articles at which I feel aggrieved.

"The sentence that was passed upon me was certainly the most vindictive that has ever been passed since the reign of the Stuarts. Since the present family came to the throne there has never been a sentence for a longer period for a political offence than two years, except mine. Mr. Carlile was sentenced for three years, two years for one conviction, and one year for the other. But his cannot be fairly called a political offence, his was for maintaining, publishing, and selling theological opinions in opposition to the Christian religion. It will be recollected that Mr. Carlile was the mere publisher of these works; Paine's *Age of Reason*, &c. for Mr. Sherwin. Mr. Carlile could scarcely be called a political character till he was prosecuted for selling the *Age of Reason*. Will any one tell me, or remind me of any political meeting that Mr. Carlile ever attended before he was prosecuted for what is called blasphemy. Mr. Carlile was in London, I believe, during all the great meetings for Reform held in Spafford—did he attend any one of them? There was he busily employed selling his books during the great meetings in Palace-yard and at Smithfield: did he attend, and take any part at any public meeting for Reform in his life? He attended the meeting at Manchester, it is true, but then he was under a prosecution for blasphemy. What did he do at that meeting? Did he face the police? Or, did he run away like the rest of the multitude? His, I always thought, a very different trade from mine; he was in the way always of *making money* by his politics as well as his religion; the latter he sold at an enormous profit.—I always *spent money* in every political move that I ever made in my life. I contend that Mr. Carlile had a right to sell or maintain any opinion he pleased, but I never had the least idea that Mr. Carlile maintained any particular opinion either in politics or religion, because such politics and such religion was contained in the books he sold. I have no doubt but Mr. Carlile is very sincere now in what he professes to believe; but it is the firm conviction of my mind, that Mr. Carlile had never read Paine's *Age of Reason* till he published it for Mr. Sherwin. I know nothing of this, but this is my opinion. I never had any connection or conversation with Mr. Carlile upon theological matters. I believed him to be an honest pamphlet-vendor. I knew him to be sober and industrious, and it was no business of mine what his creed or belief was. I never read any of these theological works, nor did I ever see any of them in the hands of more than one person that professed himself a Radical Reformer. When the subject was once mentioned in Mr. Carlile's shop, all that I said was this, and I said it from my heart—*"Mr. Paine, for aught I know, may have been as great a bigot as to his belief as any bigoted sectarian or religious enthusiast."* I do

not choose for Mr. Paine or any other human being to think for me in matters of faith; I must and will think for myself." The subject of theology was never introduced where I was afterwards. When I offered myself upon constitutional principles as a candidate for the city of Westminster, Mr. Carlile and Mr. Sherwin, both of them, joined my committee as volunteers. Mr. Carlile undertook to get the flag and the Cap of Liberty, and upon my being asked by him what motto I should like, I replied, "*Universal Suffrage*, surmounted by the Cap of Liberty, will be quite enough." However, when the flag was brought into the room and displayed, at the Crown and Anchor, there was "*Universal Suffrage*" on one side, and on the reverse "*Hunt and Liberty*;" also upon the border of the cap was painted "*Hunt and Liberty*." These two last mottos were added by Mr. Carlile without my being consulted at all about the matter. Thus to Mr. Carlile are we indebted for the motto "*Hunt and Liberty*." After the election was over, as Mr. Carlile purchased the cap and flag at his own expense, of course he claimed and had it returned to him, and, unknown to me, he sent it to Mr. Wroe, at Manchester, to be used at the first Manchester meeting that I attended; and thus was Mr. Carlile the cause of the motto of "*Hunt and Liberty*" being raised in the North. Although I do not agree with Mr. Carlile, nor ever did agree with him as to the advantage of propagating the theological opinions of Paine and Mirabeau, yet as I contend for the right of every man maintaining his own opinions, whatever they may be, I consider Mr. Carlile's persecutions most severe, and his persecutors I abhor and detest as much as any man living. Poor Harrison is also imprisoned in Chester Castle for three years, under two sentences. I consider this an extreme hard case, and an act of persecution nearly equalling that which has been inflicted upon me. Mr. Harrison I esteem as a real, genuine, devoted friend of Liberty. There could be no motive for his patriotism but love of Liberty. He was no pamphlet-vendor; he made nothing by his politics; he devoted his time and his life to the cause of Radical Reform, and he is entitled to the approbation, the protection, and support of every Radical Reformer in the United Kingdom."

You have written this article with a motive or with a desire to impress on the public mind three distinct views as to my conduct, character, and situation. The first is that I ought not to be considered as having any connection with the Reformers, or the Political World: the second is, that whatever I have done, as a public character, has been with a view of making money, and with no other view: and lastly, that in whatever I have done, I have been the tool of another. As I proceed to dissect your insidious article, I will show you that you are wrong in all these points.

Your assertion, that yours is the heaviest sentence for a political offence that has occurred since the reign of the Stuarts, is not correct. Mr. Henry White, the Editor of the Independent Whig, was confined three years in the room from which I write to you, for one libel, as it was called, in his paper. In the reign of George the First, one Matthews was hanged for that which now appears trifling in comparison to the sentiments you have expressed at public meetings, considering that you were instrumental in congregating those bodies of people whom you addressed. I doubt not, but there are many other cases on record much more aggravated than yours, although I know none were so much cry and fuss has been made by the sufferer. The solitary confinement of which you now complain so loudly, and which I am sorry to see has set the degrading game of petitioning afloat again among the men of the North, and am glad to see could not be done in London, is no more than I have been uniformly subject to, ever since I have been in this prison. I made the circumstance public by protesting against it, and by appealing to every officer who had controul over me, from the Deputy Gaoler to Lord Sidmouth, the Gaoler General; I published the Correspondence that passed, before you were in prison, but neither you or any one else opened your lips for me. I will not admit that I deserve imprisonment more than you do, or that I have offended the laws or the morals of the country more than you have. That same common abuse, the Common Law, by which it was pretended that I was tried and convicted, served the same purpose for you: bear in mind, that it was never charged against me that I had violated any statute law, and, although I have been so long imprisoned, and so excessively robbed, I will by and by obtain an acknowledgment that I have violated no law at all, with a reversal of judgment and a restitution of property: that is, as soon as the administerers of law are somewhat less corrupt than at present.

I have not even been allowed to see friends at the iron grating of which you complain so much. In the spring of 1820, a gentleman came purposely from London with a hope of seeing me, and was refused, although he begged of the Gaoler to be allowed but to take me by the hand in his presence. About the same time, a Barrister on the Circuit, was commissioned by a friend in London to see me, and he obtained an order from the Magistrates to see me, but when he came to the Gaoler's Office, he was refused further ad-

mission, unless he would put down, not only his own name, but those of his family and connexions, on the Gaol books! He remonstrated against the infamy of being obliged to use the names of friends and relatives on such an occasion, offered to give his own name and address, and although he was known to the Gaoler as a barrister on the Circuit, and although he obtained an order from the Magistrates, still he was refused admittance, and did not see me in consequence of the infamous demand made of him. He stated to the Gaoler, that he did not come as a friend and acquaintance of mine, but that it was a friend of his in London he wished to oblige. Soon after that time, a young man, a first cousin, was deputed by the whole of my mother's family, to come and ascertain the cause of my confinement, they being unacquainted with my new situation in life, and he was refused admittance. Another, a respectable Cyder Merchant, who was an old schoolfellow of mine in Devonshire, was requested by my sister to call upon me, and he was refused admittance. A Mr. Whicher, a maltster of Portersham, about nine miles from Dorchester, was lately in London, and was requested to bring down a message by a friend to me, and to be sure of seeing me, he went to the two principal visiting magistrates, William Morton Pitt, and Dr. England, and was refused admittance, and insulted to the bargain by the Parson-Doctor-Justice. These are cases that have come within my knowledge, and, I doubt not, but I shall hear of more of the kind by and by. I have made every possible remonstrance, and have threatened the Sheriff successively to their faces, that I will bring an action against them for it. But I cannot see any use to make a crying to the public about the matter, and particularly a matter that would not be altered if three-fourths of the whole people petitioned about it.

The keeping of your son from you I take to be horrible, and such a torture as the Dorsetshire Magistrates would not have inflicted: but in consequence of your unfortunate separation from Mrs. Hunt, the ladies under present protection would not have been admitted for a moment to see you in Dorchester Gaol. You have made complaints about being locked up at five o'clock in the evening, but I have found no cessation from being locked up in the same room the whole twenty-four hours ever since I have been here, unless it is to be dogged out and in two hours each day in fine weather. We are allowed no prisoners to do any thing for us here, nor even to speak to a prisoner, nor nothing to

we eat or drink but is got for us by the turnkeys of the prison.

Here we are, self, wife, and sister, locked up in one room by day, in which we have no alternative but to attend to every call of nature in the presence of each other, or by drawing a curtain across our little water-closet, and at dusk in the evening my sister is removed to a distant part of the Prison, after the female felons and others are locked up, where she is locked up in a small cell with an iron-bedstead to lay on, that is a fixture, and there is no room for another, and there she remains until nine o'clock the next morning, not being allowed to walk in the female felons' yard for fear of corrupting them; such is the alleged precaution, and during this absence of hers from my apartment, the water-closet is locked up and unlocked when she returns. Now, Sir, can you picture to yourself any thing you have met with in Ilchester Gaol more infamous than this. There is but one man in this Gaol who is treated any way near like the treatment of Wedderburn, and he is confined for bestiality, and is altogether a horrible character, having been confined at various times in the Gaol for almost every offence that can be imagined. This man and Wedderburn are in solitary confinement, in the same wing of the Prison, only not on the same floor, but their treatment is as near alike as possible, save that Wedderburn is not in irons.

I complained to the Keeper and the Magistrates of the disagreeableness and indecency of locking up the water-closet at night, for it is a mere niche in the wall, and has no connection with any other ward, and the Reverend Gentlemen only laughed at it, and seemed to say, the question with us is how we can annoy you most. So you may see, Sir, that if Castlereagh listens to your petitioners, I shall be able to send him a still worse picture of my situation.

With the exception that we have a dry, large, airy room, and that you are on the ground floor, which you say is damp and often inundated, your situation has been a sort of paradise compared to ours, if the manner of confinement is the question to be considered.

In speaking of my sentence, you lose sight of the worst part of it, the fines, and the manner in which I have been robbed, upon the score of securing those fines: but that you do not feel, and that which you do not feel, is nothing with you. In none of your great channels for radical intelligence have any of you ever taken the least notice of that business, and I can speak correctly, and say, that neither in the times

of the Tudors, the Stuarts, or the Guelphs, was any one ever robbed as I have been on this head. If you tell me, as you have insinuated, that mine is not a political case you deceive yourself, it is a political case, of much more importance than any thing with which the name of Henry Hunt has been associated. If you continue to withhold your countenance from that part of the question of Reform, and it is by far the most important part, the very essence of sound Reform, I promise you that you will fall into insignificance and nothingness as a political character. It is my hearty wish to see you advance to that object, for in standing aloof from it, you are only doing what all other factious men do, whether Tories, Whigs, or Radicals, courting the prejudices of bigotry and superstition as a matter of popular applause and personal profit. Throughout your whole political career, by your own shewing, you have been nothing more than a little before the most forward, in what has been called the popular cause, you never yet rested upon any sound and definite principles.¹¹ What is Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot you will say? Why it amounts to just nothing at all, unless you accompany with it a popular choice of magistrates. You will never keep one without the other. All clear-headed honest men are beginning to see it in this light, and be you assured, if you do not see it in this light, you will not long find yourself a leader in the political world; you will be left behind by those whom you now consider you lead. You have to make a considerable advance yet, if you wish to continue a leader (and I wish you to do it) you must not only avow the political principles of Thomas Paine, but you will find yourself impelled to examine the question of idolatry in what is called Theology.

You say, "It will be recollected that Mr. Carlile was the mere publisher of these works; Paine's Age of Reason, &c. for Mr. Sherwin." By way of giving me a sly blow as to insignificance, you have here stated what you knew to be a falsehood at the time of putting it forth. That in getting forward as a bookseller, or a pamphlet-vendor if you like it better, I was much indebted to the assistance of Mr. Sherwin, I readily acknowledge; but I began without him, and was solicited by him to become his publisher; whilst, in return for the assistance I received from him and his connections, I gave him a perfect security from arrest and imprisonment, so that I ever felt myself independent of Mr. Sherwin, in a much greater degree than he was independent of me, and I believe I may say, that whatever little distinc-

tion Mr. Sherwin acquired in the political world, next to his own ability, he was indebted to me for it by encouraging him to be as bold as he pleased without danger to himself. We were not before the public above two or three months before you came to us, and gave us your approbation, although you knew well that we started as Republicans, and upon avowed Republican principles, and that we kept a paper in the shop window of the house, 183, Fleet Street, (which house I see Mr. Cobbett has now taken) describing it as the Republican Office; Mr. Sherwin having started with a work under the title of "The Republican." But it was perfectly within your knowledge, that whilst in that little shop, I was in the habit of printing pamphlets on my own account, and of employing other printers than Mr. Sherwin, because in that shop you met with one of those printers, and entered into conversation with him about printing you some placards, for some whim and folly that was then passing. I certainly did print the first edition of "The Age of Reason" with the assistance of Mr. Sherwin; but it was entirely upon my own advice, and he resisted my importunities to that effect for several months after I had read the work and determined to print it, so your conviction that I had never read the work before I published it for Mr. Sherwin does not stand good, and if your purpose had been to state facts, you might have informed yourself better by several printed narratives that I have given of the matter. The second edition of "The Age of Reason" was not printed by Mr. Sherwin, nor had he any thing more to do with it, or any more profit from it, than you had. And out of all the publications that were ever dated in my name at 55, Fleet Street, Mr. Sherwin had no other profit than his regular printer's price.

Thus, Sir, you may perceive, that, to gratify a paltry purpose, a purpose that you had not the honesty to avow manfully, you have meddled with private matters, and stated things untrue. It was no business of a third person's what passed between Mr. Sherwin and myself, we went hand in hand up to the time of my coming to Dorchester Gaol, but we did nothing clandestinely, we displayed no hypocrisy, we continued as we began without deviating to the right hand or to the left. Mr. Sherwin neither guided me nor I him, we rested on sound principles, and felt a reciprocity of opinion and sentiment as to right: and thus we worked smoothly to the same object. Mr. Sherwin has certainly retired from the political world, but one of the principal

wards, but the justice of my remark to the Doctor you never once disputed, or ever offered me a word about it after.

We come now to the Manchester Meeting, and here again I tell you plainly, that you have exhibited a total want of fairness and candour, and even honesty. You ask what I did at that Meeting? I answer, that I did as much as you did. I went to Manchester certainly without asking your consent or without consulting you upon the matter. I was invited by John Knight, in the name of the Committee, to attend in just the same manner as you were; but previous to any invitation, I wrote to Mr. Wroe to say, that as the advocates of Reform were threatened with military execution at that approaching Meeting in Manchester, if they assembled, I should certainly feel it my duty to be there as a matter of example at the post of danger. It was announced in the New Times before I left London, that General Byng had reviewed the troops on St. Peter's Plain, and that they were in a fine condition for coping with the Radicals at the ensuing Meeting. On the 15th of August, I travelled from Birmingham to Manchester, and called upon you at Mr. Johnson's cottage, in the evening, where you expressed your approbation of my presence, and hoped I would be there in good time in the morning. I was again with you in the morning of the 16th, at Mr. Johnson's, and have I any need to remind you that from that moment I was quite as conspicuous through every part of the Meeting as you were, and never absent from you until you were first taken off by the Police? You ask, Did I face the Police, or run away like the rest of the multitude? I know not what the Manchester men are to think when you compliment them with running away! If you had been as bold and as honest as one half of them, that massacre would not have taken place, or, at least, it would have been a massacre of a very different kind. If any fight had been offered on the part of the military, it would have been at the risk of a fair battle, a circumstance that, in my opinion, would have kept the Magistrates and their Yeomanry in a very different humour. There was a general expectation of an attack from the military, and the Reformers were anxious to come to that Meeting armed, but your *velo* put a stop to it, and brought them to be massacred unarmed. It was offered to you that fifteen thousand men should come to that Meeting armed with pikes; and your saying that you would not meet them upon any such conditions, alone put a stop to the matter,

and led to the disastrous result that followed. Yet you charge them with running away! They did not run away. When the Yeomanry appeared on the field they were received with long and loud cheering, and when they formed for an advance to the hustings, the brave fellows, at a considerable distance round the hustings, linked themselves as compact as possible to assist you in the best manner they could unarmed, and you stood and saw the Yeomanry cut their way through them, which occupied some minutes to do, to get at you on the hustings. I was on the hustings until almost the last, or until the Yeomanry were almost within sabre's length. There were five women on the hustings, part of the Female Reformers' Committee, another part had seated themselves in the barouche in which we had rode to the hustings. Four of these women took a stand in the bottom of the waggons that formed the hustings, the other, who was Mary Fildes, I believe, was elevated at one corner in the front, with a banner in her hand and resting on a large drum, a most singular and interesting situation for a female at such a Meeting; but a completer heroine never figured in any situation before. Joan of Arc could not have been more interesting. On the first approach of the Yeomanry I was standing by the side of Mary Fildes in the front of the hustings, there I continued until the very near approach of the Yeomanry. I offered comfort and courage to Mary Fildes, but I found her above every thing like fear; I then turned round to cheer up the other four women, and found them in good spirits. Many people were rushing on the hustings, others off, but I advised these four women to get off, and a large aperture between the two waggons enabled them to get down through: after many other persons had gone through, and just at the moment that you were arrested, I got off the hustings through this same aperture, and I had a very narrow escape of life in so doing, for I had scarce passed down through, when the two waggons, from the pressure of the crowd, were jammed close together, and my hat was caught from my head and fixed in such a manner that I could not extricate it. I was no sooner got under the hustings, than I found the horses' feet up close to me, but the hustings being cleared, they moved round to follow the body of the crowd who were driven forward from the hustings, and I then walked out without a hat and was seized by the Police. Their first question to me was, "Who are you? What business have you here?" I told them that if they thought proper to take

charge of me, I would soon let them know who I was, and how I came there. "Damn him, let him go about his business," cried one, and I found no further interruption except a few blows from their truncheons. I being a thorough stranger, as to the situation of Manchester, made to the nearest houses, which I believe was the place called Hall's Buildings, Windmill Row, or Street, or something. Here I found a number of people sheltered. The place formed a little inlet from St. Peter's Plain, but no thoroughfare. All houses were close shut, and on no account would the inhabitants open them until there was one woman looked out of window, who had been just shocked with the sight of an infant drenched with its mother's blood, and seeing me well dressed, and without a hat, supporting a female who had received a severe contusion on a breast full of milk, she was moved with sympathy under the idea that I was a surgeon and could assist her; and she came down and opened the door, when there was a rush of about a dozen persons, mostly young persons of both sexes. We gave the bruised female all the relief we could by getting one of the persons to draw her breast, and remained in this house until there was a free and safe passage through the Plain. The name of the owner of the house was Affleck, a carpenter, who was working for Buxton, the constable, just by, in whose house the Magistrates were to witness the murders committed at their orders. I could not move from the house for want of a hat until the husband came home from his work, which was six o'clock in the evening. On his arrival I commissioned him to go and buy me a hat, which he had some difficulty to get, as all business was at a stand, and shops closed. After going to different places, he succeeded at some shop in St. Anne's Square, I believe the place was called. I then got the same man to shew me the way to the Star Inn, where I had slept the night before, and left my portmanteau in the morning, but on coming to the Inn, and finding it surrounded by the Yeomanry who had done all the mischief in the morning, I thought it prudent not to enter. I then made way for Mr. Wroe's house, or rather his hiding-place from a multitude of warrants, as he was the only person I knew in Manchester, and on consulting with him, and discovering that I had no opportunity of doing any good in Manchester, but might do much in London by an early publication of what I had witnessed, I resolved to leave by the first mail. But then there was my portmanteau in the enemy's quarters. The person, in whose house Mr.

Wroe was, undertook to bring me to a coach-stand, and having got into a coach, I ordered the coachman to drive to the Star Inn, to the door of which he had some difficulty to get for the mounted Yeomanry. I got out boldly, told the coachman to wait, and went into the traveller's-room. I made sure of being known, as we had passed that Inn in the morning in the barouche, and were reviewed by all the servants, who did not fail to hiss a little, as their house was a rendezvous for the enemy, a circumstance I did not know before, as I stopped there because the coach from Birmingham brought me there. On calling the waiter, and asking for my bill and portmanteau, he seemed quite sullen, and said that they had kept a bed for me for that night to the inconvenience of other customers. I pacified him by telling him to charge for it, but I had to ring again and again before the bill and portmanteau was brought, and all the time I thought there was something brewing for me; at length a different waiter came, and I asked him for it, and it was soon brought. Having pleased the waiter beyond his expectation, I slipped on a great coat and a pair of white over-hauls, and he ushered me to the coach with a great deal of ceremony, and the Yeomanry about the door were requested to make way for one whom they had been sent to kill in the morning. While I was waiting for my bill and portmanteau, another coach had set down a fare at the house, and mine was obliged to move off a little to make way, in consequence of which, and by the change of dress, I was shewn into the wrong coach, and drove off to the Bridgewater Arms from whence the mail set out, and had got set down, paid the coachman his fare, and shewn into a room, when there was a hue and cry after me by the first coachman whom I had hired, and unknowingly left behind at the Star Inn door. My first impression was that the Police had scent of me, but I soon found the mistake, satisfied the coachman, and all was right. At three o'clock in the morning the mail left, and great was the terror of the coachman, guard, and passengers, that it would be stopped by the Reformers before it got to Stockport. I had nothing to fear on this head, but was not free of apprehension that one of the passengers was a Police Officer set to watch me, or to keep at my heels, at any rate, he was dispatched from Manchester as an express to London, either to the Government or to some mercantile house. There were four of us entered the mail, two were friends of the master of the Bridgewater Arms, and had been there on a visit, and appeared to be coach-proprietors, living somewhere between

Macclesfield and Derby. Those two gentlemen were well filled with wine, but a bottle was brought to the coach-door by the master to have a parting glass, when to every glass the toast was "Down with Hunt." One of them would insist upon my taking a glass, as a fellow-traveller, to join in the sentiment of "Down with Hunt." To pacify the fools, and to disarm suspicion as far as possible, I drank the glass of wine with "Down with Hunt," which was considered a proof of my being a good man and a fit companion for them. On the road there was no conversation but about Hunt, and I found those simpletons, bigots I might call them, had no other notions but that you were about to depose the King, or Regent, and to take his place: smiling, I thought to myself, how much they were mistaken in their man, and how very apt mankind is to be led away by false reports and foolish fears. The panic which prevailed in all the towns from Manchester to Northampton can scarcely be conceived, and it fell to my lot to detail the massacre at each succeeding enquiry, as nothing but post-horse expresses had passed through before the mail.

You seem to insinuate a wonder that I was not arrested as well as yourself. I can only account for it by the supposition that I was an entire stranger to every body in Manchester, and you were known to all by having attended a former Meeting there. John Knight was not arrested at the hustings, and I believe the same was the case of Mr. Saxton. I was challenged by the Police, but I was not fool, nor fool-hardy enough, to give them my name at such a moment. To read your statement one would think there was no one there who had any courage but yourself, and I think the least you can do is to retract the slur and the imputation of cowardice to the brave men and brave women who were present at that Meeting. A better leader would have led to very different results. The disposition of the Reformers of Lancashire at that moment was for something more than clamouring "Hunt for ever," and being clamoured to with similar nonsense. If ever you wish to be considered a leader among them again, you must proceed with a different disposition to what you did in 1819.

The next point, is that at which I have taken most umbrage, and which induces me to think that your solitary confinement, and the loss of your ladies, has almost set you beside yourself, or you would never have penned such a contrast to come under public animadversion, I will quote the sentence: "His (your speaking of me) I always thought a very different trade from mine; he was in the

way always of *making money* by his politics as well as his religion; the latter he sold at an enormous profit:—I always spent money in every political move that I ever made in my life." I too have long thought that mine was a very different trade from yours, but the conclusion you draw upon the matter I happen to be prepared with facts to dispute. Although it is generally supposed that my fines were regulated by the full price of the number of copies of the Theological Works of Paine that I had sold, still, I did not derive such profits as were imagined. On the first edition, which was 1000 number, I did not average a profit of more than half-a-crown per copy, which was no more than the retailer's profit if I had sold them for another publisher. The second edition I printed was 3000, and on those I calculate on having averaged a profit of five shillings per copy, so that altogether I did not clear a profit of £900 upon the whole, which is £100 less than the fine upon that publication. And as to Palmer's Principles of Nature, I never cleared one-fifth of the fine upon that publication: not to say a word about the expence of the prosecutions and imprisonments. Now, so far from having accumulated money by my career, I can assure you that I have been scarcely a month together free from some little pecuniary embarrassments to keep the press going as I could wish. Up to the time of my going into the Court for trial, I had not a pound in reserve, but it happened, fortunately, that in the course of that week Mrs. Carlile took £500 in the shop, and the remnant of this sum, after the outgoings were met, formed a stay for us; but such was the nature of the demands upon our little stock, between that time and the month of January that she re-opened the shop, that she had but £30 to begin with, and owed £35 for the quarter's rent at Christmas, which the King was not honest enough to pay, although he kept possession of the house half the quarter. So much for my enormous profits. You were frequently in my house, both up stairs and down, during the time that I lived in Fleet Street, and I now ask you whether you saw any thing there that appeared like the results of enormous profits. My manner of living, and my household furniture, you must have seen was as simple, as frugal, and as plain, as when I was working at the bench as a journeyman mechanic. You certainly have encountered different law expences, such as I have no wish to cope with you in, but in a voluntary spending of money for the propagation of sound political principles, I verily believe that I can shew proof of having done more than you have done, although I

admit that I have drawn my resources from a similar source, and from a very different source to yours.

I know well that, it is your disposition to mean always a great deal more than you say, and it is upon this view of the matter that I am drawn into this long exposition of private matters, but as you have called for it, I will endeavour to satisfy you before I have done, and be assured, that if you can find grounds to put another string of questions to the same purport, I shall be equally ready to answer them.

Let me remind you of your boasted Spa Fields' Meetings: what did you spend there? You promised the two Mr. Clarks, the elder and the younger, that you would meet them with your share of the expences of those meetings, but instead of doing it, you put down a pound note, and left them, who were but journeymen coach-makers, to cover an expence of £40: so the elder Mr. Clark assured me after the business was all over. When an effort was made in 1818 to return your friend Mr. Cobbet for Coventry, you attended as Chairman at some house in the City Road, to consult with Mr. Cobbett's friends and the Coventry freemen resident in London upon the matter, and toward sending down two or three hundred freemen from London to Coventry, you contributed a one pound note. When in London you were always very fond of placarding the walls upon one subject and another, and by your own specific orders for placards to Mr. Sherwin, you incurred an expence of £8 odd shillings, and allowed him to get paid through the interference of an attorney. One part of this account related to placards for the Westminster Election, but they were printed by a written order from you from Middleton Cottage before the Election began, so could not be fairly said to belong to the Committee; because they were printed and posted before the Committee was formed. Although you professed to stand upon a purity of principle, that was very convenient to keep a close purse, yet your ruling passion surmounted that purity of principle, and led you to give direct orders for placards to myself, and to two other printers, who, I believe not employing an attorney, never got paid for them to this day: if the others did I have not been so fortunate: one of them complained to me a long time after the election had passed away, and said, that as he had your orders he should enforce payment. For mine you were never asked, further than, that, Mr. West laid the whole of the unpaid accounts before you, and there it ended. I should have been above mentioning any thing of the kind now, had not your insidious questions to know what I had done called

for it. After the unpaid expences I occurred at that very foolish set out, the Westminster Election, the only political move of mine that ever I regretted or felt ashamed of, you got me to send weekly to Andover, 50 Registers (Cobbett's and Sherwin's) for which the charge would have been but six shillings, had they been all paid for, and for which I laid out each week 5s. 6d: this continued for six months, when, instead of paying me for them, you returned me the half, and after several times asking; paid me for the other half, whilst by your returns and your custom I was at least £2 out of pocket: the returns being of no more value to me than waste paper. A Gentleman, a liberal spender of money in every move in politics, one would have thought would not have minded half a dozen shillings per week to circulate a few of his favourite pamphlets among his neighbours, particularly after he had ordered them for that purpose. When you attended the Manchester Meeting in the spring of 1819, if the runaway multitude, as you call them, did not pay your tavern expences there, I know they paid your coach-hire back to London, so that was not a very expensive political move. I should like to know if Mr. Johnson at Smedley Cottage found you a liberal spender in your political moves. At York, at your trial, I believe you paid your own expences, and left every other of your fellow defendants to do the same, if they could.

You talk of my enormous profits indeed! What were they when compared with the profits on your Breakfast Powder? A mere nothing at all. On your wholesale price you had a clear profit of 150 per cent. But I suppose we must not call this a political move. My firm belief is, that you have cleared more profit by the manufacture of that Breakfast Powder, deducting your two hundred pounds fine out of it, than I have by every book or pamphlet I have sold, without deducting any fine or expence. I make my estimate from the quantity sold by Mrs. Carlile individually, to whom your generous political motions induced you to say, or to advise her to leave "the damned books alone and devote her shop to your Powder!"

Your statement about the Flag, and Cap of Liberty, is nearly correct, only I understand you would rather have dispensed with the Cap of Liberty altogether than with the motto of "Hunt and Liberty." Certain I am that every thing connected with it was at my own direction, and equally certain am I that I was left to pay for it all. I did not send it to Mr. Wroe at Manchester, as you represent, it happened that in December 1818, Mr. Wroe was in London, saw the

Flag and Cap of Liberty in my shop, expressed a wish for it, and I gave it to him.

You say that you never read the Theological Works of Paine and Mirabaud, that you never saw them in the hands of more than one person, who called himself a Radical Reformer, and that you do not, nor never did agree with me, as to the propriety of propagating the opinions contained in those works. None of this can I contradict, but it so happened that after I had refused to print any more placards for you, you made yourself very intimate with Mr. Davison, who was at that time my best supporter in the line of business I had taken, and who, as far as he could, without interfering with my publications, struck out in the same line as I did. I understand you very soon convinced Mr. Davison, as you convinced me, that a private acquaintance with you was a very unprofitable concern, and a very expensive one. You have mentioned the name of Mr. Lewis as being a sufferer and deserving the support of the Reformers, but Mr. Davison's name with whom you have had a much closer private connection than with Mr. Lewis, and who is in the same Gaol with Mr. Lewis, for the same time, and who has a large family, which Mr. Lewis has not, you have not mentioned at all. Call you this liberal or factious? I do not speak in disparagement of Mr. Lewis; if my esteem be any satisfaction to him, he has it as far as I have been capable of judging of his conduct and disposition. But the publication of the works of Mirabaud, is a far more important matter in my eye than any thing Mr. Lewis has done, besides a very cheap edition of Volney's Ruins of Empires, his Researches in Ancient History, and the works of Helvetius. I believe it can scarcely be said, that Mr. Davison has left undone any thing that he could have done. I know nothing of what has passed between you and Mr. Davison, further than that the latter does not think so highly of you as he did before he came in close contact with you, and even for this, I have no authority beyond the verbal expressions of Mr. Davison to Mrs. Carlile, and thus to me.

I come now to finish this exposition with a notice of what you have said about Mr. Harrison, (Parson Harrison you should have said). You say: "He was no pamphlet-vendor; he made nothing by his politics; he devoted his time and his life to the cause of Radical Reform." It would have been more honourable to him and the cause he advocated, if he had been a pamphlet-vendor, instead of what he was: and as to your saying he made nothing by his politics, you are strangely out of the way. He lived by his politics all the

time he was at Stockport, by preaching politics, and by teaching politics, but what made him a Reformer, and what brought him to Stockport, out of charity for his present situation, I will not say at present; reserving to myself the right of doing it at another time.

You seem to treat pamphlet-vending with contempt, but let me remind you that pamphlet-vending, above all other things, has given you the name you now possess. Let me remind you that you found the pamphlet-vendors shops very convenient to walk into, to applaud what they were doing, and to take up an assortment in a friendly manner, with a request that they would take care and keep an account against you. If I could have anticipated the change of disposition in you as to pamphlet-vending, I should have taken care to keep an account against you, and I could have made a very pretty display of the convenience of pamphlet-vendors shops to you, and you on the other hand might have shewn how easy such debts are paid by a basket of game. Be easy, your name is not on any book that I now have, nor shall it ever be.

Be you assured that it is pamphlet-vending that is destined to work the great necessary moral and political change among mankind. The Printing Press may be strictly denominated a Multiplication Table, as applicable to the mind of man. The art of Printing is a multiplication of mind, and since the art is discovered, the next important point is to make it applicable to the means of acquirement possessed by the humblest individual among mankind, or him whose means are the most scanty. Thus it is evident that a compression of sound moral truths within pamphlets, as the smallest and cheapest forms of giving effect to this multiplication of mind, is most conducive to the general good and future welfare of mankind. Give this a thought, and do not treat pamphlet-vending with contempt again, particularly whilst you are seeking profit from the same source. Pamphlet-vendors are the most important springs in the machinery of Reform. See how they are persecuted: and yet you would denounce them as unworthy of the support of the public, and contrast with them a profligate parson! We want more pamphlet-vendors and fewer talkers in the cause of Reform. There are hundreds, aye thousands, capable of writing sound moral, political, and theological truths, whose minds are paralyzed for the want of bold publishers and pamphlet-vendors. If your friends Mr. Northmore and Sir Charles Wolseley are about to set out on what you call a radical tour, to visit the prisoners in the cause of Reform, and to

pass by the pamphlet-vendors who are imprisoned, whether for what are called seditious or blasphemous libels, let me advise them to stay at home, for most assuredly their journey will neither bring them respect or pleasure, or an acknowledgment of having done their duty. I am not throwing out a hint that I expect them, for I have no wish to see any man who is not disposed to give me his countenance in the whole line of conduct that I have taken, or prepared to shew me I am wrong. I have an antipathy to the word *radical*, as a paltry word in its present acceptation. I detest hypocrisy and cant, but I have at present an opinion that both Mr. Northmore and Sir Charles Wolseley are superior in all their views to the one as well as the other.

The Despots of Europe know well the axiom I have stated, that the Printing Press is a machine to multiply the powers of the mind, and their first step is to shackle the Press, as a shackle upon the mind. I never read any political writings until the year 1816. I was a stranger before that period to every idea of government, of politics, and of religion, as to its different forms and relative value, although I was a great reader from my youth, considering my situation in life. I had some of the works of Paine in my hand before I was twenty years old, but I did not read them, whether from prejudice, or whether from a total lack of ideas upon politics I know not, for although I heard them praised; I felt no desire to read them. I shared the general distress of 1816, and it was this that opened my eyes. Having my attention drawn to politics, I began to read every thing that I could get at upon the subject with avidity, and I soon saw what was the importance of a free press. I attended the public meetings, and felt an attachment to you, as what I thought the best and boldest man, for you then took care to let no one go before you, and I believe now that your pique with me is partly because I will not keep behind you as you stand at present. As well as to read, I began to scribble, as I wanted to be doing something in the great cause as I saw it then. I annoyed the Editors of several papers with my effusions, particularly the Editors of the Whig and the News, but every answer was, that it was too strong or violent. Mr. Cobbett was annoyed with a very foolish poetical, or rather rhyming, effusion, an acrostic on the name of Hunt, and something else which I will not now mention. You yourself, Sir, was not spared, for I paced the front of your hotel, in Covent Garden, for a couple of hours one evening, before I could muster resolution, or put on a face to ask the waiter to hand you a letter that

I had written, and all I dreaded was being called before you! I soared higher, and addressed the Lord Chancellor himself, not in an anonymous letter but with real name and address, and demanded, in what Mr. Cobbett would call an imperious tone, that he, as a Privy Counsellor, should advise a Reform. I felt a poignant distress, and was ready to run at any thing to relieve it. I suppose the Lord Chancellor doubted over my paper, for although I was a neighbour and fellow parishioner I heard no more of it. This was the beginning of my career, in 1816.

In 1817, "The Black Dwarf" made its appearance, which happened to be much more to my taste than Mr. Cobbett's Registers. Having purchased the first two numbers, and lent them to as many of my fellow workmen as would read them, and got them almost illegibly black, I wrote a letter and enclosed them to George Canning, and requested him, after he had read them, to hand them over to Castlereagh for the Green Bag that was then on the table of the House of Commons; particularly pointing out to him how well they had been read, as was evident from their appearance. Mr. Sherwin next made his appearance under the title of Republican, but I found more in his title than in his pages, and I afterwards learnt that he did not write the first number himself. The Habeas Corpus Act being suspended, and Sidmouth having sent forth his Circular, I found there was a general damp among the pamphlet-vendors, and but few would sell; this was a mortification to me, and I determined to set a good example in the trade of Political pamphlets. On the 9th March, I borrowed a pound note from my employer, and went and purchased 100 Dwarfs, stating to Mr. Steill the Publisher, what my object was. The Dwarf was then at an almost unprofitable number, and it was a question about giving it up. However I traversed the metropolis in every direction to find new shops to sell them, and called every day to see how they sold, and the same with Mr. Sherwin's Republican, Mr. Cobbett's Register I found did not want any pushing, therefore I took round none of them. I had not carried round the Black Dwarfs many weeks, before there was an *ex officio* Information against the publisher, and Mr. Steill was arrested. I instantly offered my services to fill his place, but found they were not exactly wanted, as Mr. Steill, by consent, giving up the Editor, Mr. Wooler, got off himself, and they have managed their matters very well ever since. However, Mr. Sherwin perceiving I was just the man for him, made the offer I have before mentioned. Here, Sir, you have a true account of what I did before you

knew me in 1817, and if you doubt my story there are sufficient references for enquiring. Mr Wooler and Mr. Steill know well that my carrying round their Dwarf was not done for profit, for I many a day traversed thirty miles and earned no more than eighteen pence, whilst I might have earned with much less labour 5, or 6, or more shillings at my trade, and recollect, I was not out of employ, although there was not a sufficiency and a bad summer prospect.

I have made free in this exposition with names and references, because I wish to silence your ungrateful remarks, that I have no right to be considered a political character: at least, such is the inference of your insidious insinuations. Shew me now where and when I ought to have done more than I have done. You say I never took part in any public meeting. In the very obscure situation that I filled before I was prosecuted for the Parodies, it would have been deemed presumptuous if I had done so, and another thing, if I had, I should most likely have been pointed at by your finger of scorn, and booted and hunted down as I have seen it to be the case with many a good and well meaning man, and after I became acquainted with you, I found that at any public meeting, you never wanted any person to take any other independent part, but the paying part. Those who wish to act with you, must run in your reins, and I have a spirit above that, although I do not know who my great grandfather was, or whether he lived in cot or mansion.

At the time that you had got Mr. Sherwin in your hands, and made what use you liked of his Register, you led him into a quarrel with Mr. Wooler. Mr. Sherwin was then every thing that was good, and although all his political sentiments were avowedly Republican, you never made any complaint of that, and although there was a great deal of ill humour created on the side of Mr. Cobbett and his friends, owing to Mr. Sherwin calling his weekly pamphlet the Political Register, you made such representations of his conduct and pursuits to Mr. Cobbett, as to induce him to write from America, a letter of thanks and congratulation, for the spirited and important manner in which he (Mr. Sherwin) conducted his publication at such a precarious moment. Mr. Wooler was then to be horsewhipped, or chastised on Mr. Cobbett's return. A few months after, when Mr. Sherwin wished to be paid for his placards, you found out that he was altogether bad, and good for nothing, and in my house when we three alone were present, you upbraided him for not doing his duty, and turned round to me, saying, "You have done your duty bravely, Mr. Carlile, if every one had done like

you it would have been all very well." This happened in the summer of 1819 just before you found that you could make no further use of me: and by this time, or soon after, we found Mr. Cobbett writing home from America, denouncing the men who were advocating the Republican form of Government, and threatening how soon he would write them down when he came home. When he came Mr. Wooler was a very good man, a man of real talent; and all this change happened because you wanted to make a use of him.

When Mr. Wooler's friends called a Meeting at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of returning him for Coventry, you, in conjunction with a friend of yours, whom I will not now name, had the dishonesty to get printed a placard, in my name, in which Mr. Wooler was designated as "a snake in the grass," and to get it circulated among his friends at the Meeting, whilst I declare that first nor last was I ever consulted about that placard, nor did I ever see a copy of it in manuscript or in print. You then represented Mr. Wooler as every thing that was bad, both in his public and his private character: now he is again metamorphosed into every thing that is good, and the reason is, because you want his praise, and because you cannot now get it from any other press. There are no letters to "My Dear Hunt" now to be found in Mr. Cobbett's Register; and if we are inclined to notice your insinuations, we might fancy there is something very bad in Mr. Cobbett. The same lack of fulsome adulation in the Republican, I believe, is the head and front of my offending. Here is the true developement of all the bickerings that have occurred among the Reformers in London. The case has been this, that since you have taken a lead in London, the men who will not walk your way, and be incessantly praising you, are sure to find your abuse. The merits of a man never form a question with you, the question for you is, Does he praise you, or is he devoted to all your purposes? I have now done, unless I should find some more questions for you, and if you are disposed to ask for an explanation of any thing, I shall again be disposed to answer: if not, I shall be forever silent towards you, as far as I can make it consistent with what I feel to be my duty.

I have twice impeached an act of yours before, but I did it in a manner that you pretend to like, that is, open and fair; and I would advise you, if you have any thing further to say of and concerning me, to do it in the same manner. Do not mix up a few insidious questions with a little reluctant and distant praise. If you ever see any thing in

my manner, or the principles I advocate, deserving of impeachment, speak out fairly, and in a manner worthy of the cause we both profess to advocate. I will answer you, I will either acknowledge that you have convinced me of being wrong, or shew you that you are yourself wrong; for, bear in mind, that in a struggle for independence and an equality of rights, it does not become either of us to set up an infallibility. The state of the public mind in this country will not admit of any thing like dictation, we must and will have free discussion. It is just the same to me whether a Castlereagh or a Hunt forbids it: I will obey neither.

I will conclude this profuse waste of ink and paper by an attempt to convince you of a thing you do not or will not understand, that is, the inseparable relation of what is called blasphemy to politics, or political reform. Both you and Mr. Cobbett, and many other political characters, represent that my object is to set up something new in matters of religion. I have protested again and again that I do not, and have fully explained that every thing called religion is an idolatry. We know of no God but the God of Nature, and what that is we know not; but we are justified in using the term *God of Nature*, even upon the principles of materialism, as it now stands, in a scientific point of view; because, there is a power in Nature, from which certain motions and changes of matter result, that at present exceeds all our powers of comprehension: but we are no more justifiable in kneeling down to worship that power, which we cannot comprehend, and which worship constitutes what is called religion, than we are justifiable in kneeling down to worship a visible and comprehensible stock or stone. Religion is all a shadow, a phantom of the mind, the act of a frenzied imagination; because, no person can explain to you, if he places himself in a certain posture, and mutters a few words to what he calls a spirituality, what he worships, or why he worships, and the act altogether is a relic of the darkest ages, and of the grossest ignorance and superstitious fear. Thus, Sir, you may see that I set up nothing new as a matter of religion, but seek its total abolition, on the ground, that its existence is both a disgrace and an injury to the bulk of mankind. Now it is evident that this thing called religion forms the very buttress of the citadel of Corruption; it is, as Howard Fish says, the cornerstone of all political juggling. Priestcraft pervades the whole community, and operates its deadly influence on the smallest branches. The great body of Priests are always

thriving, whatever be the misery of their dupes; and they always proclaim, in the name of their God, that all attempts to change existing forms and institutions that oppress the mass of the people are forbidden by that God, and will be punished as a heinous sin. The Priesthood is omnipotent with slaves, and powerless when resisted; this all history records, and the nature of things warrants. It is therefore my firm opinion that no effectual Reform will ever take place in this country whilst an established Priesthood draws an immense revenue from the industry of the country, and exercises in return a despotic power over the minds as well as the bodies of the people. The character and trade of a Priest is so foreign to every idea of liberty, and to every thing like a free mind and free discussion, that you cannot trace an outline of any principle how the one can be connected with the other, so as to be amalgamated. The Priest seeks to chain your mind to a certain standard for opinion, and if that standard be not a delusion, he knows you will not support him according to his wishes, he therefore forbids you the right of examining and discussing other opinions, for fear that you should discover your own are wrong. If you determine to enquire for yourself, and change your opinions, he will directly play the cant and hypocrite, and attempt to fasten himself upon you on the ground of changing with you. Thus it is we find such an infinity of sects, characters, and opinions among the Priests, who call themselves Christians: they can change as well as you, so that their first and last object be gratified, to live in idleness on your industry, and keep you in a delusion to allow it. Picture to yourself for a moment the influence of an established Priesthood at a popular election, then consider how the influence of that Priesthood operates again upon the Executive and the Legislature, and you must see that it is the root and foundation of all corruption. Now, if, as you will acknowledge, your whole aim is to storm this citadel of Corruption, why can you blame me for going at the very buttress, and for giving you a powerful assistance towards the object professedly nearest your heart. Strike down the buttress, and the whole citadel will crumble into dust instantly. The Priests are as much a political body as a standing army, the former are kept up to keep your mind in awe, the latter your body; therefore it is as much a political act to abolish an established Priesthood, as to abolish a standing army. Religion is the weapon of one, the sword of the other, and both are equally applied and intended to keep you in subjection to an established tyranny.

I consider, that every line I write against all religion and a priesthood, is as much a political act, and tends as much to that same reform of which you boast yourself an advocate, as any thing you can say about Universal Suffrage, or Boroughmongering, or what not. You may as well pledge yourself to see the interest of the National Debt paid to eternity, as to attempt, or to hold out a promise of protecting the trade and corruption of Priestcraft, with a Representative System of Government, and as the annihilation of corruption is the order of the day, I feel myself more usefully employed than you are, in battering down the worst part of it, or the foundation of all. I am working effectually, you are only talking and looking on. In all your political moves, can you shew me an instance where you have propagated any thing in the shape of sound and useful principles among the people? I feel assured that you have not, and that the whole of your present and past career will only end in deluding and disgusting them, if you confine yourself to an advocacy of your present professions only. If I rescue the mind of one man, from the power of the priests, I accomplish a great object: it is like removing a stone from the wall of corruption, which tends to loosen many others, and to cause their successive removal with more and more ease, until the whole fabric tumbles down together. That I have rescued many persons from their power I know, and in addition to their thanks, I have great satisfaction from the success of my efforts. You may say, that you never saw but one copy of my theological publications in the hands of a Radical Reformer, but I know, and feel well assured, from what I have issued, and continue to issue, you will, on quitting your prison, scarcely find the house of a Radical Reformer without them. Do not be offended when I repeat, that if you wish to continue a leader in the cause in which you now stand high, you must examine those works, and either write them down, or give them your countenance and support. If you wish to be neuter in the matter, you will lose yourself. The question is, are **they** right or wrong, honest or dishonest, they must be one or the other, and in this, as in all other cases, you will find the best policy to be honesty. So examine and see on which side the honesty lies. No man has condemned a medium or moderation in virtue and reform more forcibly than you have done, and yet you are blind to the situation in which you stand, as but midway in the great cause of Reform. You are now but playing with the branches of the corrupt tree. If you pluck them they will shoot forth

again, unless you take up the roots, stock, and all. I go to the root, and if any man can shew me that I am not at the root, I will go deeper. Be advised, and go deeper, I will always pay you that respect to which age and seniority is entitled in the pursuit of virtue, but unless you can shew me that my pursuit of virtue is a delusion, and that I am in error as to my views, I will compromise nothing. UNION UPON SOUND PRINCIPLES is my motto, supported by PERSEVERANCE. Here I will meet and shake hands with you, and no where else.

For want of advocating some sound principles that can bear examination and be defended, all the past and present clamours about Reform, have sought only to set up a name as a guidance for the approbation of the multitude, and then quarrel with each other upon the score of superiority, and from a jealousy as to who shares the greatest degree of popularity. This has been the groundwork of all our bickerings, therefore I advise you, and every public man, to think less about names, and more about principles, and further, express what principles you think best, and if you dislike mine, give the public some reasons for it, that they too may judge for themselves. Your line of conduct has been a line of expediency, as well as that of those whom you denounce. You never rested upon sound principles: you have always had views beyond what you expressed, and always expressed dislike of those who went further, or not so far as yourself in their expressions. We must have principles avowed, and not expedients and professions, and above all things we must have free discussion upon all subjects, and nothing like dictation.

Your fellow Prisoner,
RICHARD CARLILE.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. CARLILE AND THE SOLICITOR
TO THE TREASURY.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 11, 1822.

As it is my intention to make an immediate settlement as to my fines, I beg leave to enquire, whether the necessary arrangements for that purpose lie within the department of your office, as Solicitor to the Treasury, and for one of the prosecutions, on which a fine has been laid? or, Whether, as I understand the fines are the perquisites of the Sheriffs of the City of London for the time being, my business is with the Secondaries. Your early answer will oblige. Sir, your obedient Servant,

R. CARLILE.

George Maule, Esq. Solicitor to the Treasury.

SIR,

Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 14, 1822.

IN answer to your Letter of the 11th inst. informing me that it is your intention to make an immediate settlement of the fines, imposed upon you by His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, and enquiring whether the arrangements for that purpose lie within my department, I have to acquaint you that they do not, and that I conceive the proper officer to whom the fine of £500 ought to be paid, is the Secondary of the City of London, who will afterwards be called upon to account for the same to the Crown.

With respect to the other fine, I apprehend it may be paid by application to the Court of Exchequer, or if it be more convenient to you, to the Sheriff of the County of Dorset. I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

Mr. R. Carlile, Dorchester Gaol.

GEO. MAULE.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 17, 1822.

I HAVE to thank you for the information of your Letter of the 14th instant, as to the proper channels for the payment of my fines; but, there is another point for consideration of equal importance to me, will the payment of the full amount of both fines restore to me the property which was carried off from my premises on December the 23d and 24th, 1819, and of which I have never had any official account that any sale has been made, or what has been done with it? That property is of more value to me than the amount of both my fines. I am informed that every step taken with regard to its removal and detention has been under your instructions, and the same with regard to the seizure just made. Of course I address you as one of the Law Officers of the Crown, and under the assumption that you are the organ of the Government in this affair. I do not look for a remission of the least part of my sentence. I have ever calculated on a full compliance with it, nor can I imagine that the Government will shew the disposition to double the amount of the fines imposed upon me by the Court of King's Bench, which will be the case if the property taken from me does not account for the fines for which it was seized and taken away, or if, on the payment of the full amount in cash, it be not returned.

The period allotted me for imprisonment is now drawing to a close: I know that my release from confinement cannot take place, unless the fines be settled, and as there is something more to be done, from the seizure of my property, than mere paying the amount of the fines, I shall be obliged if you can, as the Law Officer of the Crown, or as the organ of the Treasury in this affair, give me information whether the property taken from my premises will be restored on the payment of the fines.

It is my wish and intention to settle the matter as speedily as possible. My loss will be grievous enough, from the property having been so long held as a security, and an injury worse than the fines if it should be returned without waste or damage. I make no complaint of the sentence of the Court, nor of any thing else at present. I wish for an immediate fair and honourable settlement of my fines.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

George Maule, Esq. Solicitor to the Treasury.

R. CARLILE.

SIR,

Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 21, 1822.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. upon the subject of your fines, and with respect to the fine of £1000, beg to acquaint you that I conceive the information which you require must be obtained by application to the Court of Exchequer. With respect to the other fine, I would refer you as before to the Secondary of the City of London.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

Mr. R. Carlile, Dorchester Gaol,

GEORGE MAULE.

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The Republican.

No. 10. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, March 8, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, March 4,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,

CORRUPT Judges and Common Law are still at work. The Lawyer in London who is known by the appellation of the Common Serjeant, but, at the Common Halls, as Little Jef, or Jefferies, has made himself the advocate and protector of Murray and Sharpe, and has sentenced Holmes, one of my shopmen, to two years imprisonment in Giltspur Street Compter, Holmes was a volunteer, and not in the shop more than three-quarters of a day. He has already suffered imprisonment for selling some publication of Mr. Griffin's, during the Queen's affair, and has proved himself a sound man. The law of banishment would have applied to him, and I rather think it would have been enforced had not the perjured officer, Cooper, sworn to Rhodes as Holmes. I shall not hear the result of the other cases in time to notice them this week, but I rely on the virtue and bravery of the men that they will not disgrace themselves or me, and that they will conduct themselves through their trials in the same spirited manner as Holmes has done, notwithstanding the infamous sentence passed upon him. I shall very soon have occasion to summon a few more brave fellows from the North, and in the face of this sentence I call upon them to forward me their names. We must not be alarmed at imprisonment. Ours is no common cause, and requires no ordinary degree of virtue and courage. I will publish a brief report of all these trials as soon as I can collect them, for the example of others who may follow in the same path of noble doings and noble darings.

Holmes is a married man, and his wife has been brought to bed since his confinement in Newgate. He is a man who has been struggling with adversity for some time past, but

has displayed an unconquerable spirit and good ability under all his disasters. I speak as far as I know of him. He was altogether a stranger to me before December last, but I flatter myself that his former conduct has been unimpeachable in every shape. I have never heard it impeached in any shape. As far as it is in my power to give him and his wife assistance they shall not want, but I have so large and so widely scattered a family that I would earnestly treat the additional attention and assistance of the Public towards some part of them.

Each of my shopmen and shopwomen ought to be viewed as voluntary antagonists of the Bridge Street and Essex Street Gangs, and I fearlessly say, ought to be supported as such by the Public, and not be considered as agents of mine, in a collective point of view. Each of them has done as much as I have done, that is, their best. They have left nothing undone that they could do.

In the rage of persecution for opinions and attacks upon a corrupt government, we have formed the forlorn hope, and have kept that rage from others, therefore the Public will find an interest in protecting us, to continue to fill that situation. The present Government will never cease to prosecute throughout its decline, nor until its fall, and some one must be foremost: therefore, I feel astonished that the time-serving writers and talkers do not see their own interest in supporting me and those who act with me. If I am to be put down (which shall not be yet, nor easily done) the persecution which now falls upon me will reach the nearest to me, and so on until there be no opposition, and the whole body of people, government, and all, will corrupt and rot together.

The maxim of our enemies is: "Let us stand by each other and not yield an iota of our possession to the demands of the people." This they act upon, and when assaulted you always find them in phalanx, so if we are to conquer them, we must bring a phalanx against them that shall overpower them, and not leave them to be assaulted by individuals who are almost sure to be destroyed at the first onset.

I shall always feel the conscious pride that I have done my duty in the field of battle. I will go on to do all that I may find power to do, and I think I can answer for the brave few who have gathered round me. The apathy of others shall never lessen our ardour, although that apathy may lessen our powers of action.

Republicans, it is not exactly you to whom I now appeal, the appellation sets you above every thing of the kind, as to the complaint here made: it is they who call themselves, Reformers, yet imagine that to do certain things, or to use certain words and names, however honest, is not fashionable, or what they call respectable. My appeal is to those who hold on to the train of others, heedless where they are going: who fall in with the loudest clamour without examining upon what cause it is raised: who consider that the mind like their dress should be regulated by fashion, however ridiculous or contemptible: who say and do things because they see others do so: finally, they who have no well-defined principles for their rule of action.

R. CARLILE.

THE FOLLY OF PROSECUTIONS FOR LIBELS,

Exemplified in the Case of JOHN WILKES, and the No. 45 of "The North Briton," a Weekly Publication at the commencement of the Reign of the THIRD GUELPH; to which is attached a perfect Copy of that celebrated Libel.

A CORRESPONDENT, under the signature "Janus," having suggested the propriety of our copying into "The Republican" the No. 45 of "The North Briton," which excited so much interest in the last century, an idea struck us, that it might be most appropriately done with an historical preface, to shew the utter folly and uselessness of all prosecutions for what are called Libels on Government, or the exposures of the conduct of the Ministers of the day, or discussions as to the value and validity of any public characters or institutions.

Near sixty years having elapsed since the first publication of that Number, but few men living at this day have any distinct recollection of the manner in which the country was agitated from one extremity to the other, upon the subject of the arrest of the person of John Wilkes, by a warrant of the Secretary of State, (Lord Halifax), and the seizure of all his papers; and we may wonder how so simple and harmless a paper as that which follows this article, could have called forth such rash measures on the part of the Go-

vernment. However, it led to very important results, and originated much of that spirit which is to be found in the Press at this day, affording an ample proof that all such prosecutions for Libel, when met with spirit, tend most certainly to defeat the object of the prosecutor, to strengthen and increase that discussion which he wishes to suppress, and to excite public esteem towards the person prosecuted in the same ratio as it recedes from the prosecutor.

John Wilkes was a Member of Parliament for the county of Buckinghamshire, (we believe) or for some borough in that county, and Colonel of its Militia. He was also the admitted author of the letters and essays which formed the weekly publication called "The North Briton," up to the No. 45, which was published on Saturday, April 23, 1763. It appears that in the course of that week the Parliament had closed its Session, and, as usual, a Speech had been made by the King, who was then quite a young man, and, through the intrigues of the Aristocracy, supported by those of his mother, the then Princess of Wales, was supposed completely to be in the hands of Earl Bute, the person alluded to in "The North Briton" under the epithet of the Scot. On Tuesday, the 26th of April, a warrant was issued by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, we should suppose, although we do not profess to be correct as to this particular, but this warrant ordered the arrest of the Authors, Printers, and Publishers of that Number of "The North Briton," and the seizure of all papers connected therewith; which was accordingly put in force against Mr. Wilkes, and he was committed to the Tower, from whence he was removed to the Court of Common Pleas, on the 3d of May, by Habeas Corpus; remanded again for the Judges to consider his case; brought up a second time on the 6th, and discharged on the ground of his Parliamentary privilege, and the decision by the Judges, that the publication of a Libel, although its tendency was towards a breach of the peace, yet that the thing itself did not constitute a breach of the peace; although the warrant set forth the Libel as seditious and treasonable.

The whole of Mr. Wilkes's desks and boxes were broke open, and his papers removed to the Office of the Secretary of State, who refused to give them up when applied for as stolen goods, and handed them over to the Attorney-General for his use in the prosecution of an *ex officio* Information against Mr. Wilkes. But this seizure and holding of papers led on to an important result, for Mr. Wilkes brought his

action against the Secretary of State, and recovered a Thousand Pounds as damages, with the important decision of the Judges, that General Warrants were illegal.

Mr. Wilkes was deprived of his Colonelcy, and his success in point of popularity subjected him to the challenges of a succession of duellers, in one of which he received a grievous wound, never refusing to fight any of them. He was also brought to trial for publishing "The North Briton," and a pamphlet, entitled "An Essay on Woman," a copy of which was found among the stolen papers, and he was sentenced for imprisonment in the King's Bench Prison, but in passing from the Court to the Prison he was rescued, and the officers severely beaten, which led to the calling out of the military, and the loss of some lives in St. George's Fields. Mr. Wilkes, however, did not secrete himself, but voluntarily gave himself up to the Marshal of the Prison. During his confinement he was repeatedly returned as the Member for the county of Middlesex, and as often expelled the House of Commons, until, at length, the Government set up one Colonel Luttrell, the late Earl of Carhampton, who, getting a few votes, was declared by the House to be the choice of the electors of Middlesex, in consequence of the incapacity of Mr. Wilkes to take a seat!

Mr. Wilkes was, however, subsequently returned for the City of London, made an Alderman, and lastly Chamberlain of the City, where he sunk into a complete insignificance, and a sort of moral and political apostacy.

No name, nor the conduct of no one person, save the late Queen, ever agitated the country so much as the name and conduct of Mr. Wilkes's did after the publication of the Number of "The North Briton" in question, and what does it contain, now, on a sober view of the whole matter? Why nothing that an Attorney-General, or even the Bridge Street Gang, would consider worth notice in the present day. The Times Newspaper of the present day contains daily paragraphs much stronger, and of the same description: and when we read the prattle about economy, we may fancy that "The North Briton" has been just written, and applies to the last speech of the kind.

The Editor of "The North Briton" thought it quite time to cease talking about economy in his time, sixty years ago; still the thing has been kept up twice a year from that time to this. The taxes were then not above a sixth of what they are at present, and the debt was in about the same ratio. Still economy is the order of the day! In talk, no

thing else, and such will continue to be the case whilst we are subject to the vice of Kingcraft.

In the "Address to Men of Science" it is stated, that one Matthews was hanged in the reign of George the First, for printing what was called a treasonable libel. We have now the pamphlet in our possession, and as soon as we can fully authenticate it, we shall reprint it, just to see if Castlereagh will hang us for it now. If any one can give us information as to the particulars of this affair, we shall feel obliged. We have the authority of a historian of that day, that Matthews was hanged in the year 1719, for having written and printed a pamphlet entitled "Vox Populi." Now we have the pamphlet entitled "Vox Populi, vox Dei," but it is dated 1709, which was in the reign of Anne, and we are dubious as to its authenticity, as it seems odd that a man should be hanged, ten years after printing a pamphlet in a former reign. We repeat, if any one can give us information on this subject, we shall feel obliged. The pamphlet we have, is certainly one of the best written pamphlets we ever met with of that era. It resembles the stile of Lord Somers' celebrated tract entitled "The Judgments of whole Kingdoms and Nations concerning the Rights, Powers, and Prerogatives of Kings" and in both, the right of deposing tyrannical kings, in opposition to the slavish doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience is ably asserted; although the Vox Populi we have is so far superior to Lord Somers' Tract.

The republication of this Number of "The North Briton," will afford some idea of the progress of the power of the Printing Press. Such a publication would not now be deemed seditious, or called a libel by the Attorney-General, or the most high-flown Tory and tool of Kingcraft, yet when it first appeared, and when Mr. Wilkes was arrested for it, such a sensation and agitation was excited throughout the country, as has not since been equalled, powerful as many have been. It is impossible to calculate on the degree of folly displayed by the ministers of that day, and the odium brought down upon themselves, and the King in particular, by the prosecution of this article, whereas, if it had passed unnoticed by the Government, as every such article ought to do, the thing would not have created the least feeling or sensation of itself. Such was the clamour for "Wilkes and Liberty," that the phrase was common within the walls of the palace, and it was among the first words lisped by the present King, who is said soon to have discovered that it was a word of

offence to his Father, and to revenge his little disappointments and rebukes would often cry out "Wilkes and Liberty."

The volume of "The North Briton" which contains the No. 45, is very scarce, so much so, that we tried in vain to get it whilst in London, although we found the second volume quite common. We are indebted to a friend for the loan of it at this moment. "The North Briton" was the first periodical publication that was ever conducted with any thing like ability and good spirit in this country, and the publishers of it were harassed in a very similar way to what the publishers of "The Republican" have been. There was no cessation of arrests and prosecutions whilst the work lasted, but all these prosecutions effected nothing, for immediately on the breaking out of the American War, there came out a work still more bold, called "The Crisis," which has exceeded for strength any thing to be found in "The Republican." One of the numbers was headed, "A bloody King, a bloody Ministry, and a bloody Parliament:" alluding to the conduct of the whole towards the Americans. After "The Crisis," came "The Letters of Junius," and then "The Political Works of Thomas Paine" which form the standard and the rock of political wisdom. The folly of prosecuting printed works as libels, is visible in this one thing, that it is a natural impossibility to suppress them, being once in circulation, and a prosecution, where there is the least idea that the Government is corrupt, is certain to give a tenfold degree of circulation to the opinions sought to be suppressed. Opinions are in the moral and political, what the gaseous principle of matter is in the physical world. You may counteract all its operations in some degrees, and on some occasions, but you can never annihilate it. The attempt or pretence to do it is an act of furious and bigotted madness. A free press would very soon correct all errors, and would be at the same time its own best corrector. The prattle about licentiousness is vague and ridiculous: the moral part of the Press would ever crush every thing of the kind. The Press is now the representative of the human mind, and let every man judge for himself, whether he feels a necessity of external controul over his own mind, and then apply the principle to the Press. You can no more establish a uniformity with the Printing Press, than you can reduce the human mind to a standard of uniformity. Consider this, ye advocates of prosecutions and persecution, and judge from what passed with respect to

the No. 45, "North Briton," of the folly, the inutility, and the wickedness of all such measures, and see how utterly they defeat the object of your mad and idiotic brains. Keep your money in your pockets, and let the Press like the ocean, or the mind of man, pursue its wayward course. It will injure nothing that is useful, but correct whatever is mischievous.

EDITOR.

THE NORTH BRITON. No. 45.

Genus orationis atrox, et vehemens, cui opponitur lenitatis, et mansuetudinis.
CICERO.

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1763.

THE King's Speech has always been considered by the Legislature, and by the public at large, as the speech of the minister. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of Parliament, been referred by both houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, when the minister of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The ministers of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privilege of so spirited a people, and with the terrors of Parliament before their eyes, have been cautious, no less with regard to the matter than to the expressions of speeches, which they have advised the Sovereign to make from the throne, at the opening of each session. They well knew that an honest house of Parliament, true to their trust, could not fail to detect the fallacious arts, or to remonstrate against the daring acts of violence, committed by any minister. The speech at the close of the session has ever been considered as the most secure method of promulgating the favourite Court creed among the vulgar; because the Parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of the liberties of the people, has in this case no opportunity of remonstrating, or impeaching any wicked servant of the Crown.

This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The Minister's speech of last Tuesday, is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt, whether the imposition is greater on the Sovereign or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour, and unsullied virtue. I am sure, all foreigners, especially the King of Prussia, will hold the Minister

in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our Sovereign declare, "My expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure of the definitive treaty. The powers at war with my good brother, the King of Prussia, have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation, as that great prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation, has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe." The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind; for it is known, that the King of Prussia did not barely *approve*, but absolutely *dictated*, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from our negotiation, but he was basely deserted by the Scottish Prime Minister of England. He was known by every Court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship here than at Vienna; and he was betrayed by us in the treaty of peace. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever seen? The King of Prussia, however, has gloriously kept all his former conquests, and stipulated security for all his allies, even for the Elector of Hanover, I know in what light this great prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons perhaps, from some contemptuous expressions he may have used of the Scot; expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of Englishmen through the southern part of this island.

The preliminary articles of peace were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind upon our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and the East India Company would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the minister has been hardy enough to dispute this; yet the minister himself has made our sovereign declare, "the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon conditions so honourable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people." As to the entire approbation of Parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained. The large debt on the civil list, already above half a year in arrear, shews pretty clearly the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable, that the minister's speech dwells on the entire approbation given by Parliament to the preliminary articles, which I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge, accuracy and precision, by which such immense advantages, both of trade and territory, were sacrificed to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunderers, are, indeed, in some measure set right by

the definitive treaty; yet, the most important articles, relative to cessions, commerce, and the FISHERY, remain as they were, with respect to the *French*. The proud and feeble *Spaniard* too does not RENOUNCE, but only DESISTS *from all pretensions which he may have formed to the right of fishing—where? only about the island of NEWFOUNDLAND—till a favourable opportunity arises of insisting on it, there, as well as elsewhere.*

The minister cannot forbear, even in the King's speech, insulting us with the dull repetition of the word Economy. I did not expect so soon to have seen that word again, after it had been so lately exploded, and more than once, by a numerous audience hissed off the stage of our English theatres. It is held in derision by the voice of the people, and every tongue loudly proclaims the universal contempt, in which these empty professions are held by this nation. Let the public be informed of one single instance of economy, except in indeed the household! Is a regiment, which was completed as to its compliment of officers of a Tuesday, and broke on the Thursday, a proof of an economy? Is the pay of the Scottish Master Elliot to be voted by an English Parliament, under the head of economy? Is this among a thousand others, one of the convincing proofs of a *firm resolution to form government on a plan of strict economy*? Is it not notorious, that in reduction of the army, not the least attention has been paid to it. Many unnecessary expenses have been incurred, only to increase the power of the crown, that is to create mere lucrative jobs for the creatures of the minister? The staff, indeed is broke, but the discerning part of mankind immediately comprehend the mean subterfuge, and resented the indignity put upon so brave an officer as Marshal Ligonier. That step was taken to give the whole power of the army to the crown, that is, to the minister. Lord Ligonier is now no longer at the head of the army; but Lord B—e, in effect, is: I mean, that every preferment given by the crown will be found still to be obtained by his enormous influence, and to be bestowed only on the creatures of the Scottish Faction. The nation is still in the same deplorable state, while he governs, and can make the tools of his power pursue the same odious measures. Such a retreat, as he intends, can only mean, that personal indemnity, which, I hope, guilt will never find from an injured nation. The negotiations of the late inglorious Peace, and the Excise, will haunt him wherever he goes; and the terrors of the just resentment, which and must be sure to meet from a brave and insulted people, and which must finally crush him, will be for ever before his eyes.

In vain will such a Minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in the speech, that spirit of concord, and that obedience to the laws, which is essential to good order. They have sent the spirit of concord through the land, and I will prophecy, that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power. Is the spirit of discord to

go hand in hand with the Peace and Excise through this nation? Is it to be expected between an insolent exciseman, and a peer, gentleman, freeholder, or farmer, whose private houses are now made liable to be entered and searched at pleasure? Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and in general all the cyder counties are not surely the several counties, which are alluded to in the speech? The spirit of concord has not gone forth among them; but the spirit of Liberty has; and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression. A nation, as sensible as the English, will see that a spirit of concord, when they are oppressed, means a tame submission to injury, and that a spirit of liberty ought then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in proportion to the weight of the grievance they feel. Every legal attempt of a contrary tendency to the spirit of concord will be deemed justifiable resistance, warranted by the spirit of the English constitution.

A despotic minister will always endeavour to dazzle his prince with the high-flown ideas of the prerogative and honour of the Crown, which the minister will make a parade of firmly maintaining. I wish as much as any man in the kingdom to see the honour of the crown maintained in a manner truly becoming royalty. I lament to see it sunk even to prostitution. What a shame was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away contrary to the opinion of royalty itself, and sacrificed to the prejudices, and to the ignorance, of a set of people, the most unfit, from every consideration, to be consulted on, a matter relative to the security of the house of Hanover? I wish to see the honour of the crown religiously asserted with regard to our allies; and the dignity of it scrupulously maintained with regard to foreign princes. Is it possible such an indignity can have happened, such a sacrifice of the honour of the crown of England, as that a minister should already have kissed his majesty's hand on being appointed to the most insolent and ungrateful court in the world, without a previous assurance of that reciprocal nomination which the meanest court in Europe would insist upon, before she proceeded to an act otherwise so derogatory to her honour. But electoral policy has ever been obsequious to the court of Vienna, and forgets the insolence with which Count Colloredo left England. Upon a principle of dignity and economy, Lord Stormont, a Scottish peer of the loyal house of Murray, kissed his Majesty's hand, I think on Wednesday in the Easter week; but this ignominious act has not yet disgraced the nation in the London Gazette. The ministry are not ashamed of doing the thing in private; they are only afraid of the publication. Was it a tender regard for the honour of the late King or of his present majesty, that invited to court Lord George Sackville, in these first days of peace, to share in the general satisfaction, which all good courtiers received in the dignity offered to Lord Ligonier, and on the ad-

vancement of —. Was this to show princely gratitude to the eminent services of the accomplished general of the house of Brunswick, who had so great a share in the rescuing Europe from the yoke of France; and whose nephew we hope soon to see made happy in possession of the most amiable princess of the world? Or, is it meant to assert the honour of the crown only, against the united wishes of a loyal and affectionate people, founded in happy experience of the talents, ability, integrity, and virtue, of those who have had the glory of redeeming their country from bondage and ruin, in order to support, by every art of corruption and intimidation, a weak, disjointed, incapable set of—I will call them any thing but Ministers—by whom the favourite still meditates to rule this kingdom with a rod of iron.

The Stuart line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the absolute, independent, unlimited power of the crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised, as to endeavour to reduce them into practice? But the English nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the ancient liberties of this kingdom. The King of England is only the first magistrate of this country: but is invested, by the law, with the whole executive power. He is, however, responsible to his people for the due execution of the royal function in the choice of ministers, &c. equally with the meanest of his subjects in his particular duty. The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy; that so great a power is lodged in such hands; but the favourite has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The prerogative of the crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way, not of blind favour and partiality, but wisdom and judgement. This is the spirit of our constitution. The people too have their prerogative, and I hope the fine words of Dryden will be engraven on our hearts.

FREEDOM is the English Subjects PREROGATIVE.

COPY OF A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT PEELE,

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

SIR,
Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 28, 1822.
I FEEL it my duty to inform you that Mrs. Carlile, who is a prisoner with me in this Gaol, is in an advanced state of pregnancy, and expects child-birth towards the end of April. I make this communication with a hope, that it may be

considered a circumstance to justify a remission of the remainder of her sentence, as the nature of her confinement, and the double dread of danger, and probable want of necessary assistance on such an occasion in a Prison, preys heavily on her mind.

Mrs. Carlile has already filled out 18 months of the 24 allotted her for imprisonment, and would have borne the remaining 11 with fortitude and patience had not her present situation urged her to ask a merciful consideration of her case on the part of the Government.

It may be considered some mitigation of her misdemeanor, when I aver, that she never was a principal in my business, and that in the publication of the pamphlet for which she has been sentenced to two years imprisonment, she had, speaking in the character of a husband, no choice, and saw nothing of the pamphlets intended for publication until they were ready for sale.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

RICHARD CARLILE.

SIR,

UNDERNEATH I send you the copy of a letter I this day received from Mr. Hobhouse; and am, Sir, your obedient servant,

R. W. ANDREWS.

Dorchester Castle, March 3, 1822.

SIR,

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Peel to desire that you will acquaint Richard Carlile, a Prisoner in your Gaol, that his letter has been received and considered by Mr. Peel, who does not think that the advanced state of pregnancy of the Prisoner's wife affords a sufficient ground for Mr. Peel's recommending her to the King as a proper object for a free pardon; and Mr. Peel has no doubt, that on the occasion of her lying-in, the Officers of the Prison will afford her every assistance which is consistent with the nature of the place.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

The Keeper of the County
Gaol of Dorchester.

H. HOBHOUSE.

This correspondence is printed, because I think it fitting that with a person in my situation there should be no private correspondence with public characters, or a corres-

pondence necessarily private. An open course in every thing is my plan. I addressed Mr. Peel at the earnest request of Mrs. Carlile, that her real situation might be officially known to the persons who keep her in confinement. We are neither of us disappointed in the answer. The close nature of our confinement almost threatens danger, but I trust that Mrs. Carlile's strength of mind and body will carry her well through the perilous crisis.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, March 3, 1822.

CELEBRATION OF THE 29TH OF JANUARY, 1822.

The Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Paine.

(Continued from p. 242.)

ASHTON-UNDER-LINE.

At the house of Mr. John Claytons, a neat and simple dinner was provided, when upwards of sixty male and female friends sat down. After the cloth was removed,

Mr. JOSIAH MATLEY was called to the Chair.

He briefly addressed the Meeting; expressing his sense of gratitude for the honour they had conferred upon him, an honour that could by no means be merited by him from abilities, but the integrity of his heart, and the high respect manifested to the principles of the man whose natal day they were met to celebrate. It was well known, he said, by that company, among which were some of the oldest of his political friends, how proud he had always been at the appellation of Paineite, a term bandied about at first by Church and King mobs, and intended as a term of reproach: but it was far from his disposition to rouse any disagreeable feelings towards deluded fellow-citizens, many of whom had long become convinced of their errors and ashamed of their former conduct, which he considered was ample punishment for their errors; but he was happy to say he had lived to see them become mostly of his opinions with respect to the political sentiments of Thomas Paine: whilst he had, through both good and evil report, always adhered to the principles of that great man, so convincingly portrayed through the whole of his Works. And without further occupying their time with his humble, but sincere lays, he would proceed to the business and intent of the Meeting, by giving as a toast,

1. The Immortal Memory of Thomas Paine, the Political Saviour of the World.

Mr. C. WALKER then rose and addressed the company. He felt that his powers of oratory fell far short of doing justice to, or conveying the sentiments of his mind, with regard to the worth and character of this unique of Nature—Thomas Paine, The character and sentiment conveyed in the

toast he justly deserved, if ever mortal man did; nay, he was persuaded, that if ever there was a mind on earth whose sentiments had been communicated to us that deserved to be considered as having been a particular emanation of Deity, it was the mind of Thomas Paine. He confessed he was not a believer in a particular providence, or particular communications of God to man, otherwise than through the medium of his works in creation; these Thomas Paine had amply studied, and through these alone he had received that ray of knowledge which might with propriety be termed divine. Thomas Paine, indeed, professed not to believe in any church, or the creed of any church, on earth. But when it is considered that some of them worship men as Gods, and make martyrs of thieves and robbers, (a striking instance of which will be exhibited to-morrow in the celebration of the just death of the tyrant Charles as a martyr) it was to the honour and credit of the character of the man whose nativity they were celebrating, that he had thus despised their creeds—for the church that makes Gods of men, and martyrs of thieves, may be in unison with itself, but would have greatly dishonoured the moral character of Thomas Paine to have belonged to it. In short, without further vainly attempting to do that justice to this Noble of Nature, for which he felt his oratorical powers so inadequate, by giving him general and undefined praise, as was the case with the supporters of useless and pernicious customs and institutions, he could instance his acute detection of abuses in civil and religious Governments, and his clearly pointing out the remedies for correcting those abuses to the meanest capacity. These would bear ample testimony of his worth to all succeeding generations, and justly entitled him to the appellation of "Saviour of the Political World."

JOSHUA HOBSON then addressed the Meeting:—

Fellow-Citizens—It is with the greatest diffidence that I now attempt to address you on this most important occasion. I am convinced that there are many of my worthy friends now present whose superior abilities, greater experience, and matured judgment, would confer far more honour on the subject than it is possible for me to do; yet I, at the same time, feel it is the indispensable duty of every lover of truth, of every friend to freedom, to endeavour to dispel to the utmost of his power those clouds of ignorance and superstition which have for ages imposed the most galling shackles on the noblest faculties of man.

Citizens, we are now met to celebrate the nativity of our countryman, the immortal Thomas Paine, who has been so justly denominated in the foregoing toast, "the Saviour of the Political World." With those who have perused the productions of this celebrated man this truth needs no additional confirmation, therefore any thing that I have to say on the subject may by them be deemed superfluous: to those who have not perused those productions it may be necessary to state, that the energetic mind of Paine first developed itself in the cause of universal liberty at the commencement of the American struggle for independence, a period when the whole human race seemed to be sunk in the most abject state of ignorance and slavery. It was at this period that the bold effusions from the pen of Paine first broke upon the astonished world, and he was hailed by the good and virtuous as the sun of the political horizon. It was at this period that Paine developed the most sublime principles of Government in the most plain and simple manner. It was at this period that Paine advocated the natural, inherent, imprescriptible, inalienable rights of man, and taught that privileged classes in any society were nothing more than privileged abuses, for wherever these classes exist they are continually arrogating to themselves exclusive privileges and exclusive laws; and it is evi-

dent, that wherever exclusive laws exist, (that is, laws to take cognizance of the poor, unto which laws the rich are not amenable,) are unjust, and must finally tend to the subversion of the social compact.

Citizens, it was at the period I before alluded to that the British Ministry conceived the diabolical design of imposing the most galling chains of tyranny upon the vast continent of America; the inhabitants of which, smarting under the lash of repeated injuries, became inspired with a love of liberty, and encouraged by the writings of Paine, manfully resisted their unjust edicts, and finally succeeded in establishing their independence. It was during this memorable struggle for independence, on one hand, and despotic power, on the other, that the French Despot, considering himself the natural enemy of Britain, transported his armies across the Atlantic to assist the Sons of Freedom to fight the battles of Liberty. The French soldiers witnessing the happiness enjoyed by the Americans under their reformed system, imbibed their principles of liberty, which on their return to France burst forth like a volcano, convulsed Europe, and with irresistible fury overturned the thrones of Despots, which had been established during a lapse of ages. Thus it is evident, that the important changes that have taken place on the continents of Europe and America have had their origin in those principles so clearly developed by Paine. Even the most renowned politicians and patriots of the present day may truly be said to have been called into action by the writings of Thomas Paine. Has not the enlightened Cobbett said, "that at Paine's expiring flambeau he lighted his taper?" Does not the brave Carile openly avow himself the supporter and defender of the political works of Thomas Paine against all opponents? In fine, I hesitate not to say, that all our knowledge relative to Representative Systems of Government has been derived from the same source. Then I ask, What man will have the temerity to say that Paine is not the "Saviour of the Political World?"

Citizens, the panders and supporters of corruption, the decayed remnants of the Pitt and Fox Clubs, may still continue to celebrate the births of their demi-gods, if they think proper; yet we, as Republicans, ardently panting to be free, will continue to celebrate the nativity of this child and champion of what has been ignominiously termed the *Lower Orders*: and I confidently assert, that the name of Thomas Paine will be transmitted with honour to posterity, and be dear to the heart of every Englishman, when the names of those political apostates, Pitt and Fox, are either forgotten, or covered with infamy and remembered with abhorrence.

The Chairman then gave,

2. The Health of Richard Carile, the most bold and persevering of his Apostles.

Mr. W. again rose and said, he felt strongly persuaded in his own mind that Mr. Carile was justly entitled to the appellation given him in the toast; and when his manly conduct, his disinterested and persevering spirit was considered, he felt assured that the minds of the whole of that Meeting were with him. He therefore called upon them to stand by him and support him with all the means in their power against the detestable Robbers and Hypocrites that he had to contend with; wretches, for which, as Horne Tooke had once said, on a similar occasion, "there was no adequate term in the English language by which to designate them." There was one term, however, which they gave themselves, and which, when contrasted with their actions, would come nearer in producing in the mind of every honest man that hatred and contempt they so justly deserved than any other, and that was Christian, for he would ask, Could any

thing make persecutors so contemptible as to profess to believe in the humble Jesus.

3. May every Church be dedicated to Philosophy and the Sciences instead of Saints and Superstition; may their Homilies be portions of the "Age of Reason" instead of Mystic Explanations of Athanasian Creeds and Prophecies: and may the signification of Priest become synonymous with Man of Science.

After which Mr. J. HOBSON addressed the Meeting as follows:—

Citizens—In looking over the foregoing toast I have derived great satisfaction at seeing the "Age of Reason" connected with science and philosophy. This is the state that things must ultimately come to before man will know his proper sphere of action in the great whole of which he necessarily forms a part. In offering a few remarks on the subjects connected with the foregoing toast, I shall commence with the "Age of Reason," and endeavour to eradicate any unfavourable impression you may have imbibed towards its author. Paine saw, with the most lively sorrow, that those men who in defence of their rights and liberties hesitated not to meet death, even at the cannon's mouth, were yet the voluntary slaves to the grossest superstition; he saw with regret the baneful influence which a hypocritical Priesthood had over the human race; and to such an alarming pitch had this influence arrived, that a mere difference of opinion on subjects, the truth of which it was impossible to prove, was sufficient to dissolve the strongest friendship, and to substitute in its place the most deadly hatred. This determined the philanthropic mind of Paine to attempt to rescue man from this mental degradation, from this worst of slavery. With this view he published the "Age of Reason," a book which has been vilified by the religious sects of every denomination. Perhaps some of my worthy friends now present may at some period of their lives have felt a kind of horror at the bare name of the "Age of Reason;" in order to give those who have not perused it some idea of what the book really is, the morality it inculcates, and to shew the sublime ideas its author had of a Deity, I will quote two short paragraphs; they run thus: "It is only in the creation that all our ideas and conceptions of a word of God can unite. The creation speaketh an universal language, independent of human speech or human language, multiplied and various as they be! It is an ever-existing original, which every man can read! It cannot be forged; it cannot be counterfeited; it cannot be lost; it cannot be altered; it cannot be suppressed! It does not depend upon the will of man whether it shall be published or not; it publishes itself from one end of the earth to the other! It preaches to all nations and to all worlds! And this word of God reveals unto man all that is necessary for man to know of God."—"Do we want to contemplate his power? We see it in the immensity of the creation. Do we want to contemplate his wisdom? We see it in the unchangeable order by which the incomprehensible whole is governed. Do we want to contemplate his munificence? We see it in the abundance with which he fills the earth. Do we want to contemplate his mercy? We see it in his not withholding that abundance even from the unthankful. In fine, do we want to know what God is? Search not the book called the Scripture, which any human hand might make, but the Scripture called the Creation." Such, my friends, is the sublime language of that man, upon whom every abusive, every calumnious epithet has been heaped by a horde of persecuting, hypocritical, mercenary Priests, whose sole object and study seems to be to enslave the minds of the ignorant, the timid, and the credulous, and who hesitate not to magnify the most simple phenomena of Nature into indications of Divine wrath, threatening chastisement to mankind. No sooner does the philosopher attempt to in-

investigate the causes of the various effects which are incessantly coming in contact with his senses, than every exertion is made by these fanatics to draw upon him the public odium; and in this they have, alas! too well succeeded. Every Priest accuses him of prying into the secrets of the Almighty, and brands him with the appellation of impious, sacrilegious wretch: and the philosopher has generally been subjected to all the persecution and abuse which a persecuting Priesthood, and their ignorant, superstitious followers, could inflict. What, I ask, are these beings who thus arrogate to themselves the exclusive privilege of acting as mediators betwixt man and his Maker? Are they not composed of the same materials, subject to the same wants, the same passions, acted on by the same agents, and finally decomposed like other men? If, as they insinuate, man was intended to remain ignorant of the laws of Nature, why, I ask, has Nature endowed him with so vast a capacity for acquiring knowledge? If the doctrines which Priests are continually holding forth are founded in truth, why are they continually varying in their opinions, and persecuting and abusing each other? Even those men who regularly attend to hear them expound their ambiguous doctrines, finding it impossible to comprehend their abstruse dogmas, each individual puts that construction on what he has heard which best suits his own views and interests. How gratifying, then, must it be to the philosopher to contemplate the time (and it will certainly come) when those huge piles from which those dogmas proceed shall be converted into temples of science, into seminaries of real learning! There the philosopher shall boldly promulgate the results of his important researches into Nature; he will shew to his fellow-citizens how the vast chain of Nature recedes by almost imperceptible gradations, from the most complex organized beings to apparently the most inanimate substances. There the astronomer will explain to his fellow-citizens the revolutions, eccentricities, and various phenomena of the planetary system. There the studious, laborious chemist, will explain to his fellow-citizens, by a series of the most simple experiments, the attractive and repulsive properties which are in a greater or less degree inherent in all bodies: he will there illustrate, on a small scale, the various modifications and decompositions of bodies, such as is eternally going on in the vast store-house of Nature. I therefore call upon each individual now present to exert himself to the utmost of his power amongst his more ignorant neighbours, and endeavour not only to break the superstitious chain which fetters the understanding, but to point out to them the vast importance attached to scientific pursuits. It has been but too generally the case with individuals to say, "It is of no importance to the cause whether I exert myself or not, for I as an individual can do but little." To such I answer, each individual has it in his power to do much more than he may at first imagine. Has not a Paine, a Cartwright, a Cobbett, a Hunt, a Carlile, amply proved what individuals can do in promulgating truth and establishing free discussion. Others have said, as an excuse for their extreme apathy, "that in their time these things can never be accomplished." To these I answer, that probably we may not accomplish all our hopes, but we can, at least, lay the foundation upon which posterity will erect the mighty fabric. Citizens, the age of reason, of revolution, and of science has commenced, the spirit of enquiry is gone forth, and it is not in the power of mitred nor crowned heads to stop its progress. A thirst for knowledge pervades the inmates of every cottage; it is this thirst for knowledge (the forerunner of truth) which will point out to man the certain means of his conservation, and finally conduct him to happiness.

4. May the People of England learn to call Thieves and Robbers by their proper Names, whether under the guise of Stars or Mitres.

5. May the Vespers and Orisons of every Spaniard, instead of being occupied in the Mummery of useless Prayers and senseless Songs, be employed in reading and meditating on Portions of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man."

Song, by Mrs. Walker.—"No longer lost in Shades of Night." Chorus—"Demanding freedom, all."

6. To the Memory of Mirabaud, Voltaire, and Helvetius, and may their Works become as universally read as are the Works of Fanaticism and Superstition.

7. Simon Bolivar and the Patriots of South America.

Song, by Mr. Eckersley.

8. May those Scourges of Mankind, commonly called Kings, soon be taught that all true Sovereignty emanates from the People.

9. May Priests be made to drink plentifully of the Cordial they so much recommend to others, namely, Patience and Long-Suffering.

Song.—"A Parson who had a remarkable Foible."

10. May every virtuous Woman prefer a Republican for her Husband; and may she bring up her Children in a hatred of Vice and the practice of Virtue, and may every Woman be virtuous.

11. Health and a steady Emancipation to all the incarcerated Prisoners who are suffering for the Cause of Reform, not forgetting the Captive of Ilchester.

Duetto, by Messrs. Matley and Walker.—"In Liberty's Cause I would yield up my Life."

The business of the evening was then concluded with the anthem of "God save great Thomas Paine" in verse and chorus; verse by the ladies, chorus by the whole Meeting. A vote of thanks was then passed to Josiah Matley for his impartial conduct in the chair. He expressed his gratitude for the compliment they had paid him, and assured them he felt a greater pleasure in the honour they had done him than if he had been elected to the most lucrative place any rotten Boroughmonger had to bestow in the Hospital of Incurables. The Chairman then withdrew, and the Meeting was dissolved in the greatest harmony of sentiment.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR,

171, Pleasance, Edinburgh, Feb. 1822.

I HAVE sent you herewith a few questions and observations, part of an essay, which I read lately at a Meeting of the Edinburgh Free-Thinkers' Zetetic Society; if you think them worthy of a place in the Republican you may insert them. I am sorry it is not so perfect as I could have wished, but being engaged in a business which requires almost all my time and attention, I have not leisure to write to my own mind. I am uncertain whether it may be well received with your readers; I have only sent you my initials to it at present: if it is approved of, I will send you more, and I will allow you to use my full name afterwards.

I am, Sir, your sincere friend,

R. A.

A Critical Enquiry into the Harmony of the Books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.—Part I.

When we begin to read any book we naturally wish to know something concerning the author of it; if the subject is of great importance, and if much depends upon his correctness and veracity, our anxiety is the greater to know something of his character.

When we begin to read the New Testament, as well as the Old, an enquiry naturally arises in our minds, Who are its authors? Who are these men, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the reputed authors of these accounts of the life, actions, and sayings of Jesus Christ, that we have there written, that so much confidence is reposed in them? Matthew and John are said to have been disciples of Jesus Christ, but of this I see no proof. Of Mark and Luke it is not even pretended that they were disciples, (nor is it certain who they were) consequently, their accounts of the life, actions, and sayings of Jesus must have been collected from others at second hand, for these men, weak and credulous as they are, do not pretend to inspiration themselves. Luke, however, pretends to be an apostle, and includes himself (chap. i. and ii.) among those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of Jesus from the beginning, but he certainly was not so, for he never mentions his own name in his narrative among the disciples or ministers of Christ, nor does either of the others, so that his claim ought not to be admitted; consequently, we have only two witnesses of these strange things, viz. Matthew and John. Now, as we know so little concerning any of these men, they are only entitled to credit when they relate a probable story and corroborate one another: they are not entitled to any credit whatever when they relate improbable stories and contradict one another in the relation, which I am afraid is too often the case. As Matthew and John are the only disciples who wrote accounts of the life and actions of Jesus Christ, they are thus the only witnesses we have to attest these most singular events; and yet we are threatened with eternal damnation if we do not believe their wonderful tale, although they appear to contradict one another in almost every particular: besides, of those writings ascribed to them, we know not what is their own from what is fabricated in their name, we know not what is genuine from what has been inserted by copyists in the dark ages. Certainly, faith is a necessary virtue in the Christian religion. However, I think it is of little matter which is genuine or which is spurious, I hold them of equal use.

As these authors have engaged in writing the biography of an individual, and the history and incidents of his life, if they relate the truth we expect them to agree in the facts of their narrative, it is on their agreement that their credibility depends, if they con-

tradict one another we cannot believe them; their agreement does not even prove that they write the truth, but if they contradict one another we may conclude that some of them have written falsehood, if not all.

The first subject that is presented to us in the New Testament is the genealogy of Jesus Christ. Matthew says, from Abraham to David there were fourteen generations, but according to the list of names he gives, there is only thirteen. He says, from David until the carrying away unto Babylon, there were fourteen generations, but according to his list there were fifteen, and according to the book of Chronicles there were eighteen generations. Matthew in this period omits those generations to make his three fanciful periods have all the same number of generations. He says, that Joram begat Ozias, but in the Chronicles we learn that it was not so, that there was three generations between Joram and Ozias, viz. Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah: the line runs thus—Joram begat Ahaziah, Ahaziah begat Joash, Joash begat Amaziah, and Amaziah begat Uzziah, or Ozias, consequently, Joram could not beget Ozias. Matthew then says, from the carrying away into Babylon until Christ was fourteen generations, but in his list there is only twelve; his three numbers of fourteen generations each, if added together, would make forty-two, but if we take the names in his list, and add them together, we will find they amount only to forty instead of forty-two. In this last section he has also omitted one generation, according to Chronicles, between Josiah and Jeconiah. He says, that Josiah begat Jeconiah and his brethren about the time they were carried away unto Babylon, but in Chronicles we learn that Josiah was dead twenty-two years before the carrying away unto Babylon, (according to the chronology) so how could he beget them at that time when he was dead. We also learn that Jeconiah was Josiah's grandson, not his son; there is not one of the name of Jeconiah in all the lists of Josiah's sons that are given, and, surely, he could not beget his grandson. If Matthew were an ordinary writer we should be apt to reject this as falsehood, but as it is the Lord's word, we must hold our peace. I have thus far been comparing Matthew with himself and with Chronicles, but Luke's genealogy of the same person sets all comparison at defiance, except in two instances, which are these, he says, that Joseph, the Carpenter, was the son of Heli; Matthew says, he was the son of Jacob: Luke says, that Salathiel was the son of Neri; Matthew and Chronicles say, that Salathiel was the son of Jeconias. Which are we to believe? The names and the number of the other are so totally different, that it does not seem to be a genealogy of the same person at all, to my mind they are completely irreconcilable. Can any person believe them both, or can we believe either of them? The impression on my mind is, that Luke's genealogy from David downwards is altogether supposition or fabrication; and of Mat-

them's I think he has adopted as his genealogy the line of kings of the house of David as far as he could trace it, to shew that the hero of his story was sprung of that race, but as he makes errors and omissions in a line of kings where he had the means of being correct, we may reasonably suppose that his errors are many more when that line fails him, if not fabrication altogether. These two authors wish to prove that Jesus was sprung of the family of David, but although their genealogies from David down to Joseph had been quite correct, (which is certainly not the case) they immediately overturn their own labours, by telling us that Jesus was not Joseph's son, but begotten of the Holy Ghost, consequently, not the son of David.

Matthew tells us, after Mary was espoused to Joseph before they came together she was found to be with child of the Holy Ghost. By whom was she found with child when her husband had not come near her? Did Matthew find that himself? If Matthew found that she was with child himself, what are we to think of him? If he did not find that himself, but took her word or mere report, what value are we to set upon his evidence? and then she was with child of the Holy Ghost, consequently the Holy Ghost was Christ's father, this is singular, but how did they know that she was with child of the Holy Ghost? they had only her own word, when a woman is with child, how is it possible to distinguish whether it is to the Holy Ghost or to a man, which is more likely, they have not told us how they distinguished this case. Matthew then says, that Joseph knew not Mary until she brought forth her first-born son Jesus; Now who told Matthew this? If it was so, How did Joseph know that she was with child? Would any of the pious defenders of Christ's divinity be content to receive his wife in that state at his marriage, and be satisfied with such an explanation? Can any father read this account before his family, before his wife, his son, and daughters, without blushing? Can any preacher read this before his congregation, and think it will preserve their minds pure and uncorrupt? What would a delicate young maiden think of this? Would it tend to keep her mind chaste, if she is taught to admire and adore such a story? I only ask questions, the law does not allow me to answer them, nor to deliver my opinions freely on the subject: but I think it is a kin to the holy descriptions of Onan's celebrated action, to the gambols of Tamar's twins in their birth, to Hosea and his wife, or the pious description of Aholah and Aholiab in Ezekiel, Why do we despise the obscenity of the Hindoo and Pagan worship after adoring this? We should pull the beam out of our own eye before we attempt to take the mote out of our neighbours eye; and where is the proof of all these stories? I see none whatever, I know not of a single witness to attest the truth of this apparently very suspicious and incredible story, which is said to be of the greatest importance to mankind,

and which we are required to believe under pain of eternal torments; some will tell me, no doubt, that the authors of these books knew all these things by inspiration, but what proof have we of that? I see none whatever: these authors (weak and silly as they are) none of them say they were inspired, and if they had said so, it would still have been no proof, still liable to suspicion.

Matthew says, that Joseph being a just man and not willing to make a public example of Mary meant to put her away privily, but private divorce was not according to the law of Moses, and was not a token of justice; punishment by the law should be public, which is certainly more like justice; but how could he put her away, when we are told, both before and after, ver. 18 and 24, that they were not yet come together.

Matthew tells us, that an angel appeared unto Joseph, *in a dream*, and said unto him, Fear not Joseph to take unto thee Mary, thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. How could Joseph know an angel in a dream? Can a man in a dream be a correct judge of these things? Does Joseph tell Matthew all this? We are told nothing of this. Would such evidence be taken and admitted as proof in any Court of Justice? This is certainly a very correct method of communication between God and man! and every way worthy of God! It is a very accurate way of revealing matters which we are now told we must believe or be damned!!! Ought we to trust our affairs of importance to the dreams of a man we know nothing of, who lived 1800 years ago, and which are related to us by another man, of whom we know no better? consider this, and think on what foundation religion rests! This may shew us that Christianity rests on a sure foundation, on a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; but the gates of hell are not the Age of Reason, would the Age of Reason prevail against it? Christian preachers, though they are very willing to attack the devil (poor man) they are not equally able to encounter Thomas Paine. They trust more to their penal laws for the safety of Christianity than to all the promises in the Bible put together.

Matthew, chap. ii. ver. 1—13, tells us of wise men who came from the east to worship Jesus when he was born, but Luke, who is very particular in his narrative, tells us, chap. ii. ver. 8—18, that it was only shepherds in the neighbourhood. Matthew says, they were directed by a star. Luke says, they were directed by angels, a whole company! Mark and John, I suppose, never heard of these things, or else they have thought them not worth telling. According to Matthew's narrative, the star does not appear to have directed the wise men very accurately, for they came to Jerusalem, enquiring for Jesus, instead of going to Bethlehem where he was, and although they were enquiring for him, they appear by what they told the people to have known all about him,

and were fitter to give information than to ask for it. Their conduct was not very like wise men. Matthew tells us, chap. ii. ver. 2, when Herod heard of the birth of Christ he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him, there is no exception of any person; now can we believe that all the inhabitants of Jerusalem were troubled because there was born a rival to Herod, who was a noted tyrant? If Jesus had been a rival worth the smallest attention, we may rather conclude that many would have been glad at his birth, particularly as we learn from Josephus, that Herod was a cruel tyrant, not of their own nation, and very generally hated by the Jews, both in Jerusalem and other places, how does that agree with the trouble? Matthew tells us, chap. ii. ver. 13, that after the departure of the wise men, an angel appeared unto Joseph (*in a dream again*) saying, Arise, take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, for Herod will seek the young child's life; then he says, that Joseph arose by night, apparently immediately, and took the child and his mother, and fled into Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod, but none of the others, Mark, Luke, or John, mention these dreams and flights. Luke, who is always very minute, tells us, on the contrary, that they remained where they were, eight days, until the child was circumcised, and until his mother was purified, which was thirty-three days more, according to the law of Moses, and then that they went up to Jerusalem to present him in the Temple, the most public place in the kingdom, almost into Herod's presence, instead of flying into Egypt, and from Jerusalem, he says, they went to and lived at Nazareth; while Matthew says, they went direct from Egypt to Nazareth, for fear of Archelaus, Herod's successor; Luke tells us further, that they went up to Jerusalem every year to the passover, this leaves him no time at all to flee into Egypt, much less to live there until the death of Herod (which was a considerable time) nor no reason to suppose he ever did so, which of these accounts are true; many will naturally conclude that one of them must be false, and some will think them both doubtful. Matthew tells us, when Herod saw that he was mocked of the wise men, he sent forth and destroyed all the young children in Bethlehem, and the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, so much for the peace on earth, and good will among men connected with Christ's birth. Luke, though very particular in relating all the events connected with his infancy, mentions nothing of this horrid massacre, neither does Mark or John; and Josephus, who is very particular in relating Herod's actions, and who seems anxious to shew his cruelties, not to pass them over, never once takes notice of this barbarous transaction; neither is it once mentioned by any other writer of that time! Can we believe that such horrid cruelty would be passed over in silence by men who wrote at the time it took place, and possessed of any humanity whatever? Can we believe

Matthew's word alone after such silence? Many will certainly doubt it.

Matthew says, then was fulfilled what was spoken of by the prophet, saying, "In Ramah there was a voice heard, lamentation and mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not." Some have thought this a very false and absurd application of a quotation which Matthew makes from Jeremiah xxxi. 15, who there speaks of a destruction that was past, as is evident both from what is before and after, for the next verses, 17 and 18, he endeavours to comfort Rachel, and promises that her children shall come again from the land of the enemy unto their own border. Can Matthew say, that was fulfilled of these children whom Herod killed? It is a part of the same passage which he calls a prophesy, did these children return again? Besides Ramah was not Bethlehem, so the one could not apply to the other. Would a description of the destruction of any town at the time of the Norman Conquest be a correct prophecy of the Manchester Massacre in the present day, such is the agreement in that quotation with the event to which it is applied.

I propose to continue these remarks if approved of to the end of the book but must at present conclude by asking of what use is all this in the economy of nature? Of what use is Jesus Christ at all? Did he improve the condition of man in the world? Was mankind either better or happier after his coming? I think on the contrary, that for many centuries, mankind, both as nations and individuals, became more barbarous, ignorant, and miserable. Would it not be much better for mankind to depend upon their own exertions and conduct for happiness? and, if there is a future life, and a state of rewards and punishments therein, would it not be better to deserve happiness by their upright conduct in life, than to trust to a system of faith liable to so many objections? We shall all find that our own exertions will do more to render us happy, than any system of faith whatever. Would it not be more rational for us to consider ourselves accountable for our own actions and conduct in *this* future life than to trust to the merits of another whose merits are so very doubtful? Would it not tend more to promote morality and justice among mankind to consider ourselves liable to punishment if we do injustice, than to trust that the imputed merits of another will secure us from punishment, which we cannot say is justice? it is better not to do evil than to have it to repent of, better that we redress any wrongs or injuries we have done, than to trust to a death-bed repentance, and to *this bruised reed* which we shall find to deceive us.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. CARLILE AND MADAME M. B. DE BONNEVILLE.

THE Lady in whose house Thomas Paine lodged during the latter part of the time he spent in Paris, and who went from France with her two sons to the United States to partake of his bounty and hospitality in return, finally became his executrix, and possessed after his death the bulk of his property. Mr. Carlile lately received a letter from London, from this Lady, simply offering to his notice a Memoir of Thomas Paine, made up from his own papers in the possession of Madame M. B. de Bonneville. The letter, to his surprise, was dated from London, but referred to Paris for further correspondence: having written to Paris to ascertain whether Madame M. B. de Bonneville had passed through England on her way from the United States, and asking two or three questions respecting the unpublished writings of Thomas Paine, to ascertain the authenticity of the correspondence and the identity of Madame M. B. de Bonneville, the following letter was received by Mr. Carlile on the 27th ult. accompanied with the original manuscript of Thomas Paine's "Letter to Camille Jourdan on Priests, Bells, and Public Worship," which fortunately enables him to complete the imperfect fragment before published of this interesting Letter. The lying Christians have represented this Lady as having been seduced, deserted, and ill-treated by Thomas Paine, and that she publicly expressed her detestation of his character. This lie is at last exposed, as all others will be in time.

SIR,

Paris, February 22, 1822.

I HAVE received your letter of the 7th instant. Yes, Sir, I have been in London. I went to your store*, hoping to find some person with whom I could speak with confidence, and I would have staid a few days more to have had a conference with you: but I was so much astonished at the reward you had received from your Government, and at the means you was obliged to employ to prevent further mischief, that it overpowered me in such a manner, I neither knew what to say or what to write to you, as you may have seen from the incoherency of my letter to you.

* The American word for shop, or warehouse.

From your store I went to the stage-office, and departed from the city* of London the next morning.

You know, Sir, that Thomas Paine has been shamefully persecuted with injurious, calumniating pamphlets during his life, and even after his death, charging him with attempts to seduce the people into errors. On the true character of this great man I thought it my duty to give the public authentic pieces, which I found among his papers. They will contradict the malicious insinuations of his enemies. To evidence their calumnies has been my plan. It was said, Thomas Paine had no noble friends; all through the Memoir I have prepared I have inserted *Letters* to prove the contrary. I have connected the pieces by a few words of my own, as little as possible, and perhaps too much so. However, I wish the work to be printed as I give it, and the additions you would like to make to be in the form of *Notes*.

I am confident that a proper person would have made a perfect work of this; but I thought it improper to confide Thomas Paine's papers to another hand, as he did not arrange them himself, and the work is now free from the political animadversions or animosity of another.

I have omitted all papers that might have prevented its free course, or have been considered objectionable to any person. I found Thomas Paine's papers in great disorder, caused by a robbery. After he had made his will, Mrs. Palmer, (the widow of Elihu Palmer) told him that after his death I should burn all his papers, and intreated him to give to her his "Answer to the Bishop Watson," and his "Third Part of the Age of Reason," with all his religious manuscripts. Thomas Paine heard her long preaching unmoved, and expressed himself (as I have been informed) to feel a warm friendship and concern for me. But when he was once in his bed and asleep, Mrs. Palmer entered his back-room, rummaged his big trunk, and took from it her apron-full of papers; but the papers she wanted were in the small trunk and locked up, the key of which Thomas Paine always kept about him. This happened at a Mr. Hyer's, a cartman.

Mr. Fellows published in the "Theophilanthropist" all the religious works they could collect from the bundle taken away; and among them was a copy of the beginning of his Answer to the Bishop, correct or not I cannot say, for I have never compared it with the original. Mr. John Fellows told me this only a year ago, and when I asked for the other papers, he answered, "*They are all lost.*"

I have the "Answer to the Bishop Watson," and the "Third Part of the Age of Reason," with many other finished pieces, all of the hand-writing of Mr. Paine himself, with other manuscripts,

* It was first written *frightful London*, and the words *city* of wrote over it, whether by the original writer I cannot say.—R. C.

among which are several letters of President Jefferson's. I send and make you a present of the "Letter to Camille Jourdan," of which you say you have not a perfect copy; it is the original, and the hand-writing of Thomas Paine. I also attach to this a table of the contents of "The Life of Thomas Paine," to give you an idea of it. This "Life" was finished and translated in August, 1819, and my intention was to write to you, when Mr. Cobbett hearing it, was solicitous to get it. He offered me a thousand dollars for it, payable in six months, and a promise to secure the copy-right in England for my benefit. I accepted his offer, and gave him the work, and he gave me his note. A few days after he dug up the remains of Thomas Paine from where I had interred them, (according to his last will and my promise) on the pretext of honouring them. This broke off all correspondence between us; and not being able to get the thousand dollars, I have taken back the work.

I am again with my husband in Paris, and any further information you may wish to have I will be eager to answer. I am not certain that I have a complete copy of the "Agrarian Justice," or the "Address to the People and Armies of France," but I will look again for them.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
M. B. DE BONNEVILLE.

The following part of the "Letter to Camille Jourdan" is that which was erased by the Editor of the "Courier" in publishing an extract in the year 1797. That Paper was then a complete Republican Paper, although the Proprietor was then the same as now, (Daniel Stewart) but was subsequently offered his price by Pitt, and sold himself. The Editor of "The Courier" then observed:—"As the commencement of this Letter relates to Mr. Paine's opinions on the BIBLE, we are under the necessity, for very obvious reasons, of omitting it." Alluding to the case of Williams, who was then under prosecution for publishing the "Age of Reason."

Letter of Thomas Paine to Camille Jourdan, of the Council of Five Hundred, occasioned by his Report on the Priests, the Worship, and the Bells.

CITIZEN REPRESENTANT,

As every thing in your Report, relating to what you call worship, connects itself with the books called the Scriptures, I begin with a

quotation therefrom. It may serve to give us some idea of the fanciful origin and fabrication of these books. 2 Chronicles, chap. xxxiv. verse 14, &c. "Hilkiah, the priest, found the book of the Lord given by Moses. And Hilkiah, the priest, said to Shaphan, the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord, and Hilkiah delivered the book to Shaphan. And Shaphan, the scribe, told the King (Josiah) saying, Hilkiah, the priest, hath given me a book."

This pretended finding was about a thousand years after the time that Moses is said to have lived. Before this pretended finding there was no such thing practised or known in the world as that which is called the law of Moses. This being the case, there is every apparent evidence, that the books, called books of Moses; (and which make the first part of what are called the Scriptures) are forgeries contrived between a Priest and a limb of the law*, Hilkiah and Shaphan, the scribe, a thousand years after Moses is said to have been dead.

Thus much for the first part of the Bible. Every other part is marked with circumstances equally as suspicious. We ought, therefore, to be reverentially careful how we ascribe books to God, as his word, of which there is no evidence, and against which there is abundant evidence to the contrary, and every cause to suspect imposition.

In your Report you speak continually of something by the name of worship; and you confine yourself to speak of one kind only, as if there were but one, and that one was unquestionably true.

The modes of worship are as various as the sects are numerous; and amidst all this variety and multiplicity there is but one article of belief in which every religion in the world agree. That article has universal sanction. It is the belief of a God, or what the Greeks described by the word *Theism*, and the Latins by that of *Deism*. Upon this one article have been erected all the different superstructures of creeds and ceremonies continually warring with each other that now exist or ever existed. But the men most and best informed upon the subject of theology rest themselves upon this universal article, and hold all the various superstructures erected thereon to be at least doubtful, if not altogether artificial.

The intellectual part of religion is a private affair between every man and his Maker, and in which no third party has a right to interfere. The practical part consists in our doing good to each other. But since religion has been made into a trade, the practical part has been made to consist of ceremonies performed by men called Priests; and the people have been amused with ceremonial shews, processions, and bells. By devices of this kind true religion has been banished; and such means have been found out to extract money even from the poor, instead of contributing to their relief.

No man ought to make a living by religion. It is dishonest so to

* It happens that Camille Jourdan is a limb of the law.

do. Religion is not an act that can be performed by proxy. One person cannot act religion for another. Every person must perform it for himself; and all that a Priest can do is to take from him, he wants nothing but his money, and then to riot on his spoil and laugh at his credulity.

The only people, as a professional sect of Christians, who provide for the poor of their Society, are the people known by the name of Quakers. Those men have no Priests. They assemble quietly in their places of meeting, and do not disturb their neighbours with shews and the noise of bells. Religion does not unite itself to shew and noise. True religion is without either. Where there is both there is no true religion.

The first object for enquiry in all cases, more especially in matters of religious concern, is TRUTH. We ought to enquire into the truth of whatever we are taught to believe, and it is certain that the books called the Scriptures stand, in this respect, in more than a doubtful predicament. They have been held in existence, and in a sort of credit among the common class of people, by art, terror, and prosecution. They have but little or no credit among the enlightened part, but they have been made the means of encumbering the world with a numerous Priesthood, who have fattened on the labour of the people, and consumed the sustenance that ought to be applied to the widows and the poor.

[The extract in "The Courier" begins here, but as it has another paragraph incomplete, we proceed to embrace it.]

It is want of feeling to talk of Priests and bells whilst so many infants are perishing in the hospitals, and aged and infirm poor in the streets, from the want of necessaries. The abundance that France produces is sufficient for every want, if rightly applied; but Priests and bells, like articles of luxury, ought to be the least articles of consideration.

We talk of religion. Let us talk of truth; for that which is not truth, is not worthy of religion.

We see different parts of the world overspread with different books, each of which, though contradictory to the other, is said, by its partizans, to be of divine origin, and is made a rule of faith and practice. In countries under despotic governments, where inquiry is always forbidden, the people are condemned to believe as they have been taught by their priests. This was for many centuries the case in France: but this link in the chain of slavery is happily broken by the revolution; and that it may never be rivetted again, let us employ a part of the liberty we enjoy in scrutinizing into the truth. Let us leave behind us some monument, that we have made the cause and honour of our Creator an object of our care. If we have been imposed upon by the terrors of Government and the artifices of Priests, in matters of religion, let us do justice to our Creator by examining the case. His name is too sacred to be affixed to any

thing which is fabulous, and it is our duty to enquire, Whether we believe, or encourage the people to believe, in fables or in facts?

It would be a project worthy the situation we are in to invite an enquiry of this kind. We have committees for various objects, and among others, a committee for bells, we have institutions, academies, and societies, for various purposes; but we have none for inquiring into historical truth in matters of religious concern. They shew us certain books which they call the Holy Scriptures, the word of God, and other names of that kind; but we ought to know what evidence there is for our believing them to be so, and at what time they originated and in what manner. We know that men could make books, and we know that artifice and superstition could give them a name; could call them sacred. But we ought to be careful that the name of our Creator be not abused. Let then all the evidence with respect to those books be made a subject of enquiry. If there be evidence to warrant our belief of them, let us encourage the propagation of it; but if not, let us be careful not to promote the cause of delusion and falsehood.

Observation. This addition to the extract in the Courier, which was also copied in the second edition of his Theological Works, in 1819, and as a small pamphlet at the same time, makes a perfect copy, with the exception of the omission of one sentence, and that an important one, a mere interjection. "Alas! nothing is so easy as to deceive one's self." It should come in as a sentence on the third page of my edition, before the words, "Did all men think as you think," &c.

I have strong hopes of being able very shortly to lay before the British Public the whole of Mr. Paine's posthumous writings, with some very interesting correspondence that passed between him and the most distinguished men and women that figured during the American and French Revolutions. This publication will be calculated to throw an additional lustre, if possible, on the name and character of Thomas Paine. The more that character be sifted the more brilliant it evidently appears. The accompanying Letter of Madame Bonneville crushes all the lies that have been circulated in religious tracts about his seduction and ill-treatment of her. It is now evident that a host of persons have been successively employed by the British Government to belie and degrade the name and character of Thomas Paine. The present Lord Liverpool began it, by giving one Chalmers, a sum of money for writing an infamous lying memoir under the signature of Oldys an Ame-

rican! This is Lord Liverpool who is cried up by friends and foes, as a man above every mean and shuffling trick; This was the man who commenced the career of lies and abuse against the name and character of Thomas Paine, and has ever since been at the head of the wretches who have carried on a similar game. The name of Liverpool always sounds insignificant connected with that of his more infamous colleague, if possible, Castlereagh, but the name of Thomas Paine shall be in the mouth of every human being in Europe and America, as a great politician, philosopher, and philanthropist, when the names of Liverpool, Castlereagh, Eldon, and Sidmouth, Pitt, Fox, Burke, and Canning, shall be buried in oblivion, or lisped only with execration.'

These Posthumous Works and Correspondences of Thomas Paine, will form a copyright, as they will be purchased from his Executrix in the regular way, therefore no pirate will be able to copy them with impunity. They will form a full third of his whole works. They will be at first printed in the form of an Appendix, uniform with my octavo edition, to accommodate those who may have copies of what I have hitherto printed, and then in a small pocket edition, with a complete collection of every thing that Mr. Paine ever wrote, with an idea of having published. My octavo edition of his Theological Works is quite out of print, and in addition to the very cheap copy in the "Report of my Mock Trials," I shall print another in a small size as cheap as possible.

R. CARLILE.

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The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, March 11,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,

SINCE writing my last to you, Little Jefferies has not been idle. John Barkley, another of my shopmen, has been sentenced to six months imprisonment, and the honest, the moral, and the brave Joseph Rhodes to two years hard labour. Hard labour is no punishment to him, he has always lived by it, but the sentence is still more infamous than that of Holmes; and why there should be any difference made I am at a loss to conceive. The conduct of the men has been uniform and equally admirable. Barkley, though young, has been the most daring, because his situation admitted of it, and has most annoyed the Gang. He was in the shop many weeks, and even after he knew a warrant was out against him, he came again to the shop the moment he heard Holmes was arrested. Yet he has (I am glad to see it) got off with six months. Young as he is, he entered the shop from principle, for he has worked at the press that has printed my publications almost ever since he has been at the trade.

The rascally Common Serjeant could not help spitting his venom at the manly virtue, constancy, and fortitude of Joseph Rhodes, by telling him that his present associates would desert him before the expiration of his imprisonment. No, REPTILE, Joseph Rhodes shall not be forsaken, nor shall he want any comfort that can be conveyed to him in Prison; and if I am at liberty two years hence, I will assist him in taking you by the nose.

This corrupt villain (the Common Serjeant) took two hours to charge the Jury (so the Papers represent) on the trial of Holmes. As yet I know but one of the Jury, and that is Blanshard, the Methodist Bookseller, who has a shop

in the City Road, and in Paternoster Row. It was but a few years since these Methodists were crying out for toleration themselves, and complaining of the persecutions they encountered, and now they have recovered what is called a liberty of conscience, they are foremost in persecuting others: but this is the common practice of all idolators and bigots. The Methodists have formed something like a government to themselves, and begin to feel power from numbers, so that they are now changed altogether in character to what they were in John Wesley's time. The plain dress begins to yield to the fashions of the day: their Preachers, to whom their founder would allow but sixpence for a meal, now seek splendid establishments and incomes of hundreds per year, at the expence of their dupes.

Many of the poorer class of the Methodists have shewn a disposition to join the Reformers, but in consequence of Joey Butterworth, the Bookseller, being among them, his influence has caused to be issued a manifesto from headquarters, that it cannot be countenanced, in consequence of which a large portion of them in the North of England have seceded, and now there are half a dozen different sects of Methodists all at war with each other.

All these religious associations begin to act upon the system of the Jesuits, from the Established Church down to that contemptible faction called the Free-thinking Christians. They endeavour to make proselytes and keep them together upon the same scheme; that is, lashing themselves together by some common interest, and trading with each other exclusively. Each of them struggles for a monopoly of the good things of this world, and all their concern for the next begins and ends in talk.

Mrs. Wright's conduct at the Old Bailey was particularly deserving of commendation. This woman is a heroine in the cause of free discussion; and in her the insolent Adolphus found a match. She was perfectly right in refusing to answer his questions about the Jew Books, and turned the matter admirably, by saying she would do that at the time of her trial. We have been in hopes that her trial would have come on last week, but it has passed over. It is not now likely to come on till after Trinity Term, as she is so far advanced in pregnancy as to expect confinement in April, she is determined to defend herself, and read her own defence, and will not allow Best to silence her. I hope Best may be her judge.

Whilst writing this I have received a letter from a friend

in London, who was in Court at Rhodes's trial, and he informs me that the Jury quite chuckled at the sentence! I am also informed that Old Murray wanted to have Rhodes banished, because he pleaded to the name of Holmes who had been convicted of selling a libel before. If there was any thing like justice in our Courts of Law, we could shew error in the proceedings against Rhodes. He is a very mild, moral, and inoffensive character, and when brought up with the others to plead, and the perjured officer, Cooper, swore that his name was Holmes, he was told by the Common Serjeant that he must plead something, and he in the midst of confusion, not knowing what to do, pleaded Not Guilty, but he never for a moment acknowledged the name of Holmes.

Humphrey Boyle did perfectly right in not placing himself before that Jury of Methodists. We will now bail him and he shall shew the *corrupt thieves*, that the sentence of Rhodes cannot deter him from a full defence of his and my principles. I feel no small degree of pride in being surrounded and supported by such men, and I feel assured that the spirit, and constancy, and ability of Mrs. Wright did a great deal towards raising the spleen of the Common Serjeant, and aggravating Rhodes's sentence. I will publish the best report of all the proceedings at the Old Bailey that I can collect.

A word of advice to all Deists who may come into Courts of Law as witnesses. The first thing to be determined is not to utter a word but truth, and when you are thus prepared, it matters nothing upon what you swear. There is no immorality in a Deist kissing any book, and promising to tell the truth. I would kiss any thing that had a clean outside, if it was a compulsory form to give evidence in any case. Speaking the truth is the first and last object, all else, whether it be form or what not, is trash and delusion. I never refuse to take an oath when it be necessary, and I will always go through any form that is required for that purpose, or kiss any book that is offered me. In this Gaol the Parson Magistrates never refuse to tender an oath to me, or rather to take one from me, although to one and all of them I have avowed myself a Deist, and have challenged the leader of them to shew him that he is in error as to religion and not me.

When I had occasion to swear an affidavit for George Bere, the first was sent back from the Court of King's Bench as informal, not having been sworn before a Com-

missioner of that Court. It was then necessary that I should have in a Commissioner from the town of Dorchester. Two were asked and refused to come, on the pretence that I was not capable of taking an oath, and I began to entertain an idea that I should have to get down a *mandamus* for one of them. However, one was at length found to consent, of the name of Manfield. When he entered my room he began some nonsense about having heard a great deal about me, but before he could tender me an oath, I must answer him some questions. I told him I was quite ready to answer him any questions he would ask. He then began, Do you believe in God? Yes. Do you believe the Holy Scriptures? Yes. Do you believe in the Holy Evangelists? Yes. Then I can have no objection to take your oath. If the fool had asked me a hundred such questions I would have defeated his object. If I had asked him to tell me who or what his God was, it would have formed a sufficient excuse, on his part, to decline the office of accepting my oath, although he would not have been able to have given me the least answer. Oath-making I have often said is a vice in society. It is not the least preservative of truth, and it is notorious that our official characters will swear to any lie for gain. Speak the truth, Deists, and never scruple to kiss any thing that is clean on the outside. Nothing can be more filthy in its character than the book on which the law requires we shall swear, but it does not offend the eye or taste, so do not hesitate, if it be necessary, that you should be enabled to give evidence of the truth. There was a talk of committing Mrs. Wright, but she despised the threat. She knew she was speaking the truth, and looked at the insolent immoral Christians with a noble contempt.

R. CARLILE.

DEATH OF STEWART, THE CELEBRATED TRAVELLER,

Commonly known by the Appellation of the Walking Stewart.

THIS singular character, so admirable for his morals and his humane ideas, died on February 20th, at his apartments, in Northumberland Street, Strand. He was originally educated at the Charterhouse, and afterwards went to India as a writer in the service of the East India Company. He was

employed as Secretary to the Nabob of Arcot, and expended a large sum in giving official entertainments, by order of his master. At length, having acquired moderate means of subsistence, after travels through every part of the world, except China, he returned to his country, and during the revolution of the French Government invested his money in the French funds. The vast depreciation in those funds, and the uncertainty of payment, reduced him to great distress, but he was kindly relieved by the husband of his departed sister. During this moment, and during the residence of Thomas Paine in England, those two great moralists frequently spent their evenings together; but Mr. Paine would never yield up his ideas of spirituality to the material principles of Stewart. On this head Mr. Paine was not free from bigotry, for he had formed an antipathy to the word atheist, without considering well on what it was founded.

Soon after this period, Stewart set out for the United States of America, and supported himself for some time, by delivering lectures on moral philosophy. Here we understand he became acquainted with Elihu Palmer, and we incline to think that the Principles of Nature, by Elihu Palmer originated from this intimacy, the last chapter of which is confessedly taken from the manuscript of an atheistical friend. We have no further authority for this supposition, than that, on the return of Mr. Paine to the United States, the widow of Elihu Palmer, was known frequently to be disputing the propriety of her husband's principles on materialism with Mr. Paine, and appealing to the arguments of Stewart as an authority: in which disputations she would frequently reduce Mr. Paine to the confession of "it may be so."

The tenets of Stewart, and the latitude of his opinions, were too refined and extensive for the bulk of the Americans, so that his lectures declined to continue him many auditors, and he again returned to England, deriving his resources chiefly from £100 a year from France, which was regularly paid to him through Mr. Coutts, as he had agreed to take that annual sum instead of an annuity of £300 for which he had originally subscribed.

On the projected arrangement of the Nabob of Arcot's affairs, he put in his claims, and after references to the competent authorities in the East Indies, there was an award in his favour to the amount of many thousand pounds. He disposed of a considerable part of that property, securing himself an annuity of six hundred pounds, on which he

lived sparingly himself, but with liberality to his friends, giving periodical dinners, and, latterly, concerts every evening to his friends, and all whom they thought proper to introduce to him.

His doctrines were founded wholly on materialism, but he always inculcated philanthropy and moral duty. He entitled the first work that he published in this country, *Travels to discover the Polarity of Moral Truth*. He was an enemy to the infliction of pain of any kind upon any portion of the animal world, and a zealous friend to universal benevolence, and civil and religious liberty in the fullest latitude of the words. When he first returned to this country, he appeared in Armenian attire, and attracted notice by a long beard; and when he assumed the European dress, he affected singularity, not from vanity, but to excite attention to his person, that it might lead to an enquiry into his doctrines, which he considered, very properly, to be of the utmost importance to sensitive matter in the human shape, or in any other animal form. He was universally known in all parts of the earth, with the above exception of China, which he had visited in turn, always in walking, never entering a carriage except in case of absolute necessity. His journies would have been highly interesting if he had published an account of them, but he disdained the usual pursuits of travellers, constantly answering enquiries as to manners, customs, &c. of the various countries which he visited, by stating, that *his* were travels of the mind, in order to ascertain and develope the polarity of moral truth.

His lamp of animal life is now extinguished, but his morality, his benevolence, and his humanity will never cease to yield a light as a guide to future travellers and searchers after moral truth. This man lived as an example for mankind, and not for himself. Selfish views he had none, and despised them in others. He will ever rank high among the sages, the moralists, and the patriots gone by, and we fear not but much good will spring up from the good seed he has sown. The doctrines he taught must become universal, as science expands over the human mind. The dogmas of Superstition already begin to crumble before them, and down must come altogether the ugly and hideous fabric: that plan and place of human torment. The lies which have been usually propagated at the deaths of philosophers, about their conversions to the dogmas of superstition, and about their dying calls upon Jehovah, Jesus, and other idols, as they cease to impose, so also do they cease

to be invented and told. We felt much pleasure to see the manner in which the life and death of Stewart has been mentioned in the public papers, from which we have selected the greater portion of the above article. Moral truth must prevail: its polarity is the great whole of Nature.

EDITOR.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

SIR,

I AM one of those who were excited by the unjust proceedings against you during your pretended trials to purchase those works which the Vice Gang thought proper to prosecute you for publishing, previous to which, I assure you, I was not the least aware that such works were in existence. The first which I perused was Mr. Palmer's "Principles of Nature," which was lent me by a friend: at first I hesitated to believe that the writer of that work could be serious in his examination of the Holy Books: for being one of those who were strenuous advocates for those persons that I now consider to be pulpit impostors, I did not expect that such obscene passages could be found in the Old and New Testaments, of course I doubted Mr. Palmer's quotations, but on examination, I was truly astonished to find, in those Holy Books, every quotation that he has made. I need not tell you that I was sufficiently stimulated to purchase Mr. Paine's "Age of Reason," which convinced me that those pretended words of God were nothing more than priestcraft. Nothing more than an invention of priests to keep mankind in a state of ignorance and subjection, by calling their attention to what those ghostly impostors call a commissioned power, and prescribing a strong dose of damnation in the name of that power, to all those who will not be their slaves. I have to return you my sincere thanks for bringing those works of Paine and Palmer into being, for although I was a strenuous advocate for what is called religion, I never knew any thing of it until I read those persecuted works; I never considered that a moral principle was a matter of much consequence, if I was diligent in swallowing all that a parson wished to ram down my throat, I thought I did all that was necessary.

I do not hesitate to say from the intercourse I have since had with the *truly* pious, that nine-tenths of them are the most unprincipled wretches in existence; I have been defrauded more by them than by those who make no pretensions to piety, and I now set it down as a criterion, that if I have any business to transact with those whom I ultimately find out to be what are generally called *very* religious people, I am sure to be deceived in some way

or other, and I will venture to say, that if any person who is an admirer of a *just* principle, will make the trial, he will find what I have just stated to happen to him ninety times out of one hundred. I have been often told by the most sincere Christians, that "a moral principle was very well, but it had *nothing to do with religion*, that religion consisted of worshipping God by praying to him, to make you thankful and obedient, to repent of your *sins*, that through Christ you may be saved." Are there any other persons in existence who possess the smallest share of common goodness, who can act agreeably to the precepts of such soul-saving simpletons? In the first place, I may pay only the *most trifling* regard to a moral principle. I may be guilty of every species of deception with impunity. I may carry on every sort of vice as long as I like, if I have *faith in Christ*, and will kneel down every night and pretend to tell him that I am sorry for what I have done! such Gospel-gabblers bestow the most unbounded applause on the use of prayer, they think that they are serving the Creator of the Universe by praying; they say that they believe that God is not a respecter of particular persons; yet they wish to be served differently to many others; their belief, therefore, is evidently quite the contrary, for praying implies both a doubt and a *disbelief* of any such thing. If I believe that the incomprehensible power, called God, is just, Why should I doubt that he will act unjustly? If I believe that he is immutable, Why should I doubt that he will act differently to me than he does to any other? If I believe that he is eternal, Why should I doubt that he will not continue his benevolence to me while I exist? If I believe that he is omnipresent, Why should I doubt that he knoweth not either my distress or my affluence? If I believe that he is omniscient, Why should I doubt that he knoweth not what is most requisite for me? therefore, what those worthies call, *praying to God*, implies, that they either doubt his goodness, or believe him to be an ignorant, and an ill-disposed man, and think that it is necessary to instruct him how to act; they pretend to know better than he knows, and therefore wish him to alter his will.

I have been frequently told by some Gospel-prattlers that "Mahomet never could be thought of as a prophet, or a saviour, like Christ, because he never performed *one miracle*. Now it plainly appears that those prattlers know nothing more than what they read of in their *Holy Testament*; they do not know that the Koran was written in heaven, and brought to Mahomet by an angel. They do not know that Mahomet travelled through ninety heavens in one night; that he walked in the sunshine unattended by a shadow; that he caused, with a single word, trees, which were already withered, to resume their verdure; that he filled the wells and the cisterns with water; and that he cut in two equal parts the body of the Moon." But I know that the canting tribe

will cry, that all this is incredible, we have no proof of their miracles. Certainly not; we have no proof of them; neither have we any proof of the miracles of Christ; nor have we any proof that Moses received the two tables of the commandments from the hands of God. One story, therefore, is as plausible as the other, and that we have the same right and grounds to believe the Koran, as we have to believe the Bible and Testament, every impartial person must see.

Should the above attempt to subvert imposition and annihilate priestcraft, meet your approbation, probably you will allow it a place in your next Republican.

I am, and ever shall be, while I exist,

SIR,

Yours, sincerely,

Whitechapel, Feb. 8, 1822.

CHIRURGICUS.

ON THE PROGRESS OF REASON.

SIR,

THE liberal and unbiassed manner in which you discuss the faculties of the human mind, induce me to offer you some observations; you are aware that some men of enlarged minds have made it a question how far it would be politic to dispel the fable and delusion that now bind men to priestcraft; the "lords of the soil" have decided that as men are naturally vicious and wicked, a bugbear is necessary to preserve subjection, but it is denied that men are naturally wicked *a priori*, and consequently the superstition called Christianity is superfluous; if men were naturally wicked, and they could not be better governed by reason than by superstition, there might be some pretence for the continuance of the priest trade; whatever Gall and Spurzheim, and other craniologists may say, conceiving the form or the organization of the head, producing a tendency to the commission of moral acts, I feel assured that all propensity to turpitude, is caused by habit, or acquired by example. The preponderance of certain passions may occasion in youth the impression contended for upon the head, by Craniologists, but it is denied to have original existence. The mind is as Locke, and Helvetius, and some other philosophers have demonstrated, a blank, a void, a sheet of white paper; and the memory, or knowledge, or science, are the impressions that are fixed, or written, or marked upon this sheet of white paper; the functions of the brain are numerous, because an abundance of parts enter into its formation, many parts of the brain are probably never called into action. Notwithstanding the multitude of the Arts and Sciences already cultivated; many ages,

perhaps myriads of centuries only, will be sufficient to develop the latent powers of the human brain, the mind does not appear to be any thing distant from the matter composing the brain; mental action is nothing more than the exercise of different portions of the brain, as writing or holding my pen is the exercise of some of the parts of my hand, the better the hand is taught to hold the pen, the better it will write; the better the head is taught, or learned, the better the man is said to be instructed; the mind may be compared to a piece of ground, in the priest it is planted with brambles, in the king with thistles, in the philosopher with wheat, the mental ground will produce according to the seed, according to the cultivation, and according to its separation from the filthy weeds that surround it; if the garden is mixed, the product will be ambiguous, the union may produce a tendency to useless neutrality.

While the tithes exist, the priests cannot see clear, they cannot be convinced, that men are corrupted, are misled, are barbarized by their folly and venality; if the priests inculcate morality, instead of superstition; if they would uphold justice, instead of delusion and folly, men would be more independent, more honest, more virtuous; crimes must prevail, while superstition is preached in the place of reason; and superstition will be preached while the priests are well paid; preaching is an easy trade, it neither makes its followers sweat or sore; you are aware that there is a sort of indolence about men which indisposes them for hard labour, all the ranters of America find this skulking better than working in the loom or the stall.

Until you hear natural and experimental philosophy, or the works of Helvetius, Mirabaud, Paine, &c. delivered in the churches in the morning, and the discourses of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Franklin, and Galvani in the evening, you cannot hope to derive much benefit from Reason and Science; then will the Sun of Reason be above the horizon, then will man assume his proper sphere, then will the mists of Prejudice and Superstition be dispelled, never again to cloud, to confuse, or to destroy the happiness of man.

As that is the *desideratum* of Reason, whoever labours to reach that climax is a benefactor of the human race, so far from your labours being equivocal, or neutral, you have presented the case with a degree of energy, and of unremitting ardour, that will entitle you to admiration at the latest period of time.

REGULATOR.

We shall be glad to hear often from Regulator, as often as he pleases.

EDITOR.

THE BELIEF OF A DEIST, AND THE REASONS FOR HIS BELIEF.

BEING arrived at the age at which people generally have formed their opinions and made up their minds on religion, I have, after a laborious search into the nature of religion, arrived at a conclusion. And as most men state their belief, and reasons for their belief, so also will I state mine.

But first it will be necessary to state the reasons for my belief.

I was brought up to what is called the Established Religion, and often have sung Psalms, made responses to the Parish Priest, and thought it was right, but being young, I knew no better. At the age of eighteen I renounced the doctrine of the Trinity, and soon after the Church altogether, as it appeared to me to be such a sameness. From that time until I was about thirty, I took no notice of religion, being disgusted with all the different sects of Dissenters. In the year 1811, I first frequented the Free-Thinking Christians, and in 1814, I became a member of their Society, as their opinions seemed to be in consonance with my own. The Free-Thinking Christians are Unitarians by profession; but they go further, for they renounce pulpit-preaching, singing, prayer, and every thing like public, social worship, as they say the New Testament does not sanction those things. But though the Free-Thinking Christians renounce all those doctrines, as absurd, they retain two which are equally absurd as any they have renounced, viz. the miracles and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

On my admission into their Church, the Elder put several questions to me, one of which was, "Do you believe that Jesus was the Messenger and Messiah sent from God, and that he was raised from the dead by the mighty power of God?" I answered in the affirmative. I have often been asked the reason why I then answered in the affirmative, and afterwards rejected it? I give the following—If any one had asked me, when I was about twenty years of age, to have pointed out the situation of the zodiac in the heavens, I could not have done it; consequently, had any one pretended to have pointed it out to me, though never so wrong, I might have believed him, because I did not at that time understand it, and, of course, could not contradict him: but after I had studied it, and gained a knowledge myself of its true position, I no longer could be deceived. It was the same with Christianity. When I joined the Free-Thinking Christians' Church, I was asked to subscribe to dogmas of which I had never studied the evidence, and they believing or professing to believe them, declared them to me to be divine truths, and which

I took to be such upon their assurance. I immediately began to think for myself, and to study its evidence. When I had gained a knowledge of its true origin I renounced it, because I did not find it what it was pretended to be, as I could not be deceived in one case any more than the other.

I gained one advantage by joining their Society, namely, the use of their library, which consisted of controversies on theological subjects, and historical works. I applied myself to them closely. The first thing I read was Mr. Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" from that time I renounced, in my own mind, the belief of Christianity, as being a divine revelation, as that celebrated writer proved it clearly to me to be only a human institution. I then read the controversy between Dr. Priestley and Bishop Horsley relative to the doctrine of the Trinity; the Evidences of Christianity, by Dr. Priestley and Dr. Paley; Locke on the Understanding; Watts on the Mind; Josephus; and many other books: but reading all these books did not prove to me the divine origin of Christianity, but on the contrary, I was about leaving the Free-thinking Christians' Church, when some of the members persuaded me to read Mr. Thompson's "Evidences of Revealed Religion," which were published in the "Free-thinking Christians' Magazine," and allowed to be a master-piece of the sort. Mr. Thompson being the Father and Founder of the Free-thinking Christians' Church, these "Evidences" pretended to prove that Christianity, as they practice it, and which they call rational Christianity, is of divine origin, viz, revealed by Deity to man. I immediately purchased the "Magazine," and read Mr. Thompson's "Evidences" with great attention, with the answer to it by the Deistical correspondents; and I must say, I was greatly disappointed, for instead of bringing conviction to my mind that Christianity was of divine origin, and making a Christian of me, it had quite a contrary effect, for it only proved the existence of Christianity, and that, I, or any other Deist, do not deny, for though the arguments are varied from Paley's to what he calls "cause and effect," yet, like Paley's, they are founded on assumed and unfounded principles; and the Deistical arguments against them, in their "Magazine," soon convinced me, as Gibbon first suggested, that Christianity was only a human institution.

I then left the Free-thinking Christians' Church, being no longer able to subscribe conscientiously to its dogmas, announced myself a Deist; and as Mr. Thompson, in his "Evidences," had attacked Mr. Paine's "Age of Reason," a work I had never read, I tried to get it, but could not obtain it: however, by this time I fully agreed with Mr. Burdon, "That there never was, nor never would be, such a thing as a Divine Revelation."

Up to the time I left the Free-thinking Christians, I had never read a page of the theological writings of Voltaire, Mirabeau,

Volney, Paine, Palmer, or any of the Deistical writings, except Gibbon, as I before stated, so that I did not become a Deist by reading Deistical works.

In the spring of 1819, Mr. Carlile, of Fleet Street, published Mr. Paine's "Theological Works," together with a weekly publication, called "The Deist," which contained the writings of Francis, Palmer, Boulanger, Voltaire, Freret, and other Deistical writers. I purchased Paine's "Theological Works," and "The Deist," the reading of which shewed me the true origin of Christianity, and led me to a conviction of the truth of Deism.

I will now state what I do believe, and what I do not believe.

I believe in one God—"the God of Nature."

I do not believe that Deity ever did reveal himself to man, except in the visible works of creation, either by words, writings, or messengers; for this reason, if Deity had intended to reveal himself to man, it would have been in such a manner that no one could have disputed it, for who can dispute any thing relative to the works of Deity and Nature.

I believe the Bible to be an imposition on the world, and the Church founded on it a system of superstition and credulity, set up to terrify and enslave mankind.

I believe that the Jews have not, nor ever had, any ideas of the God of Nature, but that they believed in their God Jehovah, in the same manner as the Heathens believed in their God Jupiter, hence the idea of inclosing him in a box of Shittim wood.

I do not believe in the story of Jesus Christ, as told in the New Testament; and it is in vain they tell us of his great morality, miracles, death, and resurrection, without being able to prove that such a person ever existed.

I do not believe in a future resurrection, as there is nothing analogous in Nature to sanction such a belief, for it appears to me, that the Deity can propagate the human species to eternity, and that it would be useless for him to raise those who have already passed through life and death.

I do not believe in miracles, but that the laws of Nature are stable, fixed, and uniform; and that there never was, nor never will be, such a thing as a miracle.

I believe that the many ramifications, or different sects, that Christianity has run into, is one sure proof of the nullity and falsehood of the whole.

I believe there is as much absurdity in believing in the miracles and resurrection of Jesus; as held by the Unitarians and Free-thinking Christians, as there is in believing in the miraculous conception, atonement, or any other dogma held by the Trinitarian Christians.

I believe a man may be strictly moral and virtuous, without being a Christian or a member of any religious sect.

I believe that apologies made for the Bible, or any Christian

tenet founded on it, are a proof it is not of divine origin, for it can be proved to a demonstration, that what is divine needs no apology from man.

I believe that if a code of moral law (not pretending to be divine) were established in this country similar to our penal code, that man would obey the one as well as the other.

I believe that all men called Christians, of whatever sect, whatever abilities they possess, or whatever situations they may fill, if they are credulous enough to believe in the miracles and dogmas of any Church, as divine, are not capable of trusting the evidence of their senses or experience.

I do not believe in the common received opinion of a local heaven and hell, nor in the existence of angels, or devils, or ghosts, apparitions, witches, &c.

Lastly, I believe in nothing supernatural.

The above-written is my firm belief, being at the time in a sane state of mind,

As witness my hand, this 15th }
day of March, 1821, and in }
the 41st year of my age. }

T. R. BAYLEY POTTS.

* * This belief was drawn up under the following circumstances:—I was so ill at the time, that my friends did not expect that I should ever recover, indeed, I hardly expected it myself; and as my most intimate friends are chiefly Calvinists, Wesleyan Methodists, Catholics, &c., they have all along told me that I should recant my opinions before I died, and turn Christian, and believe in the atoning blood of Jesus, and all such nonsense as they are in the habit of believing; and as my complaint often brought on delirium, during which time I might have answered questions, and said things that they might construe into another meaning, and have raised a report afterwards that I had changed my belief, the same as they say Paine, Voltaire, and others did, I was resolved to write down what I really did believe while I retained my senses, as I looked for the worst. I have no hesitation in saying, that (like Paine) I feel religiously happy in my belief and opinions, and do hope always to retain these while I have being.

Jan. 29, 1822.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

I HAVE to beg pardon of my readers, not of you, for deviating from my promise of writing regularly to you; other circumstances have encumbered me with more matter than my pages would contain: so that, as well as you, I have disappointed by inevitable delay many correspondents whose esteem I wish to preserve, and whose forgiveness I now ask upon the strength of this apology and explanation.

I have passed your Title-page and Preface, and shall now pass without observation your Calendar of Saints' Days, and other nonsense, and come to your Table of Contents for the whole volume, which consists of references to what you call the Prophecies and Miracles of the Jew Books, and observations thereon, &c.

I shall first make a few observations on the Jew Books, for the book called the New Testament is as much a Jew Book as the book called the Old Testament; and then on the alleged Prophecies and Miracles, upon which, as it is an almost worn-out subject, I shall be very brief.

Taking the book called the Old Testament as a whole, incongruous as are its various parts, as to morals, physics, history, and divinity, and contemptible for ignorance and immorality as were some of its writers compared with others who wrote its more moral parts, affording us every necessary proof, from its incongruities, that the whole is the work of the vacillating human mind, and has no relation to any extraordinary contriver; I will first observe, that the Jews produced nothing new as a nation, in a literary point of view, and that the book called the Old Testament has nothing original in it. The last work of the immortal Volney, entitled "New Researches into Ancient History," has set this question at rest, although quite enough was done before by Sir William Drummond and Dupuis, his predecessor, to satisfy my mind upon the matter. In fact, an impartial and attentive reader of Adam Clarke's "Commentary on the Bible," must receive the impression, that the Jewish rites and ceremonies in matters of religion were mere corrupted copies from their more civilized and distinguished neighbours of Egypt, Phenicia, Assyria, and Chaldea. A literal translation of the original Jew Hebrew Book

would be such a rude and obscene publication as to make the greatest fanatic blush at every page if he could see it. Much of the present translation is a glossary by the translators. But it so happens that you, and such like Jews and Christians as you are, will read nothing that is an avowed impeachment of the superstition you cherish, or you would soon arrive at the conviction I herestate. Read the "New Researches into Ancient History," as now publishing in Numbers by Mr. Davison, one of the victims of your hypocrisy, fanaticism, and persecuting spirit, and you will soon begin to blush for your Jehovah, your Adam and Eve, your Satan, and even for your Jesus. Read the "System of Nature," by Mirabaud, and you will be taught that there is nothing spiritual in Nature, and that all is material; a fact to the knowledge of which we are inevitably led by a study of the sciences of astronomy and chemistry.

Prophetic pretensions seem to have formed the origin of Priestcraft, the very foundation of all this misery-producing juggle. Before the Jews existed as a nation, all other nations pre-existent had their prophets either in the character of hidden oracles, of sibyls, or some such delusion, which were the exact prototypes of our modern fortune-tellers. The rage in the human bosom to dive into the future soon opened the way to the more cunning among mankind to make a trade of this delusion: and to gratify that unnatural propensity for foreknowledge, arose oracles, sibyls, prophets, Druids, Priests, and gipsies, or modern fortune-tellers. The pretensions of all were alike, the object the same, to thrive in idleness upon the credulity of the labouring multitude. The temples of the Pagan idols and oracles, the temples of the Jews, and the churches of the Christians, have been successively the depositaries of immense riches, accumulated by the Priests, and extracted either by force or fraud from the profits and productions of the industrious and useful portion of mankind. All such delusions form a disease in society that engendereth pain, misery, and finally death. It is a drawback upon industry, and every thing that progresses towards the health and strength of society.

The first idea of prophecy is an admission of some supernatural power dictating futurity to a human being; so that to prove a power of prophesying, it is first necessary to prove a supernatural power, a point that has not yet been done, never will be done, because there is no such existing power. The more we attempt to form an idea of a super-

natural power, the further we are removed from it; and this arises because our minds, our intellects, our ideas, are all natural, and if we extend them to any degree, we can get at nothing supernatural: but the more we purify and improve them, the more we are convinced that Nature, or those motions of matter which we denominate Nature, form the Great Whole, the Supreme Being; the Eternal, the Infinite, the only self-existent Principle, indivisible, incapable of delegating its powers, yet extending them to all, embracing all, and combining all within its influence as a matter of necessity and not of will. Will is the concomitant of animal organization alone, and exists in no other shape or power, all else is necessity: therefore, since the power of animal will is limited, and since no human being can will the power of prophecy, there is no other power that can will it to that being, consequently, the power of prophesying never did, never can exist.

The same reasoning applies to Miracle. A true prophecy would be a miracle. A miracle of any kind must be an act of will in opposition to the laws of Nature, or Necessity; therefore, unless the advocates of superstition can shew us that the power to will extends beyond the animal organization, all their arguments for miracles fall to the ground. It is first necessary that they shew us there is a supernatural power, secondly, what that power is, and whether it has the power to will independent of all the laws of necessity by which it may be surrounded, before an argument worthy of a moment's notice can be advanced for the power and practice of prophecy and miracle. This is brief enough: but brief as it is, I challenge objection and refutation. This view of the case is novel to me, but whether it will be found novel to you and others, I cannot say, as much has been written upon the matter, and much more than ever came under my view or hearing.

That there is an incomprehended power in Nature, is an axiom to which all must assent: but what that power is must be reduced to an axiom likewise, before any defence of prophecy, miracle, or any kind of superstition, can be made on solid grounds. A reference to chronological dates for the support of the pretended prophecies of the Jew Books, is equally futile and contemptible, for if there were an actual coincidence in the dates and references, (which I deny to be the case in any one instance) the damning fact comes up directly, that these books were compiled when letters were but little used and less known to the multitude, and when

ingenious forgeries were found necessary to cherish and support the trade of Priestcraft. These books are not only void of every kind of authenticity in the first instance, but their circulation for centuries having been confined to the slow progress of producing copies by the pen, they have been successively altered, mutilated, and mended by the successive copyists, so as to render their veracity, which was questionable in the first instance, still more questionable. In fact, all genuine belief or respect for those books, for the Christian Religion, and for every kind of superstition in Europe, for more than a century past, has been entirely owing to the penal laws by which they have been supported. Christianity, Judaism, or Priestcraft of any kind, has no other basis in Europe, and the moment these penal laws, these persecutions, be removed, down must come the whole fabric.

The idea of a Sabbath is so closely connected with the Common Prayer addressed in England to the Christian Idols, according to law, that before I enter into a critical examination of the contents of your book, it may not be amiss that I make a few observations on what is called the Sabbath, Lord's Day, Sunday, or day of rest and cessation from labour, as the day generally set aside for a more particular practice of this Idolatry.

That the observance of the seventh day as a peculiar day for worship has originated with the Priests, who were interested in the matter, is evident, as, beyond the Jew Books, we have no proof that it existed in ancient times, or among any of those nations that have been denominated heathen. Greece and Rome had a variety of festivals and holidays; but, I believe, there were none hebdomadal, nor am I aware that any periodical cessation from labour or the ordinary duties of life existed among them upon the principle of the Jewish, Christian, or Mahometan Sabbath. I set very little value upon ancient history and tradition, therefore I do not profess to be skilled much in the matter, but I have no recollection from what I have read that any thing like what is now called the Sabbath ever existed among the Egyptians, Phenicians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, or Persians, before the compilation of the Jew Books. I believe I am therefore correct in stating, that the observance of the seventh day as a Sabbath originated with the Jewish Priests, and has been kept up for a similar purpose by the Christian and Mahometan Priests, to draw a closer connection between them and the people, and to plunder the

latter more effectually. It is not within my knowledge that any thing like a Sabbath is observed by the Brahmins in India, as I understand their days are all alike as to custom, with the exception of occasional festivals and ceremonies, none of which are hebdomadal, to my knowledge.

I, who am thoroughly acquainted with what is hard and painful labour, am an advocate for a cessation from it on the seventh day, and that every individual who really does labour should, without injury to himself and family, be able to earn enough in six days to meet the necessaries for seven. But I would not have this day devoted to a bondage and slavery of the mind, that is worse than that of the body on the other six; I would have it spent morally and cheerfully, and devoted to the improvement of the health and the mind.

To say that God set aside the seventh day for the worship of himself is a blasphemy peculiar to Jews, Christians, and Mahometans. God has done no such thing, it is the craft of the Priest to get his own pocket filled out of what the people earn on the six. The God of Nature is uniform, makes no distinction of days, nor is it necessary that we should contemplate him on any set days, but at all times when we can conveniently abstract our minds from the means of supporting the body and preserving its health. Self-preservation is the first principle of Nature, and an axiom to which every natural indication assents; and as the improvement of the mind is, next to seeking food for the body and keeping it in health, a principle of self-preservation, it follows, that on the appointed day of rest we should devote as much time as possible to that object. The improvement of the mind enables us to make a better provision for the body, and each works to the improvement of the other, so that instead of listening to the false and wicked dogmas of Priests, on what is called the Sabbath, we should study Nature, and makes its boundless expanse our temple, its God our Priest, who will instruct us without picking our pockets, and welcome us to him with a reward instead of receiving one.

But among Christians, what is now called the Sabbath, instead of being marked with a peculiar morality, is become a day for giving loose to all the baser passions. It is become a day of riot, revelry, and outrage; whilst to tell any of its advocates that if they are Christians they are not moralists for such conduct, they would call you a Sabbath-breaker, a blasphemer, and seek your destruction. To go

to church and chapel, and to get drunk, are now almost become synonymous terms, and if the returns of the daily consumption of intoxicating liquors could be had, it would be found that the quantity consumed on the Sabbath was equal to the whole consumed on the six days of the week. This will continue to be the case while mankind considers that moral as well as religious duty consists in listening to the weekly harangue of a Priest, and paying him well for his trouble; or while the delusion be kept up that this attendance upon and support of the Priest be a redemption of weekly immorality and vice. So long as mankind be filled with the delusion that the payment of money to the Priest or the Magistrate be a compensation for an outrage upon morals, so long will vice and misery be predominant. It is a violation of every natural principle: it is a blasphemy against the God of Nature.

The best observance of a Sabbath would be a particular cleanliness of persons and things, a marked sobriety, a diligent improvement of the mind and health, with a cheerful association of friends and neighbours for mutual instruction and comfort, and not for carousal. One day in seven spent in this manner would not be mispent, and would cheer the mind during the labour of the six. Or, in default of not observing the seventh day as a day of rest, it would be advisable to lessen the hours of labour and devote a portion of each day to the foregoing recommendation.

There is another point of view in which the Sabbath, or seventh day, might be considered. Every man has political duties to perform in a free state: these duties ought always to be performed with a view to morality and general interest, therefore the seventh day may be well filled up in the necessary election of legislators and public officers of the law, as far as time may be required for that purpose. Even the Spanish Constitution has fixed on Sunday as the most proper day for the purpose here mentioned, although it has to accord with the bigotry of the people, made it a religious ceremony, in which the Priest bears a conspicuous part. When we obtain the right of free election in this Island, I hope we shall be prepared to proceed without Priests.

Upon every view of our present Sabbaths, they ought to be denominated Priests' Day, and not Lord's Day. It is a day devoted to the support of the Priests, and not to morality. Every Priest is the representative of some idol, so that to call the seventh day, in its present appointment,

a Priest's Day, or Idol's Day, would be more appropriate than Lord's Day, or day of rest and idle day.

This, then, is the view I take of your Sabbath; and this brings me to a consideration of the substance of your Book of Common Prayer and Notes. Not to trouble you with too much at a time, I will desist writing for the present, but I will endeavour to write to you more frequently, although I will not promise you a lesson for every Sabbath. I find that I ought not to tie myself to any such engagements, and I must apologize for having broken the one I have made. I want not the disposition nor the matter to do it, but I find it difficult to spare the space some weeks, and pay proper attention to other correspondences and subjects, although compelled to fill thirty-two pages weekly, that such good things may not be sold too cheap, and be too easily purchased by those who are enjoying your blessings of taxation, and all the advantages arising from the National Debt!

Farewell for the present, you and I shall soon meet again, if you and your Vice Gang have not changed more in disposition than I have by former encounters.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, March 10, 1822,
of the Era of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

CAIN.

LETTER FROM LORD BYRON TO MR. MURRAY.

DEAR SIR,

Pisa, February 8, 1822.

ATTACKS upon me were to be expected; but I perceive one upon *you* in the papers, which I confess that I did not expect. How, or in what manner *you* can be considered responsible for what I publish, I am at a loss to conceive. If "Cain" be "blasphemous," Paradise Lost is blasphemous; and the words of the Oxford gentleman, "Evil, be thou my good," are from that very poem, from the mouth of Satan; and is there any thing more in that of Lucifer in the Mystery? "Cain" is nothing more than a drama, not a piece of argument. If Lucifer and Cain speak as the first murderer and the first rebel may be supposed to speak, surely all the rest of the personages talk also according to their characters; and the stronger passions have ever been permitted to the drama. I have even avoided introducing the Deity, as in

Scripture, (though Milton does, and not very wisely either); but have adopted his angel, as sent to Cain, instead, on purpose to avoid shocking any feelings on the subject, by falling short of, what all uninspired men must fall short in, viz. giving an adequate notion of the effect of the presence of Jehovah. The old Mysteries introduced him liberally enough, and all this is avoided in the new one.

The attempt to *bully you*, because they think it will not succeed with me, seems to me as atrocious an attempt as ever disgraced the times. What! when Gibbon's, Hume's, Priestley's, and Drummond's publishers have been allowed to rest in peace for seventy years, are *you* to be singled out for a work of *fiction*, not of history or argument? There must be something at the bottom of this—some private enemy of your own: it is otherwise incredible.

I can only say, "*Me—me adsum qui feci*," that any proceedings directed against you, I beg may be transferred to me, who am willing, and *ought* to endure them all; that if you have lost money by the publication, I will refund any, or all of the copyright; that I desire you will say, that both *you* and Mr. Gifford remonstrated against the publication, as also Mr. Hobhouse; that *I* alone occasioned it, and I alone am the person who either legally or otherwise should bear the burden. If they prosecute, I will come to England; that is, if by meeting it in my own person, I can save yours. Let me know—you sha'n't suffer for me, if I can help it. Make any use of this letter which you please.

Yours, ever,
BYRON.

THE foregoing Letter of Lord Byron to his Publisher, Mr. Murray, will be read with some interest by the readers of "The Republican," as it contains an open declaration of war against all delusion and superstition on the part of this celebrated character, and may be deemed a challenge to the Attorney General, or the Vice Society, to prosecute him as the author of "Cain." If, after the decision of the Chancellor that the publication is more fit to be prosecuted as blasphemous than protected as private property, the Attorney-General, or the Vice Society either, shrinks from the challenge of Lord Byron, what am I, what is the public, to think of their honesty, courage, or impartiality. It is said the King himself, has denounced Cain as blasphemous: the Keeper of his Seals and his Conscience! has done the same in his judicial character: all the hirelings of the Government have done the same through their portion of the Press, and here we find Lord Byron avowing what I pre-

misled a few weeks back, that he is made of the wrong stuff to be alarmed at, or to care for any of them. He has now challenged them to their teeth to prosecute his "Cain." Will the Hypocritical Persecutors of myself and others, add cowardice to their other vices, and shrink from a contest with Lord Byron?

To stimulate them to this prosecution I purpose to publish an edition of "Cain" at sixpence. I would respect the property of Lord Byron, or Mr. Murray, if the Lord Chancellor had done his duty, and protected "Cain," as he ought to have done, but as he has encouraged Mr. Benbow in his piracy, he has made it a sort of common property; I further purpose to shew this latter gentleman how easy it is for one person to undersell another, and how far his edition of "Cain" is from being a cheap edition, in point of quantity of print and paper. I shall confine myself to "Cain," as a publication within my line of business; I do not mean to follow Mr. Benbow in pirating other works of Lord Byron. I take "Cain" under my protection, because a prosecution and suppression is threatened.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

NOBLE FELLOW CITIZENS,

It is with sentiments of the most ardent attachment to the great cause of Civil and Religious Liberty, that we feel ourselves bound thus publicly to express our unqualified admiration of the very gallant manner in which you are driving from the field of Philosophy, the enemies of Science, Truth, and Freedom.

Whether disguised under the garb of *King, Priest, or Peer*, or by whatever nicknames the tyrants of the world, mask their infernal agents, we rest assured, that they alike feel the powerful effect of your invincible arguments; the boldest of your opponents *must* have been staggered, by the unprecedented intrepidity of your literary career.

From the rage exhibited against you by the fiends of the Vice Society, as well by their sister Society of Devils, in Bridge Street, their intentions are sufficiently obvious, of wreaking their united, but impotent vengeance against the "TEMPLE OF REASON." *Force, Fraud, and Hypocrisy*, have declared war against free discussion! The sword against the pen! and "55, Fleet Street," has been the Thermopylæ of Modern Philosophy; this, or any other

shop you may take is the post of danger, which we hope will be filled as long as one honest patriot remains out of a dungeon; the gratitude of *all* mankind is due to those individuals who have already filled this honourable gap, and the blessings of posterity await the list of heroes, who have so bravely volunteered to come forward in the same cause.

We, as friends to you, and the great and good cause you advocate, take this opportunity of requesting your acceptance of the sum of £2. 1s. 10d. as a trifling acknowledgement of the pleasure we have received from the perusal of your invaluable writings, together with those of the Immortal Thomas Paine.

Signed, in behalf of the Subscribers,

ROBERT ARMSTRONG.

Stokesley, Yorkshire, Jan. 29, 1822.

From Stokesley, Yorkshire.

John Coates, Naturalist	0	5	0	T. T. a young Deist	0	0	6
Robert Armstrong, a Materialist, who believes Vice to be its own punishment, and Virtue its own reward	0	5	0	R. C. sends Carlile 5 per cent. on his savings during last year, by non-attendance at the Methodist Chapel	0	0	4
Nicodemus the Second	0	1	0	A Female, who thinks the case of Mrs. Carlile must raise compassion in the most obdurate heart; and if the Christian religion has such barbarous and detested monsters, such consummate villains, as the persecutors of Mrs. Carlile for its advocates, it must soon come to nothing	0	1	0
Amariah Batty, Castleton	0	5	0	Democritus, from the shades of obscurity	0	1	0
A Female Admirer of Carlile	0	1	0	A Female who was shocked and disgusted at the savage brutality practised on Mrs. Carlile by Christian barbarians	0	1	0
John Appleton, a poor man aged 76, who is thankful to Mr. Carlile for having opened his eyes on the brink of the grave; he can now sink calmly to rest without delusive hopes of Heaven, or ridiculous fears of Hell	0	0	6	Mr. Israel, a native of Cracow in Poland	0	1	0
An Admirer of the Politics of Paine	0	1	0	Michael Hebden	0	1	0
A Female Admirer of Thomas Paine	0	1	0	A Female Admirer of the Age of Reason, aged 62	0	0	6
William Lawn	0	1	0				
John Flounders, an admirer of the Age of Reason and Rights of Man, Say aught against them if you can	0	1	0				

From Stockton, in the County of Durham.

A Bishop	0	5	0	Honesty is the best Policy	0	1	6
Thomas Webber	0	1	0	Richard Wright, a Republican	0	2	6
Daniel Gibson	0	1	0	John Turnbull	0	1	0
Peter Walker	0	1	0				
A Rector	0	1	0				

TO MR. ROBERT ARMSTRONG, STOKESLEY.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, March 3, 1822.

I RETURN you and all friends in your neighbourhood my thanks for this fresh instance of approbation and encouragement. We are so strictly in unison with all our ideas of right and wrong, that I feel debarred from giving you a long answer, as nothing that I can say will be a matter of instruction to you. I can promise you that I will soon have another "Temple of Reason" open, such as the Robbers may not enter, and not only in London, but in other parts of the country as well. I will still bid defiance to all prosecutions, and finally stay them.

Yours, in civic esteem,

R. CARLILE.

P. S. The Correspondence you have had with a Priest, you mention in your private information, I will print it if you will send it to me.

THE SCRIPTURIAN'S CREED.

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. Gen. i. 1.

And the earth was without form. Gen. i. 2.

So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him. Gen. i. 27.

And the Lord said behold the man is become like one of us. Gen. iii. 22.

Cursed is the ground for thy sake. 17.

And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, of every tree of the garden thou mayest eat. Gen. ii. 16.

But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it. 17.

And he placed at the east of the garden of Eden, cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life. Gen. iii. 24.

Least he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever. 22.

And God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good. Gen. i. 31.

For the creature was made subject to vanity. Rom. viii. 20.

The heavens are not clean in his sight. Job xv. 15.

The earth also was corrupt. Gen. vi. 11.

And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. Gen. vi. 6;

God is not a man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent. Numb. xxiii. 19.

And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel, for I have seen God face to face. Gen. xxxii. 30.

And he said, thou canst not see my face, for there shall no man see me and live. Exod. xxxiii. 20.

And the Lord said, behold, there is a place by me and thou shalt stand upon a rock. Exodus xxxiii. 21.

No man hath seen God at any time. 1 John iv. 12.

Thou shalt see my back parts. 23.

And he said unto them, thus saith the Lord God of Israel, put on every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. Exodus xxxvii. 27.

Thou shalt not kill. Exodus xx. 13.

Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, I remember that which Amalek did to Israel, how he laid wait for him in the way when he came up from Egypt. 1 Sam. xv. 2.

Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Gen. ix. 6.

Now go, smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not, but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass. 3.

The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works. Psalm cxlv. 17.

And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. Acts xvii. 26.

For God is not the author of confusion but of peace. 1 Corin. xiv. 33.

So the Lord our God delivered into our hands, Og, also king of Bashan and all his people, and we smote them until none was left to him remaining. Deut. iii. 3.

The Lord is gracious and full of compassion. Psalm cxlv. 8.

Utterly destroying the men, women, and children of every city. 6.

The Lord upholdeth all that fall, and raiseth up all those that be bowed down. 14.

Thou openest thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing. 16.

The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord. Psalm xxxiii. 5.

Because he delighteth in mercy. Micah vii. 18.

Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. Rom. ix. 13.

And in that day thou shalt say, O Lord I will praise thee, though thou wast angry with me thine anger is turned away and thou comfortedst me. Isaiah xii. 1.

Then Peter opened his mouth and said, of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons. Acts x. 34.

Every good gift, and every perfect gift, is from above, and cometh down from the father of lights with whom is no variableness, neither the shadow of turning. James i. 17.

And the Lord said unto Moses, depart, and go up hence; thou and the people which thou hast brought up out

And he said my presence shall go with thee and I will give thee rest. Exod. xxxiii. 14.

of the land of Egypt, unto the land which I swore unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, unto thy seed will I give it. Exod. xxxiii. 1.

For I will not go up in the midst of thee. 3.

For I the Lord your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children. Exod. xx. 5.

I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more. Jer. xxxi. 34.

Once have I sworn by my holiness that I will not lie unto David. Psalm lxxxix. 35.

His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me. 36.

The righteous perisheth and no man layeth it to heart. Isaiah lvii. 1.

The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much. Jam. v. 16.

And Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. 2 Kings ii. 11.

And the Lord was with Judah; and he drave out the inhabitants from the mountains but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron. Judges i. 19.

And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and said unto them, ye take too much upon you seeing all the congregation are holy every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift you up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord. Numb. xvi. 3.

And Moses was very wroth, and said unto the Lord, respect not thou their offering. 15.

And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, 20.

Separate yourselves from among this congregation that I may consume them in a moment. 21.

Now they that died in the plague were fourteen thousand and seven hundred, beside them that died about the matter of Korah. 49.

The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. Ezek. xviii. 20.

The soul that sinneth, it shall die. Ezek. xviii. 4.

Thou hast made his glory to cease and hast cast his throne down to the ground. Psalm lxxxix. 44.

The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree. Psalm xcii. 12.

There is none righteous no not one. Rom. iii. 10.

And no man hath ascended up to heaven. John iii. 13.

For with God all things are possible. Mark x. 27.

For I am the Lord, I change not, therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed. Malachi iii. 6.

Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom, and with all thy getting get understanding. Prov. iv. 7.

For in much wisdom there is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow. Eccles. i. 18.

Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Matt. x. 16.

For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. 1 Cor. i. 19.

Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles. Eccles. x. 17.

Bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron. Psalm cxlix. 8.

This honour have all his saints. 9.

And kings shall be thy nursing fathers and their queens thy nursing mothers. Isa. xlix. 23.

Now let them put away their whoredoms and the carcases of their kings far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever. Ezek. xlii. 9.

Honour all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, and honour the king. 1 Peter ii. 17.

And I saw an angel standing in the sun, and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God. Revel. xix. 17.

That ye may eat the flesh of kings. 18.

And an angel of the Lord came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and said, I made you to go up out of Egypt, and have brought you into the land which I swore unto your fathers, and I said I will never break my covenant with you. Judg. ii. 1.

So we see they could not enter in because of unbelief. Heb. iii. 19.

And Abram fell on his face, and God talked with him, saying. Gen. xvii. 3.

So I swear in my wrath they should not enter into my rest. Heb. iii. 11.

And I will give unto thee and to thy seed after thee the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession, and I will be their God. 8.

And when ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes from you, yea when ye make many prayers I will not hear. Isa. i. 15.

Pray without ceasing. 1 Thess. v. 17.

Now when Pharaoh heard this thing he sought to slay Moses, but Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh. Exod. ii. 15.

By faith, he (Moses) forsook Egypt, not fearing the wrath of the king. Heb. xi. 27.

And it came to pass in process of time that the king of Egypt died. 23.

And the Lord said unto Moses in Midian, go return into Egypt, for all the men are dead which sought thy life. iv. 19.

For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law. For where no law is there is no transgression. Rom. iv. 15.
Rom. ii. 12.

And Moses spake unto the people, saying, arm some of yourselves unto the war. Numb. xxxi. 3.

And Moses sent them to the war. 6.

And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host, with captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, which came from the battle. 14.

And Moses said unto them, have ye saved all the women alive? 15.

Now, therefore, kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him. 17.

But all the women-children that have not known a man by lying with him keep alive for yourselves. 18.

Now the man Moses was very meek above all the men which were upon the face of the earth. Numb. xii. 3.

If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, Deut. xiii. 1.

And the sign or the wonder come to pass. 2.

Thou shalt not hearken unto his words. 3.

And that prophet or that dreamer of dreams shall be put to death. 5.

And if thou say in thine heart, how shall we know the words which the Lord hath not spoken. Deut. xviii. 21.

When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken. 22.

And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel; and he moved David against them, to say, go number Israel and Judah. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1.

And Satan stood up against Israel and provoked David to number Israel. 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, shout for the Lord hath given you the city. Josh. vi. 16.

And the city shall be accursed, even it and all that are therein, to the Lord: only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house. 17.

And they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman,

The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies is over all his works. Psal. cxlvi. 9.

O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God. Rom. xi. 33.

For wisdom is better than rubies. Prov. viii. 11.

Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. iii. 17.

The Lord will abhor the bloody and deceitful man. Psal. v. 6.

young and old, and ox and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword. 21.

And they burnt the city with fire. 24.

So the Lord was with Joshua, and his fame was noised throughout all the country. 27.

So Joshua smote all the country of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the springs, and all their kings, he left none remaining, but utterly destroyed all that breathed, as the Lord God of Israel commanded. x. 40.

And the woman bare a son, and called his name Samson; and the child grew and the Lord blessed him. Judg. xiii. 24.

And the spirit of the Lord began to move him. 25.

And the spirit of the Lord came upon him and he went down to Ashkelon, and slew thirty men of them, and took their spoil. xiv. 19.

And Samson went and caught three hundred foxes, and took fire-brands, and turned tail to tail, and put a fire-brand in the midst between two tails. xv. 4.

And when he had set the brands on fire he let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines, and burnt up both the shocks and also the standing corn, with their vineyards and olives. 5.

And he found a new jaw-bone of an ass, and put forth his hand and took it, and slew a thousand men therewith. 15.

The dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life. xvi. 30.

And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to be their king, to whom also he gave testimony, and said, I have found David the son of Jesse a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will. Acts xiii. 22.

I will give you the sure mercies of David. Acts xiii. 34.

But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance. Galat. v. 22.

Because the Lord hath said unto him curse David. 2 Sam. xvi. 10.

And he brought forth the people that were therein and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln, and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon; so David and all the people returned to Jerusalem. 2 Sam. xii. 31.

And it came to pass after these things that God did tempt Abraham. Gen. xxi. 1.

Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man. James i. 13.

They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall learn war any more. Micah iv. 3.

And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars. Matt. xxiv. 6.

For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. 7.

And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost returned from Jordan, and was led by the spirit into the wilderness. Luke iv. 1.

Every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed. James i. 14.

Being forty days tempted of the devil. 2.

Think not that I came to bring peace in earth, I came not to send peace on earth but the sword. Matt. x. 34.

The word which God sent to the children of Israel preaching peace by Jesus Christ. Acts x. 36.

Then said Jesus unto him, put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Matt. xxvi. 52.

And he that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one. Luke xxii. 36.

Ye will not come to me that ye might have life. John v. 40.

No man can come to me except the father which hath sent me draw him. vi. 44.

Lo I am with you always even to the end of the world. Matt. xxviii. 20.

Nevertheless I tell you the truth it is expedient for you that I go away. xvi. 7.

In my father's house are many mansions, if it were not so I would have told you; I go to prepare a place for you, John xiv. 2.

A man hath no pre-eminence above a beast. Eccles. iii. 19.

All go to one place. 20.

That where I am there ye may be also. 3.

If any man come unto me and hate not his father and his mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. Luke xiv. 26.

He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love. 1 John iv. 8.

Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer. iii. 15.

Honour thy father and thy mother which is the first commandment. Ephes. vi. 2.

Husbands love your wives. v. 25.

For no man ever yet hated his own flesh. 29.

But Jesus called them unto him and said, suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God. Luke xviii. 16.

And he (Elisha) went up from thence unto Beth-el, and as he was going up by the way there came forth little children out of the city and mocked him, and said, go up thou bald head, go up thou bald head. 2 Kings. ii. 23.

And he turned back and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of the Lord, and there came forth two she-bears out of the wood and tear forty and two children of them. 24.

But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness. Mark iii. 29.

And by him all that believe are justified from all things. Acts xiii. 39.

God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power who went about doing good. Acts x. 38.

The devils besought him, saying, if thou cast us out suffer us to go away into the herd of swine. Matt. viii. 31.

And he said unto them go; and when they were come out they went into the herd of swine, and behold the whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the sea and perished in the waters. 32.

And behold the whole city came out to meet Jesus, and when they saw him they besought him that he would depart out of their coasts. 34.

I lay down my life that I might take it again. John x. 17.

No man taketh it from me but I lay it down of myself. 18.

Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me, nevertheless not my will but thine be done. Luke xxii. 42.

And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him. Luke xxiii. 39.

But the other answering rebuked him. 40.

And Jesus said unto him, verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. 43.

It was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath. Mark xv. 42.

For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. Matt. xii. 40.

The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early when it was yet dark unto the sepulchre. John xx. 1.

Jesus saith unto her, touch me not for I am not yet ascended to my father. 17.

(To be continued.)

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The Republican.

No. 12. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, March 22, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, March 18,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,

I WILL not occupy your attention with my own private affairs this week, as the cause of Republicanism has obtained some very favourable indications since my last notice of it, that require to be marked as we proceed. France! France is the main spring in the wheel of Republicanism: let us once see it again in motion, and all will soon be done. France is in actual commotion. A Republican General has hoisted the tricoloured standard, and bids fair to succeed in his enterprise. If he fails, his case will be similar to that of Porlier and Lacy in Spain, a sure prelude to a more successful attempt on the part of others. Since the allied armies have quitted France, this is the first decisive effort to raise the favourite standard. It is admitted in the Chamber of Deputies, that the predominant cry throughout France is "Napoleon the Second."

I sincerely hope that this cry is a feint, a mere rallying word, for I think France has had quite Napoleon enough. "*France, a Republic!*" must be the cry before France finds peace.

Riego, the embryo President of the Spanish Republic, already possesses the highest honour that can be conferred on a Spaniard, under the present form of government. This speaks volumes for the future. Riego, who a few months since was arrested from the fear that he would overthrow the power of Ferdinand altogether, and establish a pure Representative System of Government, is now selected by the new Cortes as their President. Whether or no he was unanimously elected to that distinguished post I have not yet heard, but he is the President, and Ferdinand, in his official character of King, has been obliged to face him, and to

receive an address from him, in which Riego tells him, that he and his colleagues will proceed in earnest to the completion of the Constitutional Government! It is known to all Spain, and to all Europe and America, that this cannot be done without the removal of Ferdinand; and the words of Riego appeared to me sufficiently intelligible in hinting that object.

Spain and France will mutually stimulate each other to the acquirement of this grand object: a Republican Government, a complete Representative System, where no hereditary right shall be heard of, in the shape of magisterial or legislative authority. It is said, that the proclamation issued by General Berthou, denounces the order of the nobles and the priests, a point absolutely necessary to secure the peace and improvement of any nation. We have not as yet any particular account of the proclamation of Berthou, nor must we expect it without his success.

The whole Island of St. Domingo is now united under one government, and Boyer, the President. The last part to shake off its monarchy has been what is called the Spanish part. It lately declared itself independent of Spain, and at last has solicited a union with the other parts as one Republic.

Mexico also bids fair to form itself into a Republic. It has been given out that Iturbide, the General of the insurgent forces, aimed at sovereignty, but he has nobly denounced the idea, and has followed the example of Simon Bolivar, in acknowledging the Sovereignty of the People, and in aspiring to the distinction of a Citizen, and not of an individual sovereignty. The contiguity of Mexico to the United States, is the best guarantee for its shaking off the last vestige of monarchy. The Island of Cuba must inevitably follow the same step, and when that is effected, farewell to our West India Islands: farewell to monarchy, in that fairest portion of the globe, South and North America, with all its contiguous islands. The remaining monarchies of Europe, if any should remain, would become contemptible indeed. Russia will be the last to yield, but the Russians even will be sure finally to catch the contagion of "Common Sense," and perceive the value and importance of the Representative System of Government. There is something so degrading in the idea of millions being subject to the will of one, that it cannot be countenanced where knowledge progresses, and where the intellect of mankind is called into action. All talk about established constitu-

tions must give way to the principle of representation by election. That species of constituted government can alone satisfy an intelligent people. Without it they are slaves, however mild the tyranny that is established over them. The United States of North America have at last shewn a disposition to acknowledge the independence of their neighbours in the South. This should have been done the first moment the standard of independence was hoisted, without waiting for its success.

It is now notorious, that the principles of Republicanism have taken deep root throughout Germany, and an opportunity for commencement is alone wanted to display their predominancy over every other feeling. The Christian Religion is equally a wreck in Germany as in France and this Island of Great Britain. An effectual movement in France on the part of the Republicans would soon lead to a coalition of all the nations in the South of Europe to defend themselves against the growing gigantic power of Russia.

The real disposition of Russia towards Turkey has not yet been manifested, but I repeat now, what I said six months back, that if any thing prevents Russia from going to war with Turkey, it will be the Republican disposition of the South of Europe. The despots of England, France, and Austria see this, and they are alarmed into every effort to stay the vengeance of Russia upon Turkey. The Holy Alliance trembles for its safety, and begins to feel its weakness and contemptibility.

At home there is but one thing evident, and that is, that Castlereagh's reign has not yet been long enough. He has not yet brought sufficient distress upon the people of this Island to open their eyes and to rouse them to a sense of the future, or what the future ought to be. The little defeats he meets in the Parliament are mere intrigues of his own, he would never miss a majority if he really wished it. The slaves of his will and pleasure in that assembly, called a House of Commons, no more durst offer a murmur to his measures than a regiment of soldiers would venture to that of their Colonel. The House of Commons is but the first regiment in the standing army of Corruption; the House of Lords the second; the Priests form the third; Castlereagh is Commander-in-Chief; the rank of the King and Royal Family is but nominal.

The authority of Castlereagh is as absolute as is that of the Emperor of Russia or the Sultan of the Turks. He is only obliged to adhere to forms in trivial matters, but in all

the essential points of despotism he is absolute. Of all the despotisms existing on the face of the earth, that under which the people of Great Britain and Ireland live is the worst, it is the despotism of excessive taxation, where the industrious man suffers more and lives worse than the idle and the dissolute. No man in these Islands has any real property that he can be sure of leaving as a provision for a helpless family. If he holds what is called funded property, it is a phantom, and may be blown away by a breath: if he holds land and rents it out, the demand of the Tax-gatherer and others leaves him no rent; if he cultivates it himself, the Tax-gatherer, the Priest, and the Overseer of the Parish leave him nothing of his produce for himself but what he consumes as he goes; he has never any certainty about the morrow. The only property worthy of being so called is hard cash and moveables, and even here a revolution, a convulsion threatens insecurity. Far better would it have been to have been exposed to an invasion from the French Republicans, than to have purchased the exemption at so dear a rate. There is no country that these brave Republicans entered that is now so bad off as Great Britain and Ireland. We have fought and have been taxed to preserve a despotism much worse than any foreign army could have inflicted upon us. The English farmer is now beginning to see this, because he feels it.

The same day's Paper which informs us that the King gives up £30,000 from his Privy Purse, adds, that he has £20,000 more to give for a *violet-coloured diamond*, a paltry, useless pebble, but to a glazier. Twenty thousand pounds is three years salary for the King of the United States of America, who does his own business in the State, manages his own farm and family, and in every point minds the main thing, and is not occupied in buying the most costly jewels and dresses for harlots! Let the Farmers look at this fact, and ponder on the ways and means by which their produce is squandered. Let them reflect and judge how far taxation for such purposes is a blessing to them, as Castlereagh and Judge Bailey inform them.

Be patient a few months longer, Republicans, husband your resources: but "be steady, be ready to meet concurrent circumstances." You must recover your rights when your plunderers are quarrelling about their spoils. They have begun the fight: watch them and choose well your time. We are now surrounded by every encouragement, and by every good example. We shall hear no more about

visionary schemes when the practical part of our object is so prevalent and so convincing as to its utility and preference.

Distress is the great lever for revolution. Castlereagh is the very best Minister we could have at this moment. He and his "stern path of duty" colleagues, as Mr. Cobbett calls them, are not our enemies in a future point of view. We suffer from their measures at present, but I declare to all the world, that I would rather remain a Prisoner under another twelve months' administration of affairs by Castlereagh than be liberated by a Whig Administration at this moment. So important, in my eye, is the continuance of the present men in office. Let me beg you, Republicans, not to clamour for a change of Ministers. We can have none better, none half so good as the present, and the present King.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

FELLOW CITIZEN,

London, March 7, 1822.

SINCE I last wrote to you I have sincerely to regret (as I am sure every real friend to liberty does) that new injuries have been heaped upon you and your *worthy undaunted* family, by taking forcible possession of your premises and property in Fleet Street) evidently to prevent the people of Great Britain from reading your valuable publications, and exercising their reasoning faculties in order to come to fair conclusions.

Sir, the more you are persecuted, new converts join the cause of Political and Religious Liberty which you so fearlessly and so ably advocate.

Go on, Sir, in your laudable purpose, you are doing much good, as the unjust persecutions of our now *trembling enemies*, thins their ranks and increases ours. Let us therefore energetically, *justly* and *manfully*, follow up our staggering and unrelenting enemies, until we secure our natural and inherent rights. If we are successful (as I trust we will) let us show to them that *true Reformers* know how to dispense *justice* with *real dignity*, and to be merciful to fallen enemies. Neither of which have they shown to us.

Sir, the sentiments here expressed are the sentiments of your old friends at the ————, *who will not desert you*, and who highly applaud your unprecedented exertions, and as a proof

of their sincerity, this letter is accompanied by *Two Golden Sovereigns*, being our fifth subscription, making a total of six pounds, which we *generally* collect in small sums, twice a week, which clearly demonstrates that twice one is two, and two and two makes four.

The above friends therefore earnestly and respectfully recommend all true friends of liberty to act upon a similar principle, in aid of the persecuted *but* brave Richard Carlile.

A friend of the writer on the 29th of January last (when celebrating the birth-day of Thomas Paine) entered his name for one shilling per week, in aid of the truly patriotic family of Carlile.

But I must not omit to inform you that the subscribing individual was educated for the pulpit, but his *sentiments* and feelings revolted, and he is now a most useful and industrious tradesman.

Mr. Waddington's very ingenious and spirited conduct, in Fleet Street and elsewhere, has met with, and I think highly merits, public approbation.

Fellow Citizen,
I am, most sincerely yours,
ROBERT ROBINSON.

TO MR. ROBERT ROBINSON, LONDON.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, March 18, 1822.

THERE can be no greater pleasure befall the human mind than to find an adherence of friends under a state of adversity. There can be no greater proof of sincere friendship. It is the test of virtue and honesty in every cause. It does not become me to view you and your friends as personal friends of mine; yours is a higher degree of friendship and virtue, you adhere to principles and not to the man who advocates them; or rather, you support the man because of the principles he advocates being those of your approbation and conscientious conviction of right. Although I was never more happy than at present, yet mine is a state of adversity.

I return you thanks for this fresh instance of your regard, and will still study to deserve it.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,
R. CARLILE.

P. S. A friend of mine will very shortly open a shop contiguous to the Strand, for the sale of my publications. I will announce where as soon as arrangements are made. This must suffice until I can open another Temple of Reason in Fleet Street.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

CITIZEN CARLILE,

London, March 9, 1822.

EVERY thing relating to that truly great, because truly useful man, Thomas Paine, must be gratifying to you, as it ought to be, and as it will assuredly some day be to every good man on the face of the whole earth. Thomas Paine may be said to have begun his public career by publishing his pamphlet "Common Sense," a work which, when taken in relation to the consequences that have resulted from it, or which have been mainly assisted or promoted by it, marks it as of inestimable worth. "Common Sense" probably determined the American Congress to make and to publish their declaration of independence. It is probable that had the declaration been delayed, the Colonies would have been subdued, no example of a wise Government would have existed, and Europe, and with Europe all the world, would most likely have been in a state of remedyless, hopeless slavery, both politically and ecclesiastically. The declaration of independence procured for the Colonies assistance from France, and made their existence as a separate State secure; made, as Thomas Paine emphatically declared it would, "an asylum for mankind;" and held, and will continue to hold out, an example not only worthy of being followed, but an example that will be followed here and everywhere else.

But it is said you praise "Common Sense" now, when Thomas Paine has been before the world and has become notorious; it was not so thought of at the time it was written, then it was of very little importance. Hear, then, what a most respectable and honest man said of it in 1789, before Thomas Paine had written any of his political works on this side of the Atlantic. Dr. Ramsay, who was a Member of the American Congress, in his "History of the American Revolution, published in 1789, after relating the state of the American Colonies in the beginning of the year 1777, of their doubts and fears, and want of union, says, "Some of the leaders may have secretly from the beginning of the controversy wished for independence, but their number was small, and their sentiments were not generally known."—"While the public mind was balancing on this eventful subject, several writers placed the advantages of independence in various points of view. Amongst these, Thomas Paine, in a pamphlet under the signature of "COMMON SENSE," held the most distinguished rank. The style, manner, and language of this performance were calculated to interest the passions, and to rouse all the active powers of human nature. With the view of operating on a religious people, Scrip-

ture was pressed into the service, and the powers and even the name of king was rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous Colonists who had read and studied the History of the Jews as recorded in the Old Testament. The folly of that people in revolting from a Government instituted by heaven itself, and the oppression to which they were subjected in consequence of their lusting after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for prepossessing the Colonists in favour of Republican institutions, and prejudicing them against kingly government. Hereditary succession was turned into ridicule. The absurdity of subjecting a great continent to a small island on the other side of the Globe, was represented in such striking language, as to interest the honour and pride of the Colonists in renouncing the Government of Great Britain. *The necessity, the advantage, and the practicability of independence were forcibly demonstrated.* NOTHING COULD BE BETTER TIMED THAN THIS PERFORMANCE. It was addressed to freemen, who had just received convincing proofs that Great Britain had thrown them out of her protection, had engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and seriously designed to compel their unconditional submission to unlimited power. It found the Colonists thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and to suffer any thing that promised their establishment. In union with the feelings and sentiments of the people it produced surprising effects. *Many thousands were convinced,* and some led to approve, and to long for a separation from the Mother Country, though this measure, a few months before, was not only foreign from their wishes, but the object of their abhorrence, the current suddenly became so strong in its favour that it bore down all opposition. The change of the public mind in America is without a parallel."—*Ramsay's History of the American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 337, et seq.

If Thomas Paine had done no more for humanity, than publish the small work which produced such important effects, he would be intitled to the homage of mankind.

Yours,
P. F.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR,

Rastrick, March 8, 1822.

A FRIEND of mine has thought proper to address a letter to you, and he thinks, nay, he has often said to me, that he is certain neither you nor any man else can answer the arguments that he has there advanced: but I have some hopes that you will soon convince him to the contrary, except he be like Parson Wait of Bristol, with your "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters."

He has sent me a copy and the following lines to forward to you, through the hands of Mr. Mann, the receipt of which I hope you will have the goodness to acknowledge in your Republican.

I saw Mr. Hellawell last Sunday, and he told me that there would be another subscription at Huddersfield to assist you to pay the fines the Christian Judges thought proper to impose upon you.

I remain, Dear Sir,
Your friend and well wisher,
ABRAHAM WALKER.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR, Springdale, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire.
Excuse all improprieties that may present themselves to you in this letter, as I write it in haste. Accept of the small pamphlet which I now send you. If you consider it worthy of public opposition, oppose it. I do not desire it to stand except it be conclusive; but I really shall consider it as such, if you do not evidently shew me the contrary. You are expected to do great things with it, by all your friends here; so fail not to do your best. But, do not construe this, or any thing in the pamphlet itself, into a contemptuous challenge, but rather consider it as one of those means which perfect love may employ for the purpose of accomplishing the best possible effects. However, I assure you that love is the leading passion now in my bosom; I am sincerely anxious to do you good; I consider that the greatest possible good which I can do you, is to convince you of your errors and your dangers; this I can do if you remain sincere; I can make you sensible that the system you oppose is true; and I can, with the help of GOD, make you a *Christian*, if you follow reason; I fear not your wit, nor talent, as some speak, I have a something that will totally overturn both. You may recommend my pamphlet to your friends in "The Republican," if you please, and I should like to have your opinion of it as soon as convenient. I shall soon have another letter ready for you; but I shall wait awhile for a reply to the first, before I publish it. If you desire any private correspondence with me, I shall be glad to accommodate you with it at any period.

I am, dear Sir, your well wisher,
JAMES HUMPHREYS.

March 2d, 1822.

TO MR. ABRAHAM WALKER, RASTRICK,
YORKSHIRE.

SIR,

I ACKNOWLEDGE the receipt of your letter with that of Mr. Humphreys, and his pamphlet, in which he has undertaken to show that "Matter is not Eternal." If he be a real and not a fictitious character, I like him, because he has come to the main point at once, in his title-page, at least, and I believe I may add that he has done all that can be done to surround with words a monstrous proposition. The pamphlet has been in my possession but a few hours at the time of writing this, so that amidst a number of other things I have given it but a cursory reading, however the title is enough for me to promise an answer, in which I will strip Mr. Humphreys of all his unnatural vestments, and leave him as bare as when he began to exist as a distinct machine, or "Chemical Apparatus."

I shall be glad, Sir, if you can inform me who, and what, Mr. Humphreys is, as I am really doubtful whether the writer of the letter to me, accompanying this, be the writer of the pamphlet sent. The publication of his pamphlet by Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, the identical publishers of the works of Dr. Gregory, further excites my suspicion that the Doctor may have a hand in the matter.

Be assured, my Yorkshire friends, that in a very few pages of "The Republican," I will furnish you with knock down answers and arguments to the specious collection of words in Mr. Humphreys pamphlet. You shall find it in the next number of "The Republican" if possible.

I have no hope of making a convert of Mr. Humphreys, if there be such a person, as his pamphlet evinces him to be a man with a metaphysical mind. He rests on nothing stable; so you cannot grapple with him. However, his pamphlet is no more a defence of the Christian Religion and the idol Jehovah, than it is of Jugernaut.

I wonder much that Mr. Humphreys has not taken more notice of my "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters:" he would there have found a full explanation of the assertion, that "Matter is Eternal." But this would not have suited him, for if he had undertaken to review that pamphlet instead of the "Address to Men of Science," he would have found himself in a bog with regard to his present arguments. I

consider the former pamphlet to be a complete answer to him, or rather a pamphlet unanswered by him.

If he had not garnished his pamphlet with a little abuse it would have been insipid indeed. I shall now be able to read it a second time, and I wish to inform my readers that if they wish to see Mr. Humphreys pamphlet, they may get it from the fore-mentioned publishers. It is a professed answer to Elihu Palmer and myself.

Yours, respectfully,
R. CARLILE.

TO THE VICE SOCIETY.

CORRUPTIONISTS, MALE AND FEMALE.

I ADDRESS you by this epithet, because I look upon you as a set of persons quite distinct from the great body of the people. You are, in fact, a wen or excrescence sprung from the body politic, and formed into a head, or scab, to the great inconvenience of the body from whence you sprang; as is sometimes the case with an individual who has led a life of luxury and debauchery, the body becomes full of corrupt humours, and those humours, sometimes, centre on one spot, and appear on the surface of the skin. This is for a time sore and troublesome, but the body is relieved by the appearance, and we are no longer at a loss where to apply the remedy. But while the humours continued to pervade the whole body, the cure was less certain; such has been the state of society in this country; different excrescences have, at different times, sprung up, and none perhaps composed of more corrupt matter than the Vice Society.

You and I are now at open war with each other, you as a corrupt humour are seeking to destroy me, and I as an individual, sound in mind and body, will try to scath you. You have on your side, numbers, money, and a corrupt government, I have on my side, poverty, a clear conscience, and the good wishes of a majority of my countrymen. We must arm ourselves for the fight, for I believe it will be a desperate one; we must summon up our courage, for on my part it shall never be a drawn battle. You have acted grossly illegal in conducting this prosecution against me; and in addition to that illegality you have added the most

bitter malignity, getting your old associate Judge Bailey to send me to NEWGATE to associate with common THIEVES; where I had to walk in the same yard with about twenty men, convicted of various crimes, and amongst them two for *unnatural crimes*. This is the way you support Christianity. Here you gave me the opportunity to instil my opinions into the most vicious part of mankind, if I had been disposed to mingle with such persons. If religion be of any service to any part of mankind (which I am certain is not the case) it must be by the vicious and immoral part. The honest man needs no restraint; he is guided by moral virtue to do the things that are right. He needs not the terrors of hell to deter him from doing wrong; nor the delusive hope of heaven to induce him to do right. It is not the fear of his God that makes him honest; but the love of his own honour; and to insure his welfare in society, by gaining the love and esteem of all who knew him. But the Christian, on the contrary, cares not about society, his hopes are all centered in his idols. He pays no regard to honesty; the greater the crimes, the better the Christian. He is taught to believe, that let his crimes be ever so black, if he does but repeat certain words, they will be forgiven. But this is not all; the history of one of the idols says, that one repentant sinner gets as much applause as ninety-nine honest men; so that to become a good Christian, a man must commit two or three cruel *murders*, two or three *robberies*, and two or three *rapes*, and then turn up the white of his eyes, and pray to his idols to forgive him; and, according to the Christian dogmas, this monster is to be treated with more respect than the honest man. While such opinions are promulgated, mankind will never be honest nor happy.

But let me come to the point. I have just read your Ninth Report, for the publication of which you ought to be indicted as swindlers. After recounting all your unwearied exertions in suppressing Sabbath profaners, and distributors of obscene snuff-boxes; you come to the more important class of offenders; the promulgators of *blasphemous publications*. Here you will have some work to do. You may make "purchases," and you may shut many others up in prison; but you will never suppress *blasphemy*, as you call it; it has taken too deep a root to be eradicated by such an impotent, imbecile groupe as the Vice Society. What you call infidelity and blasphemy; I call *truth and reason*, and so long as I exist, so long will I continue to promulgate it:

this is a sentiment now responded by the million; you may shut us up in prisons, you may send us to hard labour or solitary confinement, but all will not deter us from acting; and I now give public notice to all who wish to possess the works called blasphemous, that I will, whether in prison or out of prison, give them directions how and where to get them.

After detailing all your villainy towards Mr. Carlile and his family, you make the following statement: "a woman afterwards came forward to supply the place of the sister, who, with another successor to her, (which *successor* is myself) is now under prosecution by the Society, the result of which will form matter for the next printed Report."

Now whether you will ever make this promised "*Report*" I cannot positively say, but it appears to me that you never will; because the country begins to see, that the more you prosecute, what you call *blasphemy*, the wider is its circulation; it excites curiosity in the public mind, and every work that you prosecute will be eagerly sought for by the public, and the circulation will be ten times greater than before: people will have it in spite of a Vice Society, or a Bridge Street Gang, or any other lawless banditti. In consequence of your prosecuting me for the "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters," by Mr. Carlile, the sale of it will be tenfold to what it was previous to your notice of it. Your notice of a work is a sure proof of its merit; so that you and the Bridge Street Gang, are the very life and soul of Mr. Carlile's business, and if you think that by prosecutions you can stop the circulation of his works, you must be either fools or madmen urged on by a desperate fate to their own destruction.

But respecting the "*Successor*" you mention in your Report, whom you now have under prosecution, which you say will form matter for the next Report, and which "*Successor*" you are trying to get rid of without a trial, you cannot want money to carry on the prosecution, as according to your calculation, he is to be sent to Prison without being heard in his defence, because you indicted him in a wrong name. But you shall not get rid of me so easy as you imagine. I look down upon you, and all your supporters, with perfect contempt, and care not for the punishment that you and your secret abettors can inflict upon me. But I will stand up for the right of free discussion; I am determined that this right shall not be infringed upon in my person without a vigorous effort on my part to

repel the lawless inroads you would make upon the interest and welfare of the great body of the people. Your dungeons I can meet with manly fortitude, and can look upon their gloomy horrors with deliberate contempt. I value not my own personal restraint; but so long as I exist, so long will I stand up for the liberties of my countrymen, the basis of which must be free discussion.

There are now myself and Mrs. Wright under prosecution, at your instance, for serving in Mr. Carlile's shop, and in spite of the infamous sentences lately passed upon others at the Old Bailey, we promise you not to flinch from doing our duty to the utmost. You shall find others to follow us; and we are bold to make this avowal because we feel assured that our cause and our conduct is moral and virtuous, and that our prosecutions and prosecutors are immoral and vicious. This is the state of our minds; this is the rock of our comfort; and this will support us under whatever sufferings are intended for us.

You may report, and beg, and prosecute, and rob, but you shall never gain a point in regard to suppressing the publications and opinions we espouse. Mr. Carlile never will want agents to do his business for him; there is enough of honesty in the country to ensure this point, and the more you prosecute, the more need you will find for it. You have been losing ground amazingly these last three years, and if you persevere, the Vice Society will be extinct by three more such years. You might see, if you like, that even the Bridge Street Gang have done nothing with all their powers and corrupt influences. If they have got a few honest men into Prison, they have done nothing in regard to checking the power and progress of the Press. They have not suppressed a single valuable publication, but have given eclat to many. Go on, Robbers and Corruptionists, we glory in combating with you.

JOHN JONES.

March 16, 1822,

Era of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

P. S. Why do you not prosecute the Character of a Priest, and the Jew Books, and the Penny Reference to Bible Obscenity?

CELEBRATION OF THE 29TH OF JANUARY, 1822.

*The Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Paine.**(Continued from p. 307.)*

LEEDS.

THE celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine took place at Leeds, on Tuesday, the 29th of January, when fifty disciples of Nature assembled in a large room, and partook of a comfortable dinner. R. W. BYERLEY being called to the Chair, rose, and addressed the company as follows:—

Fellow-Citizens—When I look around upon this enlightened assembly, I am astonished that you have not made choice of a person more competent to do justice to the memory of the immortal Paine than my feeble abilities will permit me to do. However, since it has fallen to my lot to be the chosen servant of a company who are met to advocate the right of choosing all their public servants, from the Chief Magistrate to the lowest officer of the law, I trust what I am deficient in ability will be made up by the purity of my intentions. Citizens, you may rest assured that my endeavours will be to meet your approbation. I will not occupy more of your time at present: to eulogize the character of Thomas Paine I need only refer you to his Works; read them, and you will find they speak conviction. I have two letters to read to you from our dungeon-proof friends, which will be more gratifying, as the authors are imprisoned for advocating the right of free discussion. The first is from Mr. Carlile, as follows:—

To the Republicans of the Town of Leeds, assembled to commemorate the Birth of Thomas Paine.

Dorchester Gaol, Jan. 24,
Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

IN assembling to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Paine, you do no one more honour than yourselves. Of all the men whose birth-days are considered worthy of being commemorated by their countrymen, there is none worthy of ranking in our esteem so high as him, whose memory and whose writings you now assemble to respect. If the reason of this panegyric be asked, I answer, that no other man, either by speaking or writing,

has left us principles so simply practicable, so demonstrably pure and free of delusion, for our social government and political welfare, as those left us in the writings of Thomas Paine. In addition to this, he was the first Englishman who struck an effectual blow at the Priestcraft and idolatry which degrades and distresses the inhabitants of this Island.

Milton was a Republican, and has left us something which are called political writings: but what are they when put forward for the instruction of the present generation? They are trash when compared with the writings of Thomas Paine, and are as contemptible as is the subject of his (Milton's) best poem. A more useless publication could not have appeared at this moment than the political writings of Milton. I have no fear that they will tend to stupify the minds of those who have read Paine's political writings; but there are a class of men who value every thing according to its antiquity, and who do not trouble themselves to judge of intrinsic merit: such men are likely to get their brains clouded by the antique lore and impure political views and dogmas of Milton. The age in which Milton lived was an age of gross fanaticism, and nothing pure survived it so as to be known to the next generation. I contrast Milton with Paine, because one object of the editor of his political works is avowed to be an attempt to shew that a Christian can be a Republican. We must have different political writings from those of Milton's, and a different sort of Republicans, before we can reform the corrupt state of Government under which we now live. That the political writings of Milton did no good on their first appearance is certain from what has since been the state of the English Government; that they will now do no good is equally certain. One of Milton's recommendations with regard to the Press is, that the Government should keep a sharp look-out for those who abuse it, and punish the malefactors severely! Even Doctor Stoddart, the renowned Editor of the "New Times," could quote the authority of Milton, "the great Republican," for the late proceedings of the Constitutional Association!!! Milton must not be our guide in politics whilst we can read Thomas Paine. He was a bright star for the season in which he lived, but the latter has eclipsed him and all other political writers, as the meridian sun, shining without a borrowed light, eclipses by his rays every other planet, and is of itself a light sufficient. The writings of Paine must be both our polar star and our solar light, in a mental and a moral view, if we wish to steer in the path of political rectitude, and avoid the quicksands of delusion and the rocks of despotism.

Pitt and Fox are two names whose birth-days are celebrated in this Island, but they were the leaders of factions, the deluders and the tyrants of the people. Not a spark of humanity or benevolence glowed in the bosoms of either: however great in eloquence, they were deficient both in honesty and morality, and

were nothing better than a pair of political gamblers and tricksters, aiming at the same object under different pretences—the possession of power and profit at the expence of an industrious and oppressed people. Neither Pitt or Fox taught the people of this Island any one principle of the least value: their whole object was plunder, and their fellow-robbers, with a few blind dupes, who are ever ready to fall in with some faction, are the persons who annually meet to chaunt their pæans.

Not so with you, the admirers of Thomas Paine: neither power or profit forms your stimulant; your motives are those of sound and wholesome political principles; your prospects, however cheering in a distant view, can scarcely be said to be free from persecutions for the present. Yours, as yet, is the struggle of virtue in adversity; whilst your hoped-for and, I may add, certain triumph promises you no peculiar and exclusive advantages, nothing beyond equal rights and equal laws.

Whether we view Paine as a writer on politics, on finance, on morals, or on theology, we find him equally clear-headed, equally convincing and intelligible. If he was deficient on any point, it was the latter, according to my view of the matter: however, let us be thankful that on this point he has gone quite far enough to destroy every species of Priestcraft, and to add nothing new in the shape of delusion.

That each of you may emulate this our great prototype, and that you may all live many years, not only to commemorate the returns of the day on which you now assemble, but to witness the Government of this Island established upon his principles, is the hearty wish of him who feels honoured in subscribing himself your friend and fellow-citizen,

RICHARD CARLILE.

To Mr. R. W. Byerley, Leeds.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

Newgate, Jan. 24, 1822.

I ANTICIPATE you will have a numerous assembly of Republicans on Tuesday next, to celebrate the birth-day of our "famous countryman," Thomas Paine.

I am sure the influence of any local despot, or the intrigues of a Whig-Radical party, will not deter the Republicans of Leeds from paying due respect to the memory of so great a man.

The best criterion we can have of judging of a man's worth is by his works, by what he has done to benefit or afflict his fellow-creatures: we should never enquire what he professes to believe, but how he does act to his fellow-man. Is he just or unjust, faithful or treacherous? Does he endeavour to enlighten and make happy, or to render ignorant and miserable those over whom

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he has any influence? This being the case, who, amongst the many philanthropists the world has produced, can equal the man, the anniversary of whose birth you are about to celebrate? None: his philanthropy was unbounded; it was not to any particular sect or party, or to any particular province or country, that it extended, but to the whole human race. Everywhere he beheld

“ The deluded people cheated by a shrew of liberty.”

He saw the industrious robbed of the fruits of their industry, and despised for being poor; he saw that the principal cause of man's unhappiness was the corrupt Governments under which he lived. The tyranny of the English Government gave him a fine opportunity of shewing at once his love of mankind, and his rare and splendid talents. Though the Americans groaned under oppression, yet until Paine pointed out the way, they knew not how to apply an effectual remedy to their sufferings. He wrote, the people read, and they became independent.

But it was not in America alone that his writings had effect; the deep-rooted prejudices of the people who lived under the long-established despotism of Europe, were shaken, and the despots trembled for the consequences. France, who had severely felt the rapacity of Kings, Priests, and Robbers, demanded her rights, and where was the power that durst say, nay? She became free, but, unhappily, she departed from the principles Paine had so clearly developed, and she is now cursed with legitimacy, and all the evils that follow in its train. However, it has been clearly shewn that the people have only to *demand* their rights, (privileges we want none) and they will be obtained. It is by our own exertions alone that we can become free. It depends entirely upon ourselves whether we are in bond or free; whether we are to enjoy the fruits of our labour, or toil and let others reap the benefit. Spain and Portugal have set an example that I hope will be followed by the whole world.

The main thing, in my opinion, to be done, is to convince those who are not yet convinced, that it is as much their duty to see that the affairs of the great family, of which they form a part, are rightly managed, as it is for them to look after their domestic concerns. I know that to tell many people this, they will answer that they have no time to look to such things, and that if they had, it is of no use striving against such a mass of power as is arrayed against them. This is futile in the extreme, for though divided, we can do but little, yet, united, we can do every thing; and surely, it requires but little time to see whether that part of our property which we give up for the protection of the other is properly or improperly expended. Depend upon it, that whenever our Hectors are fairly tried they will be found to be nothing better than what Mr. Wooler denominates them, “ asses in lions' skins.”

Dispel, then, the thick clouds of superstition that have so long kept man blind to his true interests, and assiduously spread the principles of Republicanism, as the only means of conferring on him what he is continually in search of—happiness. The numerous meetings that will take place next Tuesday will do much, for the people are more disposed than ever to imbibe correct principles. The calumny that has so long been heaped upon Paine, by the bigotted and the knavish, is fast dying away, while the names of the great military robbers, called heroes, have fallen into insignificance.

Nothing gives me more pleasure than to hear the landlords and farmers crying out for relief, and some of them using the very same language that the Reformers have been dungeoned for. It is now their turn to feel the effects of the system, and feel them they will before the struggle is over. But we, who have got our worst times over, have good cause for rejoicing at their suffering, for the sooner all classes feel the tyranny of our Governors, the sooner we shall gain our rights.

There are five of us confined in this prison by the worshippers of three cyphers, for the publication of truth; but we are proud of the honour conferred upon us; we are made as comfortable as we can possibly be made in a prison, and depend upon it we will not fast on Tuesday next to drink, "The immortal Memory of Thomas Paine." Yours, &c.

H. B.

The Chairman having read the foregoing letter from Mr. Carlile, which gave great satisfaction, likewise the letter from Humphrey Boyle, who is confined in Newgate for vending in Mr. Carlile's shop, (and as he had gone a volunteer from Leeds to support the cause in any way that he could be of most service, his letter was received with the greatest demonstration of satisfaction) concluded with giving the following toast,

To the immortal Memory of Thomas Paine.

James Watson immediately gave—

Richard Carlile, the great Advocate of Free Discussion.

Mr. Brayshaw's health having been drank, he addressed the Company as follows:—

The mark of approbation you have expressed in proposing my health on the present occasion, must of necessity draw some acknowledgment from myself, but I consider that the most valuable way in which I can return my thanks will be by endeavouring to expose the causes of the present misery of the human species; and pointing out the road which is most likely to lead to happiness. This being the course of conduct I have on all occasions

determined to pursue to the utmost of my power, I am satisfied that truth is of all other things the most valuable to the human species, and that the increase of knowledge and of wisdom derived from observation and reflection must be the increase of human happiness, on this account I candidly tell you, that if I could think for one moment, that I was surrounded by the ignorant, the thoughtless, and the unreflecting mortals who pay respect to the name of a man without any regard to the principles by which he is actuated, I should look upon your approbation with contempt; but as I know some are present who uniformly act from principle, I own I cannot be insensible to the approbation of such men, and my ardent desire is, that all who now hear me may be persons of this description, and that the same disposition may rapidly spread through all the nations of the world.

All the evils which afflict mankind may justly be attributed to ignorance, consequently the most valuable service that any man can perform to his fellow man, will be found to consist in increasing his knowledge. The individual, the anniversary of whose birth we have now met to celebrate, may justly rank high amongst those who have endeavoured to dispel the gloom of ignorance; on which account his writings merit the highest recommendation. I know some oppose the propagation of knowledge, and consider ignorance a kind of bliss; because, say they, "Ignorance is the mother of devotion." But if devotion cannot be preserved without keeping mankind in ignorance and barbarism, far better would it be that devotion should be entirely forgotten.

That ignorance is the mother of devotion has been the favourite principle of priests in all ages. Priests have always been industrious in inventing and supporting mysterious systems of devotion tending to cloud the intellectual powers of man, and to degrade him even below the beasts of the field. If we examine all the different systems of religion from the earliest periods of which we have any records to the present time, we shall find that the uniform object of priests has been that of obtaining power and revenue by imposing absurdities upon mankind. Some have held up as objects of adoration, gods of wood and stone; others various descriptions of animals; some have directed the adoration of their votaries to the sun, moon, and stars; and in that immensity of which they could have little conception, they have found an ample theatre for exciting devotion, whilst others have peopled the starry regions with imaginary beings, called the spirits of departed heroes, gods, angels, and devils. If we turn to our own country and to our own age, we shall find the priests directing the devotion of their followers to three gods, not more rational than those of the ancients. The first is an imaginary something of which they have no idea, and the second is a man who is reported to have been hanged by the Jews in Palestine, eighteen

hundred years ago; and the third is a Ghost who is reported to have proceeded from the two former deities. Such are the general objects of worship in our own day, and need I ask which are the most rational, those who worship dead men, and beings of which they have no conception, or those who worship the glorious luminary of day from which they obviously derive so many advantages.

If we survey mankind in all the different ages and nations of the world, we shall find that in no one age or nation have they ever attained a state of true happiness; this has led many to conclude that happiness is unattainable; but the true cause of mankind never having attained a state of true happiness, will, upon examination, be found to consist in the opposition between the interests of individuals in society: instead of nations composing as it were but one family, with but one united interest, in which one individual could not be benefited or injured, but all must be benefited or injured, but all must be partakers in his benefits or his sufferings; we find that all nations have maintained within them a set of men under the name of priests whose interests have always been diametrically in opposition to the interests of society at large. These men have always lived in idleness and luxury upon the produce of the labours of the industrious part of the community, and they have had recourse to every species of artifice, in order to deceive mankind. They have excited jealousy, hatred, and animosity amongst men, they have induced them to act in opposition one to another, and caused them to quarrel and destroy one another, in order that they might more easily rob them during the commotions they occasioned. They have recommended submission to Kings and Governors, and endeavoured to make tyranny and injustice of the blackest dye, appear to be acts of virtue commanded by the Governor of the Universe; and why have they done this? In order that they might become sharers in the spoils which tyrants extract from the industry of the people.

Finally, They tell mankind that this world is a state of suffering and misery, intended to prepare us for a better, and that those who suffer the most here will be most happy in a future state of existence. But if priests believed this, they would set an example of suffering. An Irish peasant may be a sufficient dupe when he hears the priests crying that the poor in this world will be kings and priests in the next, to reply, "Aye, by Jasus, you'll be the poor then, my lads, and we will pay you off in your own coin." But kings and priests rarely believe in a future state of existence, if they possess the power and revenue in this world, they laugh at the dupes who expect to see them punished in the next.

The certainty of a future state of conscious existence is absolutely incapable of demonstration, nay, the scale of probabilities is strongly against it, and the notion of such a thing as is gene-

rally called an immortal soul is a downright absurdity. If man be possessed of an immortal soul, why, upon the same principle shall we not give immortal souls to all other classes of animated beings, and even to the grass of the fields? The constituent part of all these bodies is the same; the only difference arises from the different forms of organization that it receives. The grass which one day flourishes in the field, on another day forms part of an ox; and the ox, which one day bleats in the market, on another perhaps forms part of a king, a priest, a noble, and a beggar. I defy every man in existence to tell me what an immortal soul is, or to prove that any part of an animated being continues in a state of conscious existence after the death of the body. Every principle of sound philosophy teaches us to look upon the idea as the contemptible offspring of ignorance or knavery. Let either man, or any other animal, be deprived of that vital part of the air denominated oxygen, and immediate death ensues, and the body is resolved into its elementary parts, and forms parts of other bodies. Men, and all other animated bodies, are organs or machines acted upon by the air, which is continually undergoing chemical composition and decomposition, at one moment forming a portion of the tyrant, at the next a part of his slave; now a part of a man, the next moment a part of a shrub or a flower.

It is evident that the belief in a future state of existence tends to debilitate the minds of men, the excesses of hope and fear which are thus excited, tend to cloud the intellectual powers, and to render man incapable of any important exertions. Is it possible, that a man whose whole hope is centered in another world, and who only looks upon this life as a state of necessary suffering to prepare him for the enjoyment of another, should make any powerful exertions to meliorate the condition of man, or to render comfortable a state of existence which he has been taught to despise?

It is to this life we ought to attend, the improvement of man ought to be our grand consideration, and if by progressive improvement we can obtain the joys of a rational heaven here, if there be a future state of existence we need not fear of being prepared for its enjoyment. In conclusion I beg to propose,

The Improvement of Man, so that the human race may form one vast Republic, every Man being free of the whole.

Song—"Doctor and Tinker," by John Smithson, dedicated to the Author of "Paper against Gold."

John Smithson gave—

May we speedily see the day when a bushel of Bank of England notes will not buy a pair of shoes.

Toast—Mr. Braithwaite.

This gentlemen who came to spend an hour in our company, after the cloth was removed, made a short but energetic speech, which he concluded by saying, he was an Advocate for Liberty in every sense of the word, he was one of those who wished to think

and let think on every subject, and if there was one man who had done more than another towards obtaining this object, that man was Richard Carlile, if there was one man that deserved the support and respect of all mankind more than another for boldness, honesty, and manly conduct, he was that individual.

James Watson then repeated an Address to departing Liberty.

Song, Mr. Hampson, from Wakefield.—“ In Liberty's Cause I would yield up my Life.”

Mr. Joseph Brayshaw gave—

Success to the Republicans in all the four quarters of the Globe, who are now contending for the pure principles of election, in which both Legislators and Magistrates shall be accountable to the People.

JOHN SMITHSON's health being proposed and drank, he rose and spoke to the following effect:—

Citizens, for the mark of approbation you have been disposed to shew, by drinking my health, I shall only say I hope my conduct will always be such as to deserve it; and as it respects the character of the individual whose birth we are met to commemorate, for an humble individual like myself, without any of the advantages of a scholastic education, to attempt to eulogize his character in any words but his own, would be to do an act of injustice, for, in my opinion, to attempt to praise him is to disgrace him. His works, (if you will allow me to use a phrase out of *Corruption's Guardian—the Bible*) are the Alpha and Omega of politics, and to know his character and abilities you must read them. There is more useful knowledge in a single paragraph of any of his political writings than is contained in a volume of any of the political writers who preceded him. I will refer you to one sentence in his “Agrarian Justice” that at once flashes conviction to every one who reads it; mark the words: “THE EARTH, IN ITS UNCULTIVATED STATE, IS AND EVER WAS THE JOINT PROPERTY OF THE HUMAN RACE.”

He then read the 15th, 16th, and 17th pages of Paine's “Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance,” and after strongly recommending an enquiry into the paper and funding system, he proceeded as follows:—

Citizens, the passages I have read to you are the texts from which Mr. Cobbett wrote his “Paper against Gold;” and of all the volumes of information which that ablest living financier in England has ever written, there is none that elucidates the incontrovertible facts left upon record by Thomas Paine so well as that work does. Read that work, accompanied by Paine's political writings, and you will be able to comprehend all the various turnings and windings of the paper system to its final dissolution, which dissolution must take place before the people of this country can obtain any change worth contending for; and except knowledge be more generally disseminated on this subject, there will be very few; when the paper system breaks its own neck, that

will have their minds prepared to meet it, or knew how to act at such a crisis for the benefit of the whole community. I am sorry to say, that many whom I have conversed with, talk of the breaking up of the funding system, and the obtaining of a reform, as if they were subjects entirely unconnected, or as if the former was a thing of little or no consequence: in short, the whole subject is too generally spoken of, as if the Boroughmongers were going to take part in it, and furnish what is asked for by piecemeal, just as the expedient-hunting, temporising, half-frightened, and less than half-honest Moderates choose to call for it! It is an outrage committed on our reason to pretend to expect such a thing. *When did either King, Lord, or Commoner, do any thing for the good of the people?* From the earliest period of our history to the present time, whenever they do any good, it is either what they cannot avoid, or it is done in a mistake. Did they ever intentionally pass one Act, but either to plunder and delude the people, or to protect themselves and the stolen goods they have got possession of? Let the Six Acts give the answer. It is worse than canine madness to expect them to reform themselves, or to grant us one particle of liberty that it is their interest to keep from us. Besides, they have not the power, even if they had the will, to reform themselves; if they had power to do this, they would have the power to make themselves absolute. I again repeat, they cannot reform themselves, and if they could they are not worth reforming. Each man has the private interest of himself, and his connections to serve, independent of the general interest of keeping up the system. It is not because the different parties are fond of each other that they act in concert, they are as envious and as jealous of each other as possible: but, as Paine observes, "*interest is like love, it works secretly,*" and it is this, and this alone, that makes them act in concert against the people in every question where the interest of the people is involved. This is the way they have always acted; and the same motives and circumstances that have caused them to act in this manner will continue as long as the paper system continues, and, of course, they will be compelled to hurry on from one precipice to another, catching at expedient after expedient, enacting one thing one day and its direct opposite the next, till they are rendered as powerless as they are obnoxious by the total and instantaneous breaking up of their own resources. I am so well convinced, in my own mind, of this, that I dare venture to assert, if all the labourers of England could do without both food and clothing, that the interest of the Debt would wind up till the produce of all the land, and the yearly earnings of all the labourers in the Island, would not be sufficient to pay one month's interest. And can we, who have thought on these things, sit and look supinely on without warning others of the fate that awaits them? Whatever may be your feelings on this subject, I consider it to be a sacred duty; and I look

upon every man as a traitor to his country, and to all future generations, who knows these things, and notwithstanding his knowledge, exhausts his strength and spends his time in calling upon others to assist him in hunting after expedients, which can only end in chagrin and disappointment, and too frequently without any object but individual emolument. I call upon such men, if they ever intend to be citizens of a free state, to shake off the odious trammels of party, and assist in a general diffusion of that knowledge which can alone elevate man to his proper dignity, and make the country fit for our children to live in. Whether my call will be listened to or not is not a question; we ought not to supplicate the assistance of the proselytes of any party if they will not march on with us; it is not likely we should go back to them. Republicanism knows no party but the public good; and I would not hold up my hand to vote for any change short of it. We have nothing to hope for, nor any thing to look to but our own exertions; let each individual act as though all depended upon himself; let us do our duty by disseminating knowledge on the subject, and wait the result. We have nothing to fear for ourselves, our own minds are free, and no man can be punished against his will; he only is punished who has not made up his mind to bear it. Let us, then, endeavour to do our duty to the rising generation by preparing one another's minds to meet that shock with perfect composure that I have alluded to in the toast, when "a bushel of Bank of England notes will not buy a pair of shoes." This may startle those who have not examined the matter, but I am satisfied it is inevitable. There are two days fast approaching that very few people have ever thought of—one day a Bank of England note will buy a man something to eat, and the next day a cart-load of such notes would not, as currency, buy a pound weight of bread. And mark what I say! there will not be a *day* betwixt, except it be the time that it will take to convey the news to different parts of the country. To those who have not thought on these things, I say read, and judge whether you are in a fit state of mind to act the part of the philosopher and the man, when such a crisis arrives, or not. I say no one can act in such a case so well as those who are prepared for it, by foreseeing it, and watching and weighing it in all its bearings. Ask yourselves how you will feel when no man in the country will have any property but those who have the hard money and provisions in their possession, especially, if you should happen to be possessed of neither. Can any but men of principle act with prudence in such an emergency? What is to prevent the mad enthusiasm and the mistaken zeal of partizans from shedding innocent blood, on such an occasion? Can any thing prevent this but inculcating the pure principles of representation upon the plan of universal benevolence, till an over-

whetting majority can see that their true interest is in promoting the peace, comfort, and happiness of all? There is no country in the world that is in so much danger of suffering by a premature movement as England. Look at the envious feelings towards each other of the different sects of religion, and think what would be the consequence if any thing short of Republican Government, without an established Priesthood, should ever be attempted. There is scarcely one sect that would not *wade up to the knees in the blood of the other* to be wormed in with the State. But supposing this would not be the case, what have we to hope from such an adulterous connection, even if it should be peaceably accomplished, did not the Protestants drive the Catholics out of their monasteries and creep in themselves, with all the fraud and as much of the cruelty as the knowledge of the people would suffer them to practise? It is not because either the Priests or the tyrants of the present day are less cruel, it is because the people are more enlightened, that both Mr. Carlile, and all who have the honesty to avow the principles he advocates, are not burnt in Smithfield. And after all our complaints of the abuses of Government, (which are more to be attributed to the inevitable consequences of the paper system than to the natural disposition of the individuals in office) we owe our present existence more to the Tory laws than to the fellow feelings of either the Whigs, or what is infinitely worse than the Whigs, the *half-way Reformers*. Then let us endeavour to snatch this bone of contention out of the hands of every sect of either Priest or partizan, by advocating a

(To be continued.)

THE SCRIPTURIAN'S CREED.

(Concluded from p. 352.)

For whosoever hath to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance, but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath. John xiii. 12.

Yet ye say the way of the Lord is not equal; hear now, O house of Israel, is not my way equal? Esch. xviii. 25.

All things that the father hath are mine. John xvi. 15.

I and my father are one. x. 30.

And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me. Mark xv. 34.

For my father is greater than I.
John xiv. 28.

God who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke unto the fathers by the prophets. Heb. i. 1.

Hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son. 2.

Being made so much better than the angels as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. 4.

But we see Jesus who was made a little lower than the angels. ii. 9.

A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law. Rom. iii. 28.

By works a man is justified and not by faith only. James ii. 24.

For by grace are you saved through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God not of works lest any man should boast. Ephes. ii. 8.

Faith without works is dead. James ii. 20.

Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling. Phil. ii. 12.

For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure. ii. 13.

And in those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples and said, Acts i. 15.

Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake concerning Judas. 16.

Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, and falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst and all his bowels gushed out. 18.

Then Judas which had betrayed him when he saw that he was condemned repented. Matt. xxvii. 3.

And went and hanged himself. 5.

Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour. 1 Peter v. 8.

And the angels which kept not their first estate but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. Jude 6.

And set up over his head this accusation, this is Jesus the King of the Jews. Matt. xxvii. 37.

The King of the Jews. Mark xv. 26.

This is the King of the Jews. Luke xliii. 38.

Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews. John xix. 19.

And the graves were opened, and many bodies of saints which slept arose Matt. xxvii. 52.

And came out of the graves after his resurrection and went into the holy city and appeared unto many. 53.

As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more. Job vii. 9.

The wicked shall be a ransom for the righteous. Prov. xxi. 18.

For Christ also hath suffered for sins, the just for the unjust. 1 Peter iii. 18.

Who gave himself a ransom for all. 1 Tim. ii. 6.

And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man. Acts ix. 7.

And they that were with me saw indeed the light and were afraid, but they heard not the voice. xxii. 9.

And when we were all fallen to the earth I heard a voice. xxvi. 14.

Ye are cursed with a curse for ye have robbed me. Mal. iii. 9.

And all nations shall call you blessed, for ye shall be a delightful land, saith the Lord of host. 12.

And the angel answered and said unto her, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. Luke i. 35.

Thou shalt not commit adultery. Exod. xx. 14.

Shall there be evil in a city and the Lord hath not done it? Amos iii. 6.

For the inhabitants of Maroth waited carefully for good but evil came down from the Lord. Micah i. 12.

Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil and canst not look on iniquity. Habak. i. 13.

And so it is written, the first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. 1 Corinth. xv. 45.

The spiritual man is mad. Hosea ii. 7.

Howbeit that was not first which is spiritual but that which is natural and afterward that which is spiritual. 46.

And the Lord passed by before him and proclaimed the Lord, the Lord God merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth. Exod. xxxiv. 6.

Keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty. 7.

IMPORTANT PASSAGES.

And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, &c. Gen. vii. 21.
 Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire. xix. 24.
 Slew all the males. xxxiv. 25.
 The Lord met him, and sought to kill him. Exod. iv. 24.
 The Lord smote all the first-born. xii. 29.
 There remained not so much as one of them. xiv. 28.
 With the edge of the sword. xvii. 13.
 There fell of the people about three thousand. xxxii. 28.
 The fire of the Lord burnt. Numb. xi. 1.
 And smote them and discomfited them. xiv. 45.
 The Earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up. xvi. 32.
 Fire from the Lord consumed the two hundred and fifty. 35.
 Were fourteen thousand and seven hundred. 49.
 And they utterly destroyed them and their cities. xxi. 3.
 And the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people. 6.
 And those that died in the plague were twenty and four thousand. xxv. 9.
 We smote him until none was left to him remaining. Deut. iii. 3.
 Men, women, and children of every city. 6.
 And they utterly destroyed all that was in the city. Joshua vi. 21.
 Smote of them about thirty and six men. vii. 5.
 Both of men and women were about twelve thousand. viii. 25.
 The Lord discomfited them before Israel, and slew them. x. 10.
 Slew with the sword. 11.
 He utterly destroyed. 28.
 He smote it with the edge of the sword. 30.
 Joshua smote him and his people. 33.
 But destroyed it utterly, and all the souls that were therein. 37.
 He houghed their horses and burnt their chariots with fire. xi. 9.
 Neither left they any to breathe. 14.
 Destroyed them utterly with their cities. 21.
 Now these are the kings of the land which the Children of Israel smote. xii. 1.
 Set the city on fire. Judges i. 8.
 They slew the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it. 17.
 They smote the city with the edge of the sword. 25.
 And they slew of Moab at that time about ten thousand men. iii. 29.
 Slew of the Philistines, six hundred men with an ox-goad. 31.
 The Lord discomfited Sisera. iv. 15.
 There was not a man left. 16.
 And smote the nail into his temples. 21.
 And he beat down the tower of Penuel, and slew the men of the city. viii. 17.
 And slew them. ix. 44.
 Destroyed that day twenty and two thousand. xx. 21.
 Eighteen thousand men. 25.
 The Lord smote twenty and five thousand and an hundred. 35.
 Smote all the city with the sword. 37.
 There fell of Benjamin eighteen thousand men. 44.
 And slew two thousand men of them. 45.
 All which fell that day of Benjamin were twenty and five thousand. 46.
 They set on fire all the cities that they came to. 48.
 There fell of Israel thirty thousand footmen. I Sam. iv. 10.
 He smote of the people fifty thousand and threescore. vi. 19.
 And slew the Ammonites until the heat of the day. xi. 11.
 Every man's sword was against his fellow. xiv. 20.
 And they smote the Philistines. 31.
 And Saul smote the Amalekites. xv. 7.

And destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword. 1 Sam. xv. 8.
 Fell down by the way. xvii. 52.
 Men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen, and asses, and sheep. xiii. 19.
 And David smote them. xxx. 17.
 And fell down slain in Mount Gilboa. xxi. 1.
 So they fell down together. 2 Sam. ii. 16.
 David smote the Philistines and subdued them. viii. 1.
 And he smote Moab, and measured them with a line. 2.
 Twenty thousand—a thousand—twelve thousand men. x. 6.
 And forty thousand horsemen. 18.
 Seventy thousand men. xxiv. 15.
 Let not one of them escape. 1 Kings xviii. 40.
 And slew the Syrians with a great slaughter. xx. 31.
 And there came down fire from heaven and consumed him. 2 Kings i. 10.
 And smote the Moabites, so that they fled before them. iii. 24.
 Ten thousand, and took Selah by war. xiv. 7.
 And all the women therein that were with child he ripped up. xv. 16.
 The Lord sent lions among them which slew some of them. xvii. 25.
 And fell down slain in Mount Gilboa. 1 Chron. x. 1.
 Did as God commanded him, and they smote the host. 1 Chron. xiv. 16.
 Curse ye Meros, said the angel of the Lord. Judges v. 23.
 Then God sent an evil spirit. ix. 23.
 The evil spirit from the Lord was upon Saul. 1 Sam. xix. 9.
 The Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth. 2 Chron. xviii. 23.
 I, the Lord, have deceived that prophet. Ezek. xiv. 9.
 Infants dashed in pieces, women with child ript up. Hosea xiii. 16.
 And their wives ravished. Isaiah xiii. 16.
 That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed. Matt. xxiii. 33.
 Thy princes are rebellious and the companions of thieves. Isaiah i. 23.
 The prince and the judge asketh for a reward. Micah vii. 3.
 I gave thee a king in mine anger. Hosea xiii. 11.
 Levit. xxi. 17, 18, 19, 20.
 If he continue a day or two he shall not be surely punished. Exod. xxi. 21.
 It is fit to say to a king thou art wicked. Job xxxiv. 18.
 If I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. Psalm cxxxix. 8.
 Eat their own dung, and drink their own piss with you. 2 Kings xviii. 27.
 On the ground, lest he should give seed to his brother. Gen. xxxviii. 9.
 The thing which he did displeased the Lord, wherefore he slew him also. 10.
 And came in unto her, and she conceived by him. 18.
 For the custom of women is upon me. xxxi. 35.
 Doted upon their paramours, whose flesh is as the flesh of asses. Ezek. xiii. 20.
 And if any man's seed of copulation go out of him. Lev. xv. 16.
 And every skin whereon is the seed of copulation. xv. 17.
 The woman also with whom man shall lie with. 18.
 And if any man lie with her at all, and her flowers be upon him. 24.
 Many days out of the time of her separation. 25.
 And of her that is sick of her flowers. 33.
 As long as she is put apart for her uncleanness. xviii. 19.
 If a woman have conceived seed, and born a man child. xii. 2.
 And she shall continue in the blood of her purifying. 6.
 The tokens of the damsel's virginity. Deut. xxii. 15.
 The tokens of virginity be not found for the damsel. 30.
 Stone her with stones that she die. 21.
 Cut off, shall not enter into the congregation. xxiii. 1.
 Reuben went and lay with Bilhah, his father's concubine. Gen. xxxv. 22.
 Thou wentest up to thy father's bed. xlix. 4.
 And the first-born went in, and lay with her father. xix. 33.
 And the younger arose, and lay with him. 35.
 Thus were both the daughters of Lot with child by their father. 36.

And said unto her, Come lie with me, my sister. 2 Sam. xiii. 11.
 But, being stronger than she, forced her, and lay with her. 14.
 Behaveth himself uncomely towards his virgin, if she pass the flower of her
 age. 1 Cor. vii. 36.
 And spit in his face. Deut. xxv. 4.

A FEW SERIOUS QUESTIONS,

Which the candid Reader may answer for himself, according to his own judgment.

Matt. v. 48. If God is a perfect being could he make man, or any other creature, imperfect—and if God created man and every other creature perfect, could man, or any other creature make themselves imperfect?

Rom. viii. 20. Matt. xxv. 41. Mark ix. 43. Would God be just in creating men liable to become imperfect, and then doom them to eternal punishment on account of their imperfection?

Gen. i. 26. To whom did God speak when he said, let us make man in our own image—Did God make man himself, or had he companions who assisted him?

Gen. iii. 7. If Adam and Eve sinned by eating fruit, why did they make themselves aprons to cover those parts that were not so directly active in the transgression?

Gen. iv. 17. Who was Cain's wife, and why did he build a city for only his wife, his son, and himself to dwell in?

Gen. ix. 25. Did Noah sin when he cursed his son?

Judges v. 23. Did the angel of the Lord sin, when he said, Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof?

2 Chron. xviii. 21. Why did the Lord put a lying spirit into the mouth of all Ahab's prophets?

Judges ix. 23. Why did God send an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem?

Numb. xi. 31, 33. If the Lord gave the Israelites quails to eat, why did he smite them with a great plague whilst the flesh was betwixt their teeth ere it was chewed?

Exod. x. 20. If the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart that he should not let the people go, was Pharaoh blameable in not letting them go?

Exod. viii. 17, 18. If all the dust became lice throughout all the land of Egypt, why is it said that the magicians could not bring forth lice with their enchantments, seeing there was not any dust left for them to turn into lice?

Exod. xviii. 24. If Moses governed the people by the directions of God, why did he prefer the directions of Jethro his father-in-law?

Deut. xxxiv. 6. If Moses wrote the book called Deuteronomy, how could he say, no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day?

Numb. xxxi. 18. What did Moses mean when he said, but all the women-children which have not known a man by lying with him keep alive for yourselves?

Joshua xii. Did Joshua sin by destroying so many kings?

1 Sam. xxv. 24. Was David a man after God's own heart, when he intended to cut off all that pisseth against the wall—or when he lay upon his death-bed and would not forgive his enemies before he died, but [1 Kings ii. 6, 9] obliged his son to promise that he would put them to death after his decease;—or when he caused Uriah to be set in the fore-front of the battle. [2 Sam. xi. 15] that he might be smitten and die, for the sake of enjoying Bathsheba, Uriah's wife—or when he was killing the Geshurites, [2 Sam. xxvii. 8, 9] Gezrites, and the Amalekites, and carrying away their cattle and goods, and saved neither man nor woman alive, for fear they should inform against him.

Judges xiv. 19. Why did Samson commit such depredations when the spirit of the Lord came upon him?

Habak. iii. 3. Did Habakkuk the prophet mean God could not be omnipresent when he said God came from Teman, and the holy one from Mount Paran—and

did he suppose that God and the holy one were two separate beings because he says one came from Teman and the other from Mount Paran?

Isaiah vii. 14. viii. 3. When Isaiah said a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, then went unto a prophetess and she did conceive and bear a son, did he mean Mary the mother of Jesus, which happened seven hundred years after?

Gen. iii. 13. Luke i. 26. If the practice of Satan has been to deceive, might not Mary be deceived though she thought the angel which came to her to have been sent from God, for Satan [2 Corinth. xi. 14.] is transformed into an angel of light.

Matt. i. 20. If Joseph knew no more than what he dreamed respecting the father of the said child, is that which one man dreams sufficient for another man to rely upon?

Mark vi. 5, 6. If Jesus could not do many mighty works in his own country because of their unbelief, did disbelieving take away his power?

Matt. xviii. 22. When Jesus said to Peter he must not forgive his enemies till seven times only, but until seventy times seven, did Jesus mean to encourage a man to offend four hundred and ninety times in full assurance of being forgiven?

Mark iii. 15. When Jesus gave his disciples power to cast out devils, was that a miracle, for they met with another man [Luke ix. 49.] who could do the same?

Luke xii. 4. John vii. 1. Why did Jesus say to his disciples, fear not them which can kill the body; and after a certain time he would walk no more in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him?

Acts x. 38. Matt. viii. 32. Mark v. 13. Mark iii. 23. Was Jesus going about doing good, and not destroying people's property, when he bade the devils go into the herd of swine, and about two thousand of the swine perished in the sea?—or was his disciples destroying any person's property when they plucked the ears of the standing corn as they went through the corn-fields?

John xiii. 26, 27. vi. 70, 71. If Satan only entered into Judas after Jesus had given him a sop, why did Jesus say at a former period, have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil—and if Judas was a devil, why did Jesus choose him to be a disciple?

2 Corinth. v. 19. 1 John ii. 2. Matt. vii. 14. If God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them—and that Christ is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, why is it said, narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it?

2 Pet. iii. 16. Luke iii. 23. If all Scripture is given by the inspiration of God, and if holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, why did Paul withstand Peter to the face at Antioch?—or why did Matthew say Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Christ, and Luke say that Joseph was the son of Heli?

John xx. 31. And if Jesus was the son of God and not the son of Joseph, why was his genealogy traced through Joseph, who could not be his father, except we say Joseph begat Jesus by proxy?

Mark xvi. 16. And if these men, or any of them, were liable to err, why should any person be damned who believe not their doctrine?

Palm cxxxix. 8. If God is in hell, is God or the devil the supreme governor of hell?

If Scripture, as it's said, be free
From glaring incongruity,
With comments I have not it bound,
But left it in the state 'twas found.

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The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, March 24,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,

IN addition to my last week's enumeration of Republican successes, I have now to add the certainty that the only enslaved portion of South America (the Brazils) has declared for independence. This was to be expected as a matter of course, but its accomplishment is no longer doubtful. We must now bring back our attention to Europe, for the British West India Islands must not be expected to move until there be a motion at home. All now is secure in the two continents of America. The Canadas are nothing like an obstruction, and already we know that their inhabitants have formed ideas of independence. The Republicans who have emigrated from Britain to those Colonies form the sure prelude to speedy independence. Many intelligent men, particularly Scotchmen, have lately taken up their residence among the Canadians; enough to teach them moral and political duties. The want of a regal Court will keep them free from its intrigues and delusions; and the examples by which they are surrounded will operate more powerful than any other motive or principle. Another assistant is distress, and a taxation without representation: these, with intelligent men, form the first stimulus for political independence.

At the time of writing this no account has reached me of the arrest of General Berthon. Some accounts say that he has buried himself in the forest of Parthenay, and that he is closely pursued: others, that he is at the head of many thousand troops. His being in France without being yet arrested speaks more than is narrated, although, while the Bourbons remain in Paris we shall have no authentic intelligence of the state of the country. It is not likely that

such a man as Berthon would have started on such an enterprize with fifty followers, as we are told by the Paris Papers. If such had been the fact, he would have been arrested within three days, if not within so many hours.

Every effort to rouse France should be made, at this time, near the Pyrennean Mountains, so as to leave a way clear if a momentary retreat should become necessary; but if it be true that Berthon has twelve thousand men with him, he has gained the victory over the Bourbons.

Ireland! bleeding Ireland! is feeling the effects of the favourite scheme of Castlereagh. The Insurrection Act is in full operation, and many an honest fellow has already been sent on board the hulks for transportation, for being absent from his hovel a few minutes after sun-set! Talk about the horrors of midnight assassination! it is mercy itself compared with the bloody laws by which Ireland is oppressed. To resist or to kill an oppressor is the best and only proof of virtue in an Irishman under his present system of tyranny. It is astonishing to me that every native Irishman does not rise in vengeance upon his blood-thirsty oppressors. Retaliation is a law of Nature, and were I an Irishman, I should think it an act of moral virtue to destroy as many of my oppressors as possible. It is not a time to talk to the oppressed about humanity, when the lash and the sword of the oppressor is falling on them with unrelenting fury. It is a baseness of mind to hint any thing of the kind. Humanity should be always combined with power, and should never be felt by the oppressed towards the oppressor. Not be felt by the oppressed, do I say? It is a mistake. It is the very essence of humanity to resist human oppression. The oppressor places himself without the pale of humanity.

There are men who will say to me, "You ought not to talk and write thus: you ought to recommend forbearance, and endeavour to lessen persecution and oppression by the propagation of knowledge and moral instruction." You may as well tell me that the Greeks ought to have waited until their oppressors, the Turks, had become sufficiently enlightened and humane to have offered them independence, as to tell me that Irishmen should do so. It is contrary to every law of Nature, and I will not play the hypocrite so far even as to stifle my feelings upon the matter. The success of the Irish Insurgents would give me more joy than does the success of the Greeks. They are nearer to me; they are neighbours; there is a kindred feeling between us;

we feel the lash of the same oppressors. I should rejoice at a successful insurrection in this Island, although I would not recommend the attempt at this time, because the oppressed of this country, having every thing working in their favour that is calculated within a few months to render their emancipation more certain, would retard it by a premature movement. Wherever there is oppression there is just cause for resistance; and it is very little satisfaction to me to be told, when I am oppressed, that I ought to be quiet, and that it will be better when my children grow up, from an improved state of knowledge. It is my duty, as a father, to leave them the best inheritance I can; and if I can destroy the oppression that falls upon me, I leave a guarantee for their freedom and independence—the best of all inheritances. Let us propagate all the knowledge we can, and mutually instruct each other, but our duties can never cease here whilst we are under oppression. We are bound to resist and remove it if it be practicable.

I see the Newspapers talk about some plot being in embryo on the part of the Government, and that the spies are active again. There is one general rule to be observed which will guard you against the machinations of all emissaries from our oppressors. Openly avow your principles, but never countenance a stranger whose language is violent, or who proposes to you, as strangers, any scheme or plot for insurrection. It is possible such a man may be honest, but never trust him, rather shun and avoid his company and conversation. Sending of delegates from one town to another is also a practice that should be avoided: no good nor union can arise from it. All our communications ought to be public and through the Press. Let us hold no opinions, no intentions, no principles, that we are ashamed to avow and to print. Any others will but disgrace us, and bring us no good in the end, nor satisfaction for the present. It is much easier to delude a people than to impress their minds with sound principles, because all existing institutions in long-established Governments are founded on delusion, and every individual feels more safety in acquiescing in them than in opposing. There is more danger to be apprehended from those men who would delude you with one thing whilst they have another in view, than from those who openly avow the whole of their opinions and wishes: but be careful and prevent either from drawing you into imprudent measures. The right time for a body or a nation to resist oppression will suggest itself, whilst plans and schemes

are sure to be defeated. I have always had a notion that the thing should be spontaneous and arise of its own accord. Leaders in such cases are never to be depended upon until it is too late for them to withdraw or retreat. A people insurgent should always look to themselves numerically, and stimulate each other to duty. Distress is the great enlightener; but, from my heart, I do not think the great body of the people of this Island are yet sufficiently imbued with sound political principles, so as to change their form of Government like philosophers: and I do think that it will be prudent to wait a few months and not to make any rash attempts. Circumstances may arise to render change absolutely necessary and unavoidable, and when it comes to that, the best must be done, and each must do his best. It is well known that I am not one of those who look to any far distant time for change, nor would I use a word that could tend to discourage it. I know it must come, and I am anxious to see it well and effectually done; done in a manner that shall leave nothing undone, or nothing further to be done as a matter of necessity.

To accomplish this object, it appears to me that the best mode of procedure is an open avowal of all opinions and principles, that they may be corrected if wrong, and promulgated if right. The man who says one thing and means another is not honest—a contemptible character, that should be trusted in nothing. There are such men, calling themselves Reformers, who privately encourage and do all they can to propagate what they openly affect to disapprove; and this, not because their favourite opinions are not true, but because it is alleged that they are not current, not fashionable, and what is called respectable! Contemptible shuffle! That which is true is always respectable, although despotic laws may call it libellous and deem it punishable.

Republicans, avow your principles. Proclaim that Government by Representatives, elected by the whole people, is the only Government where Freemen can be found. Government, strictly speaking, is not a proper word for Freemen. Government implies slavery on the part of the governed. A Legislation by Representation is merely an assent on the part of the whole people to observe certain rules essential to the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the whole community; such rules being their own choice in the first instance. This is the state of a society of Freemen.

R. CARLILE.

CELEBRATION OF THE 29TH OF JANUARY, 1822.

*The Anniversary of the Birth of Thomas Paine.**(Continued from p. 378.)*

pure Representative System of Government, where every officer shall be elected annually by the people, to be the responsible servants of the people, where all opinions are free and unconnected with government; any thing short of this will engender fresh corruption. If it be argued that this will not be free from corruption, I answer that it is more likely to be so than any other that I have heard of.

I have long had it on my mind to recommend a bill of indemnity, to be proposed by the people, and kept in readiness to be acted upon when ever a crisis arrives, we have had bills of indemnity to protect the guilty, and I see no reason why we should not have one to protect both the innocent and the guilty from indiscriminate outrage, I know not whether ever such a thing will be practicable or not, but I will, with your leave, throw out a few hints that may be either rejected or improved, as I hope there is no one here that would expect any good, from wreaking vengeance on a public officer because the office wanted abolishing; what I would recommend, would be a bill to indemnify every man from the vengeance of a mistaken and unruly populace, by proclaiming indemnity for all political offences, except by legal process, and to imprison all who attempted to commit the least outrage, till a National Convention had been called, to draw up a Constitution according to a will of a majority of the people, and to settle all matters that the emergency of the case required, I would not advise any man to imbrue his hands in the blood of the present tyrants, if there was such an opportunity, for unless a change can take place without bloodshed, there is very little hopes that the victor and his partizans, would not act the tyrants in their turn, we must not expect every "dungeon proof radical" to be a SIMON BOLIVAR, then let us by our conduct convince our opponents, that the arms which nature has given us are sufficient for every purpose that man was intended for, these were the principles that actuated the immortal Paine, in the case of Louis Capet, and if they had been acted upon, I believe France would not have retrograded in the manner she did. Let us then be determined to support every man who acts up to these principles, and neither support Mr. Carlile, nor any other man who deviates from them, it is easy for any man, the greatest apostate or coward in

the world, to denounce the known enemies of the people, but if we wish to be thought worthy of the name of Citizens, we must not shrink from denouncing their pretended friends. The tampering timidity of pretended friends does more harm to any cause than its open enemies would be able to do, and I feel justified in stating, that *not to denounce hypocrisy in any man, is to countenance it in every man*. When shall we be without apostates while we seem to countenance them? or, When shall we have any if we cease to do so? It is fulsome adulation, that leads to apostacy, and I do not know any man that can truly say he is proof against such things, we must not blame the individual for being ambitious, when our own conduct has been the cause. Mr. Carlile has done more towards disseminating the pure principles of representation, than any man now living, though Paine gave the copyright to the world, it is the courage of Carlile that has furnished the copies, yet if he was to do ten times more than he has done, I should never be disposed to follow the Turkish custom of dragging him in a carriage with ropes, instead of living horses, for unless you can convince me that a man can do more than he is able, I shall remain convinced that he only does his duty, who does all he is able, and the best way to show we approve of such a man's conduct is to endeavour to imitate it, and that we must do if we expect to benefit by his exertions. Nature is never liberal to a sluggard, and why should man be so, when nothing, not even health, can be procured without exercise. It is slaves who have been the supporters of sluggards in all ages, by decking the chief of their banditti with baubles, yoking themselves to his car, and dragging him about like a show, till the self importance they had created in him, and his contempt for their understandings, prompted him to make hereditary claim to the produce of the labour of all succeeding generations for his offspring. It is not pikes, nor swords, nor guillotines, nor gunpowder, (unless it be such as Mr. Carlile fires at the Bridge Street Gang) that will ever rid the earth of tyrants, it is knowledge only that can do this effectually. A guillotine destroyed the French tyrant, but want of knowledge suffered Buonaparte to be made an Emperor, and whatever may be your ideas on this subject, you must see that though there may be a majority of the people of this country, who would not care to see *every member of Parliament choked* with one of the acts he has voted for, there are very few who would know what to do, if the system was to fall in pieces this moment. Remember the saying of the martyred, murdered Brissot of France, these were his last words, and they ought to be impressed upon the mind of every friend to liberty; mark them, **"A NATION WITHOUT PRINCIPLES MAY ACQUIRE LIBERTY, BUT A NATION WITHOUT PRINCIPLES CAN NOT KEEP IT WHEN IT IS ACQUIRED."** Let any man who knows a tenth part of what has happened to France since

that moment, say if his prediction has not been fully verified; Do not be led away with the idea that we are wiser than the people of France were, nearly all our boasted wisdom, has been to believe other nations were more ignorant, a convenient doctrine taught by our *Rough Riders*, to prevent us from enquiring whether we were men or cattle that they were riding. We are at present on our way to a better condition, (thanks to Mr. Carlile and all others who dare to write without a mask) if we can only prevent the ignorant from committing any outrage.

I shall conclude by repeating another passage from the writings of the immortal Paine, he says, "An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot. It will succeed where diplomatic management would fail. It is neither the Rhine, the Channel, nor the Ocean, that can arrest its progress, it will march on the horizon of the world, and it *will* conquer."

J. Gill gave—

The incarcerated Shopmen of Mr. Carlile.

The health of JAMES WATSON being drank, he rose, and after returning thanks, spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, In standing before you, on the present occasion, to pay a tribute of gratitude and respect to the memory of the great and immortal Paine, I am happy it has not been confined to me alone to do justice to his great and unequalled exertions in the cause of Liberty. But, Gentlemen, since we find those of superior abilities using their power to enslave us with errors, instead of pointing us to the goal of Freedom, it behoves us then to stop this torrent of falsehood, and point our oppressed fellow-countrymen to that system which alone can ensure them permanent happiness. The present tyrants that afflict us can only be rendered subservient to the wishes of the people but by a unity of principle, for unity without principle will only entail defeat and disgrace upon its advocates. Gentlemen, the principles of the immortal Paine, as laid down in his "Rights of Man," are the only rock which will stand the test of argument; and however visionary and improper our enemies and our pretended friends may think them, they must either coincide with them or fall into that insignificance which they so justly merit. Our principles are the principles of the great Paine, and his successor and supporter, the patriotic, but persecuted Carlile; and upon this rock of Truth, Justice, and Humanity, we will plant our standard, for no other is worthy to be put in competition with them.

The immortal Paine was the tried and consistent advocate of the rights of the people; we find him combating, with unceasing energy, every species of delusion. Need we wonder at the sufferings and persecutions he had to undergo? No, Gentlemen, history sufficiently informs us, that the most just and virtuous in all ages have undergone embarrassments and sufferings of a similar nature, and the good resulting from the display of the natural

powers of honest men has only been found demonstrable when deprived of their manly and valuable assistance. In this light we may view the beautiful productions of the noble Paine. The principles of virtue and happiness which he so unceasingly endeavoured to instil into the hearts of men are only now beginning to shew their beneficent effects; and the talents of the man who stood the test of popular ignorance and hatred are now so deplorably wanted, that we find no road to an end of our sufferings but by retracing the steps which our madness and imbecility have caused us to pass over. Let us wipe away the foul stains we have made, and let the principles of the immortal Paine be the theme of our language for the future. Let not the servile and hypocritical language of our avowed enemies, nor that of pretended friends, warp us from our duty; and let us no longer suffer ourselves to be degraded with the wretched name of slave, but prove to the world that we both know how to obtain and estimate the patriotic measures of the honest Paine. Let us depart from that cursed system of expediency, which is the ruin of every just and noble cause, and speak the language of men in quest of freedom, in opposition to the temporising language of those who are so ready to condemn others who will not bend to the will of unprincipled sycophants. Our motto is, "liberty and happiness to all," and upon this impenetrable rock we will stand to combat with every one whose cause is not armed with honesty. We may be called visionarists by some, and revolutionists by others, but we dare them into the field of discussion, and will demonstrably prove, that upon our rock alone can that liberty be secured to which man is so justly entitled. Some say the laws will not sanction us in openly advocating the principles of Paine, but to them I would say, disregard them, for when laws do not proceed from the people, the people have no right to obey them; and however treasonable and seditious this language may be termed by our enemies, it is what the Republicans will compel them to comply with. Truth is progressive, and the despots who oppress us may as well try to stop the revolution of the earth round the sun as stop the progress of human knowledge. Unity is the only object necessary, for, in the language of the immortal Paine, "unity of principle will penetrate where an unity of bayonets cannot enter." We are represented as violent and dangerous characters to be connected with, even by those who pretend to be advocates of Liberty; and for why, Gentlemen? Because we will not temporise or resort to any system of expediency, but shew the glaring impositions which they, in contract with the greater tyrants, are making upon our happiness. To you, Gentlemen, who have not read the works of the great Paine, I would immediately recommend them to your notice as the only standard of sound principles and practice; without the perusal of which you cannot form a clear idea of what Governments ought to be.

They are plain and intelligible, and not obscured in a labyrinth of difficulties, as the works of many authors are. To Paine we are particularly indebted for the masterly manner he has exposed that imposition called Religion, and that infernal host of drones called Priests: and to the patriotic Carlile our thanks are particularly due for the revival of that valuable work, and the support he has given it in those superior productions which he has written and published to the world. He has entered into an open war with those monsters in human shape, and it is our duty to support him in the stand he has made, according as our circumstances will admit. It is the war of Reason and Philosophy with Fanaticism and Superstition, and until the world is eradicated from the dreadful darkness into which it has plunged the mind of man, happiness will only be a thing of the imagination. It is the interest of Priests to keep the people's minds enslaved in ignorance; whilst, on the contrary, it is our duty to dispel it, for that man whose mind is under the controul of Priests and religion, is not only unfit for liberty, but dangerous to those who have banished all the Priestly dogmas of Spirits, Devils, and Priests, on all occasions, and in all ages have been enemies to improvement, both political and moral, and it remains with Reason and Philosophy to place them in that situation which shall debar them from afflicting society with those dreadful scourges any more. Let man return to Nature, and view the beautiful phenomena she offers to his mind, and see with what unerring wisdom she puts the whole in motion. Here, O man! is a resting-place for thy so long bewildered imagination! Leave the supposed abode of the deities until thou hast unravelled the laws of Nature, and made them demonstrable to thy fellow-man! In conclusion, Gentlemen, let me entreat you not to suffer your exertions to be cooled, but let the political principles of Paine, and the divinity of Mirabaud and Carlile, be our object, and ere long we shall silence all enemies and professed friends who dare to make head against us.

James Watson then gave—

The Republicans of Great Britain, and may their Exertions be speedily crowned with Success.

John Smithson gave—

Mr. Peel's Bill, and may the "THUNDERERS," who call themselves a Parliament, follow the "*stern Path of Duty*" to carry it into full Execution.

Song, by Edward Booth, selected from "The Deist."

Thomas Evens then sung a song, and gave—

Prosperity to the Man who has caused the resurrection of the Works of the immortal Paine, when Kings and Priests thought they had concealed them from the public view,

Mr. Joseph Brayshaw—

The Memory of Helvetius, Mirabaud, Voltaire, Volney, Toland, and Priestley.

By the Chairman—

Simon Bolivar, and success to the Republicans of Columbia, and may they be as watchful over Priestcraft as they have been over Kingcraft.

John Robinson—

An Unknown, who would give his Reasons, but they will not hear him.
The Land we live in, and may we shortly enjoy a pure Representative Government.

The Chairman, after a few words in praise of his conduct and courage, gave—

The Health of Thomas Davison.

The Chairman then read the following letter from Mr. Thomas Davison :—

“ To Mr. R. W. Byerley, Brunswick Street, Water Lane, Leeds.

“ CITIZEN,

“ Oakham Gaol, Jan. 14, 1822.

“ I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, accompanied by a remittance of £1 from the Reformers and Deists at Leeds, to whom I wish you to communicate my very best respects : and whilst my humble exertions meet with their approbation, I shall always be willing to encounter any persecution which the Agents of the system can inflict upon me.

“ I am perfectly aware of the incongruities of the Act-of-Parliament Religion of this country, and have felt it my duty to oppose it in every stage. The power of Priestcraft, and the imposition upon the public, has attained such an ascendancy, that I consider it the interest of every Friend to Liberty to make such an opposition. The warfare is, Reason and Philosophy versus Religion and Bigotry. Hypocrites and dissemblers may patronise the latter : it is our duty to support the former.

“ You have been pleased to compliment me upon the publication of Mirabaud's *System of Nature*, and Volney's Works : I felt myself bound to give them to the public by reason of their intrinsic merit. They have made the tyrants stagger.

“ I hope you will pardon any seeming neglect on my part in not answering your letter before, but owing to its circuitous route, I did not receive it till the 12th inst. although dated on the 26th ult.

“ With sentiments of respect and gratitude to the Reformers and Deists at Leeds, for their very kind recollection of me, I beg to subscribe myself,

“ In the bonds of the Christian faith, your fellow-citizen.

“ THOMAS DAVISON.”

The Chairman then gave—

Mrs. Carlile.

The health of JOSEPH OATES being drank, after returning thanks he addressed the company as follows :—

Gentlemen—It is with feelings of gratitude, and a sense of the debt I owe the immortal Thomas Paine, that has caused me to make one amongst you this evening to celebrate his birth-day ; because I think it the duty of every man who is enlightened by his political writings to commemorate that day which gave him birth. I have said immortal Paine, and I think I shall be able to prove to your satisfaction that his name will be immortal, because the political principles which he has laid down for generations of men to come to improve upon, will be the means of handing down his name to posterity, therefore his name will be immortal ; and if there is a future state of happiness hereafter, (in which at present I believe, though I have no proof) I am of an opinion that if Mr. Paine died in that state of mind in which he wrote the “ Rights of Man,” doubtless, he is a bright shining light in that heaven of happiness which is so generally believed in by the peo-

ple of the present day. For he says of himself, "My religion is to do good, and, in my opinion, there is nothing so conducive to the general happiness of mankind as for each to do good. Look for the contrast at the class of persons called Priests, so abundant in our nation, I mean the Established Clergy, in my opinion, one of the greatest evils that we are afflicted with, in particular, when we take into view the manner in which they obtained their unjust incomes, as related by our historians in the following words:—"The origin of tithes in England was in the year 854, when King Ethelwolf, one of the most weak and bigoted of our Saxon Kings, made the important donation to the church. The ecclesiastics in those days of ignorance, however little versed in the Scriptures, had been able to discover that the Priests under the Jewish law possessed a tenth of all the produce of the land, and forgetting what they themselves taught, that the moral part only of that law was obligatory on Christians, they insisted that this donation was a perpetual property conferred by Heaven on those who officiated at the altar." Now, ye Established Clergy of the present day, I wish to know how your forefathers, or yourselves, obtained a knowledge that the tithes, or tenths, which are collected from the hard earnings of your fellow-man, was conferred by Heaven on you or your posterity? Do we not see it is conferred by just the contrary power, a power which corrupt men assumed over the rights of the people in order to support corruption and to chain and enslave the human mind: You tell us in your doctrines that there is a supernatural Devil, when you must know, at the same time, that you have no knowledge of such a being, for if you would only examine the same doctrines, you will find a precept in the language of Jesus Christ, when he is speaking concerning his twelve disciples, "And you have I chosen, but one amongst you is a Devil, for he had the bag." Know ye, Clergy, I believe there are man-devils; look, for instance, at those who were the cause of the Manchester massacre, did they not act the part of Devils in destroying their fellow-men, who were only met to discuss the propriety of being relieved from those Devils whom they considered to be destroying their lives and liberties. Any set of men that destroy their fellow-men are Devils, in Bible language; and whenever temporal advantages are annexed to any religious profession, they will be sure to call in all those who have no religion at all. Knaves will embrace for the sake of interest; fools will follow them for the sake of fashion; and when once it is in such hands it will take the omnipotent power of the people to change the evil to a state of purity.

Joseph Oates then gave—

Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Wooler, Mr. Hunt, Sir Charles Wolseley, John Knight, and all the incarcerated Friends of Freedom.

By the Chairman—

Mary Ann Carlile, and the infant Thomas Paine Carlile, and may he live to see his Father's labours duly appreciated.

J. Smithson being called on for a toast, spoke as follows:—

Citizens, The toast I shall propose will require some little explanation, I am of opinion that there are a great many words in common use that it would be much better to dispense with, as they only burthen the language, and destroy rational ideas instead of conveying them, in short it would be far better if the language was corrected, and every word printed according to its proper pronunciation, and such new letters added as would properly distinguish the sound of every syllable in the spelling of it, and when we have governors of our own choosing in every country, which I have no doubt will be the case, though perhaps not in our day, it would be better for all the world to adopt one language, one date, one specie, one weight, and one measure, and be as one family. This would be a work of time, but the time would be better spent than in legislating for hares and partridges, or in studying the means of destruction to our own species; perhaps schoolmasters and interpreters would not be fond of this doctrine, but as I never was under a schoolmaster myself, I know no one that I need be afraid of offending, they are at present one of the most useful classes in society, and there is room for much improvement.

But there are three words to which I will call your attention, in my opinion are not only useless, but mischievous, viz. *Toleration*, *Privilege*, and *Mercy*. It is a degradation to a man to speak of *toleration* unless it be to execrate it, to do otherwise is to assist in propagating or countenancing an idea, that there is a race of superior animals, who have a right to withhold a part of Nature's bounties, from other animals of the same species. Such ideas are monstrous, they belong not to rational beings, they are the relics of barbarism, and ought to be scouted. I consider the man who can tamely set down to be what is called tolerated by the managers of the Act of Parliament Religion, as by force, or by a farce, established, is nearer a level with the brute animals, than he who plays the tyrant over him. Look at the Dissenters, who with all their show and parade, only rent their religion from year to year, (as a man takes a house) of the minister of the day, who can get a majority against the "Dissenters' Indemnity Bill" at any time when either himself or the "*Defender of the*" Farce chooses. Is it any wonder that man should be degraded, pillaged, and enslaved, while such things are countenanced. As to the word *privilege* it is nearly synonymous with *toleration*, and to acknowledge a power to grant privileges, and tolerate opinions, is to admit the right to withhold both, I deny the existence of such a right, it is an usurpation, and every man who understands his rights, and does not denounce it as such, must be considered as taking a part in it.

With regard to the word *MERCY* it is the most dangerous word of the three, it never means less than injustice, and in many cases

it means murder, we frequently hear of the King's pardon being obtained for persons who have had different degrees of punishment awarded to them, by what is called the court, and in some cases Judges are praised for their lenity, in having extended the *mercy of the Court* to individuals, who have been declared guilty, (as to finding guilty that is generally out of the question) this may all appear very kind to the unthinking and unsuspecting part of society, but if we view it a little closer we shall find, that this *bugbear mercy* is only called in to temper, or tamper, with the *barbarous criminal code of the darker ages*. They have done well to call it *criminal*, it is *criminal* enough, instead of the code being revised, corrected, and purged of its criminality, according to the knowledge of the times, and made such as neither the caprice of a hot-headed magistrate, nor the political bias of a corrupt Judge could deviate from. What greater mockery of justice can there be, than to talk of the lenity of a Judge, is a proof that law is out of the question, to talk of the lenity of one Judge, without condemning it, is to recognise the cruelty of another, and to extend *mercy* to one individual, who is proved guilty of either forgery, murder, or any other crime that is visited with capital punishment, is to *wilfully murder* all who are executed for the like offence. Let the laws be made what they ought to be, and there will be no danger in carrying them into execution; and I am of opinion that one murderer being chained and compelled to work at some public works, in a public place, all his life, with his name and crime written on a brass plate upon his back, in legible characters, would prevent more murders from being committed, than all the executions that have ever taken place in the world. Man has no right to take from man that which he cannot give, and to put a man out of existence for injuring society, is to prevent him from repairing that injury, by committing another. It is society committing suicide upon itself. The end and object of all laws should be to improve rather than to punish; again, as it respects the word *mercy*, when it is coupled with, what is called, law in a political case, it forms a complete state engine, for the nominal prosecutor of the day, to enable him to pardon the guilty, who happen to be in the good graces of the minister, or any of his satellites, while punishments are heaped with tenfold vengeance on all who dare to think, speak, and act for themselves, and I have no doubt but in many cases, prosecutions are instituted by the mutual consent of the parties, with the assurance of pardon, that other victims may be punished with greater impunity: but it is useless to talk of law, in a country where the majority of the people neither have, nor ever had, any choice of the law-makers, it is all murder, robbery, injustice, and revenge, and it will remain so, till the people are enlightened enough to choose all their servants in both the legislative and the executive departments. I hope I have said sufficient to convince you that *the word mercy* is

the very bane of justice, and whatever may have been its origin, it may be very easily dispensed with; the man who endeavours to do right stands in no need of it, and he who does wilfully wrong, does not deserve it. It may do well enough for the Ordinary of Newgate, to first tell the victims of misrule to ask the King's pardon, and, if that fails, to implore his *imaginary Deity for mercy*, in hopes of gaining, what is called heaven; but for my own part I have done with all such wild reveries; still I hold, that no man who does his duty in society, ought to be looked on as worse for holding a different opinion, no man has any thing to do with another in such a matter, any further than freely to discuss the subject, when it is by the mutual consent of the parties concerned. It is not a question belonging to nor to be settled by society, each individual has it to settle for himself, I will let all men seek after heaven or not, just as they please. If they will only keep their own dirt on their own door-stones, and maintain their own priests, I will take care they shall none of them terrify me out of the enjoyment of my heaven here; and as to hell let them fear it who think they have done something to deserve it, *I dread no Devils but Priests*, nor do I fear any hell but a troubled conscience, and if a man has a hell of his own making, and blows the bellows himself, he need not complain much about its being over heated; I hope you will weigh these matters fairly, and each judge for himself. I conclude by proposing the following toast:—

May the three mischievous words TOLERATION, PRIVILEGE, and MERCY, be speedily erased from the vocabulary of the human race.

After spending the evening in a perfect state of unanimity and concord, the company broke up at a late hour mutually pleased and improved.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

THE Book of Common Prayer opens with the direction, that "at the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer the Minister shall read, with a loud voice, some one or more of these sentences of Scripture." This word Scripture is very improperly kept up as an expression for the writings of the Bible. This was not amiss before the art of printing was invented, but to call a printed work a Scripture two thousand years from the time of its having been first written, is a misapplication of words and ideas. Every thing written with the pen is a Scripture, and the word by no means applies exclusively to the writings of the Jew Books. This observation may at first sight be viewed as captious,

but the word Scripture, in some weak and ignorant minds, weighs like the word God, or Religion, and is considered synonymous with those equivocal and senseless words. They should be informed that a sentence of Scripture means nothing definite, and applies as much to the tale of Robinson Crusoe, as to the tales about Adam, Abraham, Moses, David, or Jesus, among the Jews.

This string of sentences from Scripture, is expressive of the main point in the Jewish and Christian codes of religion, that if a man sins or commits vice of any kind, he has only occasionally to say he is sorry for it, and all his vices are metamorphosed into virtues. This sort of legerdemain is destructive of morality and calculated to engender the worst of crimes. Many a Christian have I heard say, "I am very careless about religion now, but I hope I shall be spared time enough to repent and make my peace with God, and then all will be well." By being careless about religion was meant, a practice of vice and immorality without restraint. Such is the meaning of all the sentences before me. To sin and pray constitutes the whole duty of a Jew and Christian, and the more he sins and prays the more he is promised as a reward. This religion is the enemy of moral virtue, and destructive of human happiness.

After the precedents and promises selected from the Jew Books about sinning, repenting, and forgiveness, the first three articles that follow are repetitions in the same strain, only in the third the Priest assumes the power of absolving and remitting sins; and then comes what is called the Lord's Prayer, which deserves notice from me more in consequence of its general use, and being considered among ignorant, weak-minded persons as a talisman against all evil, than from the words which form it. Such are the superstitious notions connected with this Prayer, that the reading it, or repeating it properly, is considered a talisman to keep away the Devil, or to deprive him of all his powers of injury; whilst to read it backward is considered as a summons for attendance that the Devil cannot resist! This Prayer may be termed the focus of Christian idolatry and superstition, for it is more used than all the others put together. It is represented as having been first spoken by Jesus Christ himself, and as being a Prayer of his own composition, which he put forth as a pattern, or as an all-sufficient Prayer. Thousands and tens of thousands of times have I repeated it in my youth; sometimes from motives of fear

and as a preservation against danger, at other times as a matter of school or church discipline, at all down-layings and up-risings; and this I know to be the practice of the present day, though in a lesser degree, from the dissensions and recessions regarding superstition.

I will dissect it here as a display of its contemptibility, and to shew upon what a shallow ground all superstition originates. It begins with, "Our Father, which art in Heaven:" a paltry expression, because Heaven is a fiction, and has no identity. An idea altogether borrowed from the Pagans, with the exception, that they admitted a variety of Gods: still they addressed their Jupiter as the common father of all in just the same strain as the Jews and Christians address their Jehovah. "Hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come." This, if applied to the term Father, to an almighty Deity, is blasphemous in reality, and a complete contradiction in terms. The first admits an almighty father, the second assumes that he has not arrived at the zenith of his power, that he has not yet a kingdom to govern, upon the principle of an earthly monarch. It is vain to tell us the expression is figurative, the Prayer was composed when both Jews and Christians expected the Messiah would come and reign amongst them on earth, as an earthly king, although his reign was expected to be perpetual, and that they were no more to be subject to death. This is what Paul's Epistle alludes to when he says, "You shall be changed and not all sleep: in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump, for the trumpet shall sound, &c."* Upon this principle alone the New Testament ought to be rejected, for, at the time of its first promulgation, it was said and expected by its dupes, that a generation should not pass away before this thing should happen. It is therefore evident, that the Prayer was not originally meant to convey a figurative sense in the expression of "*thy kingdom come.*"

"Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven," is an expression without meaning, unless any Priest can tell us where and what is Heaven, and what is done there. I would not be thought to treat this subject with levity, I am

* Paul, in this chapter, says, that flesh and blood cannot enter Heaven, and teaches the doctrine of spirituality as an explanation of the change of the body; but yet he leaves us to understand that these spirituals have a mouth and wind to blow a material trumpet, unless there be such things as spiritual trumpets. However, I leave you, Sir, and the Priests to settle this matter.

really serious in all I write. I deny the existence of a Heaven and of spiritualities. Whatever doth exist is material. Matter is the infinite, the self-existent principle of Nature. When the enthusiast invented the fiction of spirits, the gaseous principle of matter was as much hidden from the human mind as is the nature and property of the surface of the sun at present, and even more so, for we begin to get some faint gleam of light as to the latter point, but the former was not imagined when Christianity originated. Now we comprehend the principle of gaseous matter, we ought to blush for the former doctrines of spirits and spiritual beings, instead of having them forced upon us by penal laws. The next generation will ridicule the notion of spirits as we do now that of witches and witchcraft; in fact, they are synonymous in my view at present, and I entertain the same feeling towards the one as the other.

"Give us this day our daily bread," is a Prayer that may suit a set of lazy Priests, but we all know that the honest man may have it if he will earn it, that is, if he be so situated as to find profitable employment. It will never come by Prayer. Industry is the only sure application by which it may be obtained.

"And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Upon this view of forgiving trespasses, you, Mr. Justice Bailey, and all my persecutors, must expect the same measures as you have meted out to me. It is a paltry Prayer; the best way is not to commit trespasses at all. Your idolatry does not point out the advantages to society at large in not committing trespasses at all, but it does point out triumphantly how trespasses may be committed with impunity. He who commits the most trespasses, and prays for the most forgiveness, makes the best Christian.

"And lead us not into temptation," is an implication that the capricious Jehovah does occasionally lead his followers into temptation. It is a Prayer that he will be pleased not to do what he sometimes does! Strange method of praying is this, and confers great dignity on the Idol! "But deliver us from evil," is a similar impeachment of his motives and actions, an attack upon all his assumed moral attributes, a denial of his alleged omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience, in not always doing that which moral virtue requires. It makes him the occasional patron of evil, but the Idol to whom this Prayer is addressed is not, has no

relation to, the God of Nature. It is the Japiter of the Jews and Christians.

"For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen" The ideas of the writer of this Prayer extended not beyond a kingdom. A man with the title of King was the beighth of all glory and power according to his views. It is thus we hear so much nonsense about the kingdom of Heaven, where all are to wear crowns of glory. It is a fiction of the human mind when in a state of gross ignorance. To enforce such notions among mankind in the present age exceeds every other description of villainy that can be imagined, and all others put together! The worst of all tyrannies! the greatest of all tortures!

I have seen a large volume of sermons made entirely from the members of this Prayer, but I presume that I have fully explained it in a very few words, and have said all that is necessary upon it. As its origin has been attributed to Jesus Christ, much has been thought of its purity and propriety, but it is, in fact, a paltry composition, a contemptible Prayer, as deficient in a moral as in a physical point of view. It may be termed the amulet of Christians against all evils; but, like all other amulets, it must fall into contempt, from the increasing knowledge of mankind, and from the expansion of the intellectual powers of the human mind.

The next point is a continuation of Prayer, and of the same ridiculous kind: it begins, "O Lord, open thou our lips; and our mouth shall shew forth thy praise." Now, what can be more contemptible than this Prayer? "Open thou our lips," implies an act of indifference and apathy on the part of the prayer, who calls upon Jehovah to put one hand to the upper lip and the other to the under lip and so pull them apart, as a means of obtaining praise for himself. It is vain to tell us about any figurative sense to the words, the expression is literal, and must be so taken, as I have here represented it. It is altogether a jumble of nonsense, and you can compose no kind of Prayer to an Idol, or what you call a spiritual being, that shall be otherwise.

"O God, make speed to save us; O Lord, make haste to help us;" forms another preposterous request. God is presumed to be omnipresent, therefore speed or haste is not required as an addition to his attributes. This is taking up the point upon your principles and arguments. I have, in-

dividually, arrived to that state of mind, so as not to assume any thing about what is called God, or Deity. I am not blasphemous enough for that at present. That species of blasphemy I have left with you.

"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." The mother ought not to have been omitted in this family of Idols. Glory be to the Father, and to the Mother, and to the Son, would have sounded much better, even if Brothers and Sisters, Grandfather, Grandmama, and Cousins had been omitted. You call the Holy Ghost a spirit, in a Note: you should have informed us what were the component parts of a spirit.

"As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end." The latter part of this sentence is the only piece of sense in the Book of Common Prayer, if it be applied to the eternity of matter. The world without end but ill corresponds with the Christian dogmas about the end of the world, of time, and of all things material. It is an evident contradiction. If the phrase stood thus: "As it was in time past, is now, and ever shall be, world without end;" it would have been a sentence of truth calculated to overthrow every species of idolatry. It is that first principle from which every theological, physical, or metaphysical argument should emanate, and to which it should always bear relation. If you travel out of this certain path, you deviate from truth and wander in darkness. It is the basis of all philosophy, science, and art. It is an expression of the increased power of matter, its indestructibility, and eternity; independent of which there is no existence whatever. It is THE INFINITE, and there cannot be two infinities, as Lady Newcastle wrote above 150 years since. There is but one infinite, and from that infinite every thing in existence has its being, and forms part and parcel. When the whole human race shall be brought to a knowledge and full comprehension of this axiom, then will the earth become a Paradise. I call it an axiom, for, although it has not the consent of all men, still no man can dispute it without error. I challenge any man to the dispute.

The next article is the 95th Psalm, which, after an exhortation to idolatry, says, "For the Lord is a great God: and a great King above all gods." This would be but a low compliment if intended to be applied to the God of Nature, but as it is not, and as we know that Jehovah is allowed by his followers to be jealous of other gods, the compliment or flattery applies very well to him. "In his

hand are all the corners of the earth: and the strength of the hills is his also." This too is a contemptible expression, since we know the earth has no corners, but is globular. The Jew that wrote that Psalm did not know but that the earth was square and flat like a trencher, and that it was a plain surface jutting out of an interminable ocean of water. We know better now, and ought to reject these Jew Books, and the Idol Jehovah to whom they allude, and in whom the Jews believed. Jews and Christians, your dogmas and foolish stupid tales will no longer suit us, we must have something more consonant with truth and the improved state of the human mind. We will no longer be the slaves of your bigotry and the worshippers of your Idols.

"The sea is his, and he made it: and his hand prepared the dry land." Preposterous notion! Whether it be poetical or figurative, it is equally blasphemous if applied to the God of Nature, to represent him as working with hands. The remainder of this Psalm is a picture of some of the whims and passions attributed to Jehovah, and your Note, Sir, throws no kind of light or explanation upon the matter.

I now come to what is called the "Te Deum," which, connected with the Canticle that follows it, would be a monstrous collection of words if applied to any thing but an idol. There is nothing objectionable in the first sentence, which says, "We praise thee, O God: we acknowledge thee to be the Lord;" unless it is to be observed that the God of Nature must be above all human praise; the profession of any thing to the contrary amounts at least to arrogance and self-conceit on the part of the worm that bestows it. We ought never to apply words to that of which we have no ideas, no comprehension.

The second sentence which says, "All the earth doth worship thee: the Father everlasting;" is incorrect upon the same principle as the last. The modes of worship have been more various than the shades of colour among mankind, and all of them have been wrong in their ideas of the Deity. It forms one of those vain assumptions connected with every religion, namely, that theirs is the all-sufficient and all-comprehensive system, and all others nothing in comparison to it. You are all in the wrong, Sir, there never was a religion right, there never will be, because NATURE or MATTER requires nothing of the kind. All, all is idolatry, and science will put it all down. It is a bur-

lesque upon human knowledge, and the great disturber of all societies.

The next sentence is made up of words of sound. "To thee all angels cry aloud: the heavens, and all the powers therein." This idea must have originated with the clamour of the Christian mode of worship, but as to the angels and all the powers of heaven, and the heavens themselves, crying aloud, I must leave to your reflection, Sir, it exceeds all my powers of comprehension.

"To thee Cherubim and Seraphim; continually do cry, Holy, Holy, Holy; Lord God of Sabaoth: heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory." If we had no other proof of the idolatry charged upon the Christian religion, this sentence would be sufficient. The Cherubim is the graven image of a bull, and formed part of the Egyptian and Chaldean mythology, and was incorporated by some of the Jewish Prophets or Priests with theirs after the Babylonish captivity. What the Seraphim means is not rightly understood at present, but most probably the figure of some other animal is meant. The word Sabaoth signifies a host: thus the Christian God is called a God of Hosts—a fighting God. The meaning of the above sentence is, "To thee the Bull and another animal continually do cry, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts." A fine piece of Popish stuff, Mr. Paine would say, to be taught among us in the present day. The remainder of this article is such a mixture of the three in one and one in three, that I cannot attempt to unravel it, or even to comment upon it, particularly, as it touches upon the incontinent foundation of the Christian religion, and about the Virgin's womb not being abhorred by Jehovah, or a part of him, or something. All the Pagan gods were represented as being very fond of virgins. The same thing is the very essence and grand stimulant in the Mahometan religion. Morality demands very different notions of Deity, and Deists are persecuted by a Vice Society for endeavouring to promulgate them! This is one of the anomalies common to hypocrites and tyrants.

The Canticle is a complete outrage on common sense: if any man in the present day was to put on paper such a string of words, it would be received as evidence, in any of our Courts of Law, that he was insane, and he would be consigned to St. Luke's Hospital, or some other mad-house, without hope of release. I will epitomize it without changing its meaning, and I think it will require an hypocrisy and gravity equal to that of yours, Sir, to read it

without an almost dangerous fit of laughter. Here it goes, "O all ye Works of the Lord, O ye Angels of the Lord, O ye Heavens, O ye Waters, that be above the firmament, O all ye Powers of the Lord, O ye Sun and Moon, O ye Stars of Heaven, O ye Showers and Dew, O ye Winds of God, O ye Fire and Heat, O ye Winter and Summer, O ye Dews and Frosts, O ye Frost and Cold, O ye Ice and Snow, O ye Nights and Days, O ye Light and Darkness, O ye Lightnings and Clouds, O let the Earth, O ye Mountains and Hills, O all ye Green Things upon the Earth, O ye Wells, O ye Seas and Floods, O ye Whales and all that move in the waters, O all ye Fowls of the Air, O all ye Beasts and Cattle, O ye Children of Men, O let Israel, O ye Priests of the Lord, O ye Servants of the Lord, O ye Spirits and Souls of the Righteous, O ye holy and humble men of heart, O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord: praise him, and magnify him for ever" In the original the last three members of a sentence follow every item enumerated, and has a very important sound if you do not tire of the repetition. Who the three last-mentioned heroes are I know not, nor whence this Canticle originated, nor have you, Sir, ventured a note on it to give us information, as you have done with some other articles. On the next page you tell us, that "it is highly poetical to call upon the inanimate parts of the creation to join in praising God." If it be highly poetical, it is not less foolish and nonsensical, and I am of opinion it is a species of poetry that can amuse none but fanatics. It is an outrage upon Nature, upon the present state of knowledge, and every natural feeling. Some of the *O ye's* would have borne a few notes of admiration, but I thought the matter quite sufficient of itself to excite surprise as you read on. I think the translator, if there ever was one, (and I should hope it was not first written by an Englishman) has made a mistake and omitted those terrific objects, Fogs and Hail, or falsely translated them to Dews and Frosts; and yet I should think that the writer of such nonsense knew not that hail was frozen water. It appears further, that he knew nothing about those terrific things called Comets, Eclipses, or Volcanoes, or he might have touched his article a little more with the sublime. Why poor Thunder is omitted I should like to know; egad! the writer, the gross flatterer, thought it was the voice of God himself, as the fools and fanatics of the present day think. God speaking to sinners, as I have heard them say. Something about Hell too should have

been introduced to have increased the sublime. "O all ye Powers of Hell, bless ye the Lord, praise him, and magnify him for ever," would have formed a grand contrast, and would have been much more poetical, Mr. Justice Bailey, than calling upon inanimate things. Fiction in poetry is always superior to metamorphosis. Ovid wore out the latter, and rendered it disgusting.

I shall now close this letter, as it is quite long enough upon such a subject, I am always afraid of saying too much upon such a matter, and of disgusting my readers. If the Printing Press is disgraced by any thing, it is by what are called printed arguments for religion, and the forms of religious ceremonies. If any thing deserves punishment with fine and imprisonment, such as you have imposed upon me, it is the publication of such trash as I have quoted and commented upon in this letter. But I have no desire to turn your own weapons upon you. You may go on if you will but leave me to do the same. All the retaliation I shall seek, when the Age of Reason approaches, will be to recover the value of the property of which I have been robbed. I look at you as one of my robbers, and I shall certainly endeavour to make you disgorge your share of the plunder. That time is not far distant. I am doing more for the support of my opinions in a Gaol than you are for your hypocrisy out of one. For the present I conclude by telling you, that I write this letter from Dorchester Gaol, on the 21st of March, year 1822 of the Carpenter's Wife's Son, and I have strong hopes, at this moment, that within another year, or two, at farthest, I shall be able conscientiously to date as the 1st year of the Age of Reason.

R. CARLILE.

THE INCARCERATED SHOPMEN OF MR. R. CARLILE.

W. V. HOLMES, Joseph Rhodes, and John Barkley, return their thanks to the Unknown Friend who sent them a Shoulder of Mutton on the 17th of March; also for 2s. 6d. that was left at Mr. ———, to be divided among them.

W. Vamplew Holmes returns his thanks to the Gentlemen at ———, for their favor of £1. 0s. 3d.; and also to a Gentleman for 2s. 6d., per Mrs. Beckwith.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR,

Nottingham, March 18, 1822.

THE Friends of Freedom and Toleration, residing in this town and neighbourhood, feeling indignant at the merciless persecutions inflicted on yourself and on your family, for having fearlessly promulgated your sentiments on religious subjects, are touched with a lively sympathy for your and their accumulated wrongs and sufferings, and have commenced a subscription for the purpose of contributing to the reimbursement of the monstrous fines which the amiable conservators of the morals and religion of this most religious nation, have thought proper to lay on you, in order, no doubt, to make what the late Sir Vicary Gibbs termed, "a blighted example" of you!

Christianity has been denominated "the Religion of Love;" but, unfortunately, its most zealous advocates and propagators frequently act as though inspired by a spirit of RANCOUROUS HATRED. Not satisfied with anathematizing those of *different* creeds, they have, on various occasions, and in almost every country, persecuted *their fellow Christians* with relentless severity: differences and obduracy of *belief* as to doctrinal points of Christian salvation, have brought thousands after thousands of pious believers to the stake, the scaffold, or the gallows:—all—all for the preservation of this *Religion of Love*! It is even become proverbial that the "blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church!" It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that you, Sir, who have aimed such deadly blows at the whole system of Christian priestcraft and delusion, should experience the bitterest enmity of those, who "by that craft have their wealth," and whose craft consists in their ability to delude. Under this persecution, or rather the series of persecutions, which you, dear Sir, and your amiable family have sustained with such unexampled fortitude, you are no doubt supported by the conscious rectitude of your conduct, and the knowledge that you possess the sympathy, esteem, and approbation of all whose good opinion is worth obtaining.

We beg your acceptance of the enclosed remittance of Ten Pounds, and will, as early as convenient, send a further remittance from the fund which we have established for your service.

Wishing you and your family the enjoyment of health, and every happiness attainable in your miserable dungeon.

I remain, dear Sir,

On behalf of the Subscribers, your Friend,

MOSES COLCLOUGH.

P. S. With the next remittance a List of Subscribers will be sent.

MR. MOSES COLCLOUGH, NOTTINGHAM.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND, Dorchester Gaol, March 22, 1822.
WITH the warmest esteem and sense of gratitude, I convey to you and all friends at Nottingham my acknowledgment of the receipt of Ten Pounds as a general contribution to my support, and as a check to the injuries my tyrants and persecutors would inflict upon me.

My struggle is not so much to make proselytes to particular opinions, or for uniformity of opinion, which I feel assured will never exist among a free people, as to put in practice the right of free discussion. As a bookseller I am quite ready to sell those opinions that are opposed to my own: as an author, or advocate of certain opinions, and as a printer, I contend for the right of printing my own, and of publicly selling them. This is a point I never will give up whilst I have the means of putting another sheet of paper to the press, or whilst I have an unsold copy of any of my proscribed publications.

The persecutions to which I have been subjected, the robberies that have been practised upon my property, my imprisonment, and that of my family and assistants, are all so many proofs of the truth and moral force of my opinions, or the opinions which I advocate. If my enemies could do any thing effectually with the pen, they would do it triumphantly, but they have the same conviction as I have on this head, namely, that with the pen they can do nothing against the free use of the pen and press on the other side. They therefore resort to that brute force which their established despotism has left in their hands, and make themselves the heralds of their own defeat, and of the contemptibility and nothingness of their own opinions.

Citizens of Nottingham, I feel happy in the assurance that the Printing Press is working most rapidly that great moral change in the minds of the people of this Island, as to their political and theological opinions, that is essential to their future happiness and prosperity. There may be some few considered popular men, who withhold their assent and approbation from the political and theological principles of Thomas Paine, from an idea that they are not yet sufficiently spread as to enable them to ride easy upon the necks of the multitude to power and profit, yet these men

cannot retard them, and I sincerely hope that those who imbibe the pure principles of Republicanism will be very careful how they lend themselves to the advancement of such men. It has been considered for a century past in this country the acme of political wisdom and ability to ride to power and distinction upon the clamours of the multitude, and then forsake all former pretensions, but be it our study and our duty to enlighten that multitude, and prevent any further degradation of this kind.

Be it our duty to inculcate the right of election to all public posts, and that the right of voting be extended to every man. Any thing short of this is short of honesty and public good. The man who does not come up to this point deserves not the epithet of "Friend of the People," or of "Friend of Liberty." There can be no universal liberty upon any other scheme. This alone constitutes what is called equality, which signifies, that in an abstract point of view, or as a member of society, every man is equal to the other, and that any distinction in office must depend upon the choice of the whole expressed by the consent of a majority. This constitutes what is called equal laws and equal rights. All useful and important principles are always the most simple and easiest understood by the multitude. All prattle about *political economy*, or the *philosophy of politics*, means some obscure dogmas that are incomprehensible to the multitude in the common acceptance of the words, but real *economy* and *philosophy* as to *politics*, must always depend on the most simple principles; such as those laid down in the writings of Thomas Paine, and such as can be understood by the natural ideas of an unlettered man.

The principles of Republicanism I am well informed have been long since duly appreciated by the majority of the inhabitants of Nottingham. It is a town distinguished by its public spirit, and I am happy to see that in giving relief to the incarcerated friends of freedom, which is certainly the first principle for which a subscription ought to be raised, the people of Nottingham have taken the lead in a regular manner, and have done by their unanimity more than the same number of persons in any other town. I am also happy to see that the inhabitants of Nottingham have not been deluded by that bugbear, that pick-pocket thing, called the Great Northern Radical Union. The alleged motive for raising that fund is base in the extreme, and a sad disgrace upon those subscribers who have treated the present House of Commons with such deserved

contempt. Instead of forming a union among the Reformers of the North of England, it has done more than every other thing put together to divide them. It is a rotten principle, and no good can arise from it. Why not have formed a general fund for general purposes, as a matter of union? A fund that should be appropriated to any fair claims upon it that should meet the sanction of the subscribers: a fund that should have made some regular allowance to every incarcerated individual according to his wants and necessities, as a first principle; no man calling himself a Reformer could have hesitated to subscribe to such a fund, and every injured individual in the cause of liberty would have had the consolation that there was a fixed fund that would relieve him, if his claims were fair and approved. The raising of a fund for the present alleged purposes is doing a great deal of mischief in destroying unanimity, as it is a complete retrogression in principle, a circumstance upon which I perceive some men have no scruples, when it is to answer a private purpose of their own. We see men who a few months since scouted with indignation any further petitioning to the House of Commons in bodies, (individual petitions for individual grievances alone excepted) now recommending the very thing for private gratification to themselves. If this be not an abandonment of principle, of honest principle, then I do not know how the term can be applied. I am particularly pleased to see that this delusion has been twice scouted in London, although the resolutions for the purpose came ready cut and dried from head quarters, and the first time a vote of thanks to Judge Bailey! and to several members of the House of Commons, formed part of the order of the day!

Before any good can be effected in the cause of liberty, we must adhere to approved principles, and not to men without them. It is the latter circumstance that defeats every object that is undertaken for public good. Some individual sets himself up as an object for public clamour, and every sound principle is lost sight of whilst we are bawling upon his name; till, at length, he gains his object, abandons us, and we are filled with disgust and shame, and all public spirit is destroyed among us. This has been the game in England for more than a century pass. Let us, my friends, use our endeavours to put a stop to it; let us support no man further than he avows his principles, and we approve them. We shall then, at least, derive the consciousness of having done nothing wrong, and never feel any thing like shame or degradation.

Again, my friends at Nottingham, I return you thanks, and promise you that my study shall be to improve your esteem, by a perseverance in the propagation of sound principles, as far as my judgment discerns them; and were those to be my last words to you, which I hope will not be the case, I would say: FOLLOW PRINCIPLES THAT YOUR MINDS APPROVE, AND NOT MEN WITHOUT THEM.

I am, Citizen, gratefully yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. JAMES HUMPHREYS, OF SPRINGDALE,
NEAR HUDDERSFIELD, YORKSHIRE.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, March 26, 1822.

YOU have printed a pamphlet which you state to be the first of an intended series, under the denomination of "Philosophical Researches, or a scientific Developement of Moral, Metaphysical, and Theological Truths." The first is addressed to me as a Letter, with an apology to the reader for so doing, in which you pledge yourself to have shewn that "Matter is not Eternal," and you call upon me to answer this before you print another.

Ever ready to defend my opinions and principles, I instantly obey your call, and as I have calmly and collectedly passed through your labyrinth of words in ninety pages, I will, in a very few pages, give you a complete answer to every point on which you have fixed, and before I begin, I give you credit for touching upon the ground work of all Science, and arguing for that only point on which any thing called religion can be defended: for if matter be eternal or infinite, a proposition for which I contend in my present state of mind and knowledge, there can be nothing superior to or independent of matter, and until we can settle this point, it is vain to touch on any other, or to dispute about secondary objects.

Throughout your Letter I have found but one Philosophical Truth, and that is a repetition of one which I have found laid down in a work of the seventeenth century, by the Marchioness of Newcastle, namely, that there can be but one Infinite. I am by no means certain that the idea originated with this lady, it may be older, but it is an axiom, an indisputable truth, therefore, the main question

between you and me will be as to what constitutes this Infinite. I say it is matter, you say it is not. I shall therefore fasten you to this simple but all important point.

I will proceed regularly through your pamphlet, and review as many of your words as touch upon this point. Your title-page expresses that the subject of your Letter to me is "A Scientific Demonstration that Matter is not Eternal." To the Letter you have prefixed, "An Apology for the present Undertaking" addressed to the Reader. Your apology I have read with such feelings as you anticipated. An honest action needs no apology: truth disdains it. Sophistry and hypocrisy alone need to be glossed with an apology. A Philosopher, or one who writes upon philosophical truths, of which you boast so much and display so little, ought not for a moment to consult the prejudices of mankind. When I found the unsettled state of your mind upon this point, I confess I did not expect to find any philosophical truths in your letter to me. One only have I found on which in its place I shall not fail to enlarge.

Before I can fix on a single point that answers to the professed object of your letter, I have to pass on to the thirty-second page, where you attack not me, or Elihu Palmer, but a Mr. Law. I presume this Mr. Law means the late Bishop of Carlisle, who, I understand, was, in reality, as much of a Christian as I am. In noticing one of his works in succession to one of Mr. Cudworth's, you condemn their giving up that long exploded doctrine of matter being created out of nothing; and affect to treat the former with much contempt for so doing.

You say, alluding to Mr. Law's "Appeal to all that doubt or disbelieve the Truths of the Gospel," "he asserts in the commencement of it, that '*it is the same impossibility for a thing to be created out of nothing, as by nothing*;' but this is false." You proceed, "I can prove to the clearest point of demonstration, that it '*is absolutely impossible for a thing to be created BY nothing*; because the supposition of this implies a plain contradiction in terms. '*Creation is an ACTION, but no action can possibly exist without an actor*. But as nothing; an absolute non-entity is NOT an actor; therefore, a non-entity can never produce real existence; and to suppose it, is to suppose an actor, and NO ACTOR; an action, and NO ACTION; something produced, and NOTHING PRODUCED. But can we discover the existence of such contradictions in the supposition of a thing being caused to exist, which before did not exist?"

Here you should have been more explicit, and have stated a case, by using the words "*a thing being caused to exist*," I can fix you to *nothing*. If by the word *thing* you mean *general matter*, I say the contradiction is equal to the former, but if you allude to a *distinct thing*, such as an animal, a vegetable, or a mineral, then I admit the actor and no contradiction. But you err in setting up an actor, and in saying his power is illimitable. You, who affect to ridicule me for not accompanying assertions, that are generally received as axioms, with proofs, should have here produced a proof of the assertion, that there is an actor whose power is illimitable. But I am running before you, without giving your answer to the above question. You say, "No! this like the former, is an action, but here is an *efficient actor supposed*, and there being an efficient actor supposed, all contradictions are at once annihilated, because to say that this actor cannot produce real existence, from a non-entity is only *limiting its power*; and *not* shewing a contradiction in the thing, because power can operate as well where nothing but itself exists, as it can involved in the midst of existing substances of all descriptions. If this be not the case; if this power cannot operate where nothing but itself exists, this must be because it is prevented; but what prevents it? What mancipates it? Does non-entity? Can nothing *act*? Can *nothing* prevent power from operating?" This is all about nothing. You speak of non-entities. The whole universe is a being, an entity. Where then will you fix your non-entities, or how imagine, how define them? In attempting to shew there is no contradiction in your last point you run into contradictions with a vengeance, without stating any one definite point. The word *non-entity* is a contradiction in itself? Can you define it? I cannot, and I say you cannot. The words about a *power operating or not operating where nothing but itself exists*, are words of sound only: they mean nothing: you can infer nothing from them: they are fictitious, having no relation to any reality.

Mr. Law's proposition is plain, simple, and comprehensible: yours is all confusion and hotch-potch. The words *nothing* and *non-entity* are not substantives, although you use them as such, they can scarcely be called any part of speech: they are words of sound only: they have no meaning, in a philosophical point of view. In stating philosophical truths they cannot be used, and in using them you have given no answer to Mr. Law's proposition. Since the

idea of a vacuum has been exploded, the words *nothing* and *non-entity* cannot apply beyond beings that have existed in distinct forms, and that have ceased to exist; relating to the universe, or to matter generally, as you have attempted to relate them, they are words of sound only, and false in philosophy. Mr. Law used the words in the form of a fictitious antithesis, you have attempted to give them in reality; and in so doing you have travelled out of philosophy into fiction and fable.

I will further dissect the paragraph I have quoted. In one part of it you say, "power can operate as well where nothing but itself exists, as it can involved in the midst of existing substances of all descriptions. If this be not the case; if this power cannot operate where nothing but itself exists, this must be because it is prevented; but what prevents it? What mancipates it?" I will not retort the words you have so liberally bestowed upon me in your pamphlet, I will try to act the philosopher in one sense, for once, but I will say that a philosopher would be ashamed of the above words, he never would have written them. Power, which implies a being with power, without some other being to act upon, is powerless. But this forms the essence of our dispute. You ask what can prevent power from acting when nothing but itself exists! I answer the absence of a necessary being to act upon is the prevention; is the cause that mancipates it. I will give you an instance:

Animal poison is a power. When confined in a case or bottle it is powerless; bring any animal in contact with it; pour it into the stomach of that animal, and then that power is brought into action, which, had it remained in the case or bottle, would have been prevented. This you may take as an apology or general application to the point between you and Mr. Law. It is matter acting upon matter that produces every change on matter we behold, and the idea of *nothing* or *no matter* cannot be conceived. All is matter. Space is matter. Time, if it be capable of definition, is matter; and every idea you have, I can reduce to that one simple thing matter. Matter is the Infinite: the great whole. Some of the varieties of matter possess peculiar power, with peculiar kinds of matter, and in the absence of that peculiar kind, they are powerless. But this matter is a thing of which you do not appear to have any correct ideas, and if you have, you have not stated them; you have blinked them for a delusive purpose. As a general answer to the assumption that matter can be created from *nothing* or *no*

matter, I say you cannot conceive the two latter words upon any correct principle: they are words of sound and mean nothing. They are delusive words, which the philosopher or man of science cannot use with propriety. I might here take my stand, and call upon you to point me where *nothing* or *no matter* is; or, in plainer words, where there is an absence of matter. Before you can move a step to dispute the axiom, "that out of nothing, nothing can be made," you must be prepared to shew me that matter is not space, or that there is or ever was a space where there is or was no matter, or an absence of matter.

IN THE WARMTH OF THIS SUBJECT, I WILL CHALLENGE YOU, OR ANY MAN LIVING, TO STATE A PROPOSITION TO ME THAT IS A REALITY, WHICH I CANNOT REDUCE TO MATTER, OR PROVE IT A FICTION AND FOLLY.

(To be continued.)

RESURRECTION OF THE "TEMPLE OF REASON."

AFTER being buried for the space of six weeks under the filth and mire of Legal Robbers, the "Temple of Reason" will again rise into existence, in all its wonted splendour, next week, where the whole of Mr. Carlile's Works may be had, at No. 5, Water Lane, five doors from Fleet Street.

Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street. All Communications (post paid) are requested to be sent to Dorchester Gaol, until a further Address to some House or Shop be given.—Orders, with remittances, or references for payment, will be punctually attended to. Country Agents will find the most liberal Terms for prompt Payment.

The Republican.

No. 14. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, April 5, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, April 2,
Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

ALL on the Continent of Europe, South of Spain, is in a state of momentary uncertainty. Russia has evidently one eye at the Turks in the East, and the other at the Republicans in the North, and it is now rumoured that in case of a war with Turkey, the Republicans of Poland are sufficiently formidable to threaten insurrection and independence. This state of things keeps Russia wavering: she knows not what to do.

General Berthon, in France, is still at large somewhere, and this speaks volumes in the absence of more correct information. Some accounts say, he is moving with 20,000 men, and opposing all obstacles, others that he is wandering alone, so that we must wait the result to know the truth. This will not be an idle year in Europe.

The Greeks seem to be acting upon the defensive, and to be waiting for Turkish armaments that are advancing against them, and in the meantime improving their internal strength and arranging their resources. We have heard nothing new from them of late: but their independence is now placed beyond doubt, unless Russia steps in to assist Turkey in crushing them: a thing not unlikely if the Republicans of the South display a menacing front. A monarchy never yet warred upon any sound principles, or any just cause: always against them.

In Spain, Ferdinand is humbled to solicit the company and friendship of his successor, Riego. We are told that they have actually smoked a segar together! A successful resistance neither constitutes rebellion or treason: a circumstance fully verified in Spain at this moment. Ferdinand denounced Riego as a traitor, in the beginning of 1820:

Ferdinand solicits his company in 1822, just two years after. An attempt was even made last year to construe the conduct of Riego into treason: but the people of Spain, from one extremity to the other, threatened the right hand, if it was necessary that a traitor should die: so now Ferdinand considers his own safety depends upon his behaviour to Riego, and acts according.

At home all is going on as it has been for years past, TAXING, GRUMBLING, PETITIONING, and there it ends. George Canning is to be King of India, and it is much to be wished that all our tax-eaters bastards, and others, would betake themselves there with him. New scenes for delusion would open themselves there whilst they are all receding in this Island. It may be fairly calculated that the last species of emigration from Europe will be an emigration of Kings and Courtiers. Such playthings may amuse and dazzle the Hindoos: whilst the empire of China opens a new and large field for plunder and murder for them.

Having another shop opened in London for the sale of my publications, I am happy to inform you that I have a multitude of offers for shopmen. I print two letters from Leeds on this head, but these are not the only ones ready to start from Leeds. My friend in London begins with a London Shopman, and, if he be arrested, we shall have up a few more from the country, then sell again through the screen, and so not allow them to be arrested more than one in a session, or term, just to keep up a continued defence of our principles in the Courts of Law.

The petition which has been presented to the Parliament in Barkley's case has been taken up by some friends whom we neither of us know. I have no information upon the matter but what I can get from the papers. The same, or some other friends, have kindly offered to see counsel for Boyle, but by the following Extract of a Letter from him to me, it will be seen he nobly resolves to do his duty to the best of his ability.

" Sir,

Newgate, March 20, 1822.

" I HAVE resolved to defend myself, I must acknowledge that when I was offered Mr. Cooper, I felt inclined to accept him, because I knew him to be an able man; but I will not run the least chance of having to stand at the bar to hear my principles denounced by my Counsel; principles which I feel a pleasure in possessing, and which I have always openly avowed ever since I imbibed them. There is another reason that induced me to pre-

fer defending myself, that is, I wish to shew the Common Serjeant that the sentences he has passed upon Holmes and Rhodes, will not deter others from openly defending the principles they hold. I cannot help thinking, but that the gentlemen who offered to fee Counsel for me, are friends to free discussion, though I do not think they hold the same opinions as myself on religion."

A man such as this deserves all the encouragement that can be bestowed upon him. The men who have come round me of late, although they are not the richest in money, still they are rich in virtue and courage. Shew me any thing in history that exceeds for disinterestedness and virtue the conduct of the persons who have rallied round me since my sister was imprisoned. Of none of them have I the least personal knowledge, excepting Mrs. Wright, and there is no other tie between us than a mutual advocacy of the same principles. I know nothing in the history of the past that exceeds or even equals this.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. JAMES HUMPHREYS, OF SPRINGDALE,
NEAR HUDDERSFIELD, YORKSHIRE.

(Continued from p. 416.)

Here is a challenge to all Priests, all philosophers, and all men of science; and to be more explicit, I will enlarge upon and explain the nature of my challenge. The universe, as far as we perceive and conceive, is made up of what we call planetary systems; that is, solid globes of matter, of various sizes, floating in various motions, at respective distances from each other, in fluid or gaseous matter. Now, I hazard the assertion, that these respective distances from one globe to another are filled up with what we denominate gaseous matter, and that there is a constant interchange of matter with the nearest globes, so as to leave no vacuity, and that this constant, never-ceasing interchange of matter keeps up and forms the principle of motion, and constitutes motion an inherent property of matter. Matter is the basis of motion, but motion is a property of matter, as much as solidity, liquidity, or fluidity: in short, motion is matter, and to this one simple word matter I will reduce

every thing mental or corporeal that can be suggested to me. I am not aware that any such a challenge has been made to the world before, but I have made it, I do now make it. I might fairly say here, that I have written a full answer to your pamphlet, and here stop to see whether you will take up my challenge; but in the next paragraph to that which I have quoted, you speak of "demonstration;" so if it be but for pastime and amusement, I will follow you.

After amusing yourself with an erroneous idea of having refuted the above proposition of Mr. Law, you say:—

"He then proceeds with asserting, that 'every creature is nothing else but *nature* put into a certain form of existence; and, therefore, a creature not formed out of nature is a contradiction.' How obvious must be the blunder here to every philosophical mind." There is no blunder, Mr. Humphreys, on the part of Mr. Law, he has stated a philosophical truth; you, in carping upon it, have committed a blunder most egregious. Nature is matter in motion in all its varieties, and if Mr. Law had used the word *matter* instead of *nature*, he would have been equally correct.

You add, "It argues not if nature changes its form of existence ten thousand times, if it were *at first* created out of nothing, if it changed its form perpetually through an eternity to come, every form that it could possibly assume, cannot alter but that it once was in a state of non-existence." Then give us a proof—explain what you mean by *non-existence*, when you apply the term to *matter as a whole*. This you cannot do, and to do it I defy you; for, beyond matter you have not an idea of reality. Your very ideas are material: and this brings me round again to the subject of my challenge, for upon this one point every thing must centre.

The next point where you speak of demonstration is at page 36, as follows: "There is but one argument which can possibly be advanced with any shew of plausibility at all, in the support of the impossibility of matter being created out of nothing; and that argument should demonstrate the positive existence of a contradiction in the work. If it could be clearly proved that to create a world from nothing implies a contradiction, then it would be certain that no such thing is possible." I say, a plainer contradiction was never exhibited than the creation of *something* out of *nothing*. You get over it by setting up an Almighty Power, but upon first principles, to which you speak of

confining me, you should prove an Almighty Power. Independent of matter, I positively deny the existence of any Power Almighty. So it behoves you to shew it: and this again brings us back to the subject of the challenge.

The quibble you make upon the words of *nothing* and *out of nothing*, and the attempt to form a distinction between them, is not worth notice: the word *out of nothing* expresses no more than *of nothing*. It is a laying out a labyrinth of words for no purpose but to clog and confuse the mind.

I pass on to page 38, where you observe, "The word Almighty signifies unbounded, or infinite, and Almighty Power is infinite power." This is admitted as far as the words have meaning, but prove your Almighty Power first and argue from it after. I can prove to you that matter does exist, because you and I form portions of it. I extend my ideas upon this subject, and I can nowhere travel from matter; therefore, I draw the inference and make the assertion, that matter is the only infinite, and I challenge you to prove the contrary, or the contradiction. In this paragraph you infer, that as this Almighty Power is infinite, there can be no other infinite, therefore, with that Power nothing is incapable. I admit there can be but one infinite, but I deny that it consists of that alleged Almighty Power which is but the fiction of your brain, and cannot be proved. I deny that *matter* is an *Almighty Power*, although it be infinite. It is governed by its own laws, by its own properties, as much as it is the property of gunpowder to explode when fire be applied to it; which explosion, if that powder be perfect, it has not the property to resist. It is a law, a property in itself, and by an analogous reasoning, every particle of matter has its peculiar laws or properties, which it has not the power of changing; therefore I infer, that there is not an Almighty Power.

I am quite ready to confess here an error of my own in having often admitted a Power as omnipotent, or in having used the phrase without comprehending it: but, henceforth, I renounce it, until a more capacious mind than my own can prove it to me, and make me comprehend it. If you can only meet my challenge with one reality that is not material, you will then place all my thoughts in a new train for examination. Unless you do this you must yield the palm to me.

I have before stated that the only philosophical truth you have advanced is the admission that there can be but one

infinite, that is, that one infinite quality must swallow up every other. You destroy your conclusion by giving that infinite an almighty power. The word *finite* has no relation to the word *power*, and here is a full display of your error, which forms the predominant one of your mind. Your error is here very great, for you will never reason right whilst you remain in it. Your Almighty Power is an unfounded assumption, and until you prove it, or give it up, you will get no truth into your mind.

At page 45, you charge me with not being sufficiently explicit in asserting, that "creation is not a proper word when applied to matter, and that matter is eternal because it is imperishable;" and in various other places you make similar charges upon my "Address to Men of Science." That Address was written to shew, that the state of science justified the renunciation of the Jewish or Christian idolatry. It was a call upon Men of Science, and in making that call it was not to be presumed or expected that I should think of explaining or teaching any thing of which they had a better knowledge than myself; my duty was to state a few axioms familiar to them, as a justification for my call upon them. This, I conceive, I effected, for I have since found that the pamphlet gave general satisfaction, and almost without an advertisement one thousand copies were sold in less than four months, so that I have not a copy left, save one I have revised and sent to the press for a reprint.

I know not whether you assume to yourself the character of a man of science, if you do, I can perceive nothing in your pamphlet that entitles you to it; but I am quite willing to give you further explanation upon any thing I have written. Certain it is to me that you have no correct notions of the powers and properties of matter, and it is from the science of chemistry alone that this knowledge can be obtained, a science which, it appears to me, you have not made your study.

The extracts which you have made from that "Address to Men of Science" stand unshaken, and have blunted all your shafts. It gave me great pleasure to see them echoed in your pamphlet. You have not disproved an iota of them: you have not shewn an improper word from that or any other publication of mine, excepting where I have used the phrase Almighty Power; but I will give you credit for candour, and admit that you have taken some of my best sentences, and such as I shall never blush to behold wherever I meet them.

You state that "to say matter is imperishable, therefore it is eternal, surpasses all things in logical absurdity; I might with equal plausibility, if arguing with you in favour of the Christian religion, have reasoned thus, '*the Christian religion now exists*, THEREFORE IT IS TRUE.'" Not so. I can trace the period when the Christian religion did not exist, can you do so with matter? I can develop the origin of the Christian religion, can you do so with matter? I can demonstrate that the Christian religion is a human institution, founded upon fable, can you do so with matter, or can you shew the time when, or the power by which it originated? I say you cannot, because matter swallows up time and every other power. You cannot travel in idea beyond it.

Matter is proved indestructible to all human ideas, nothing created is indestructible to human ideas. Creation, apply it to what you will, is nothing but a preparation for annihilation; therefore you cannot apply the term *creation* to matter. If you could prove to me that the solar system, of which we are part, had been created, I would shew you how it would be annihilated as a system, and still shew you that no part of its matter was destroyed. The Almighty Power which you enlist into your service weighs not a feather in the scale. It matters not that I have used the phrase, or that any other person has used it, can you prove it? I cannot, therefore I give it up as an idle word foisted upon my mind by a superstitious education.

You acknowledge that I have never admitted this Almighty Power to be supernatural, and if you had gone further into my "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters," you would have found that I had retracted the word *incomprehensible* and had substituted the word *incomprehended* for it. On another view of the case, the word *Almighty* may be comprehended within the term natural, for that power which produces all we behold is Almighty, even if it be but matter operating upon matter by its motions and evolutions. You have caught hold of my use of the word *Almighty*, and have given it a sense foreign to what I meant—you have given it a supernatural sense, and have spun a web of sophistry upon it that is easily unravelled by bringing back the word to the use and purpose for which I had brought it forward. But as you have reserved the demonstration of the supernatural qualities of the word *Almighty* for another work, I am compelled to wait its appearance before I can dispute it with you. It is quite vain to enquire

whether contradictions do exist in a certain proposition when your ground-work or first principle is a phantom of the mind, the reality of which remains to be proved, and which you or any other man are defied to prove; I therefore wait your proof of a supernatural power.

The fact of the indestructibility of matter is now reduced to an axiom so simple and well understood, that I am surprised to find a man, who calls himself a philosopher, questioning it. I could have only expected it from the ignorant or corrupt mind of a Priest. Bring whatever variety of matter you please to the chemist, and he will resolve it into its constituent gases. Let it be a portion of atmospheric air, a liquid of any kind, or a dense substance of any description, he will explain to you all its component parts and separate the one from the other. There is no climate ever so hot but he can reduce the temperature of a given space almost to the freezing point. There is no substance ever so hard but he can reduce it to an evaporation, but still he can destroy nothing. It is this elementary, this gaseous principle of matter that you have not yet comprehended, or if so, your mind shrinks from the conclusion necessary to be drawn from it. You speak freely of matter, but do you rightly comprehend it? Matter is not confined to that which the hand can feel, or the eye perceive, we are constantly surrounded and acted upon by its evanescent properties.

I am firmly of opinion that the mind of man is material. I threw out this idea in my "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters," and a person unknown to me, but who is represented to me as a philosophical friend, has ridiculed the idea thus:—"So you believe that the *motion* of *matter* produces mind! This is such an extraordinary *creation*, that the production of *matter* from *nothing* is quite a joke to it!!" This jeer was written on the margin of a copy of the "Observations, &c." and sent to me with a variety of other remarks, some very good and others merely captious, but it has by no means shaken my opinions or ideas upon the matter, and the more I have considered the point the more deeply am I convinced that the mind is material. I am not alone on this head. I have an authority, second to none, in Mr. Lawrence, whose Lectures on Physiology have lately excited such a useful, interesting chit-chat amongst the old women in the Court of Chancery.* A Correspondent in

* I sincerely hope Mr. Lawrence will resent this encouraged robbery upon him, and give his Lectures to the Public in the

"The Republican," under the signature of Regulator, also supports the idea. If mind were not material, it is not too much to ask why it differs in different men? If it be spiritual, let the believers in spiritualities explain to us how varieties exist in it. We all understand what the varieties of matter mean, and if mind be any thing more than a variety of matter, let our opponents shew it. The whole progress of the life of man proves it material: the progressive advancement of the human mind in knowledge proves it material. Those fictions of the human mind denominated spiritual or supernatural are supposed to be almighty and immutable, incapable of improvement; how then can the mind of man be connected with them that is always changing, never stationary, never at rest? All is matter, Mr. Humphreys, and as you can find no room for creation in it, you will find none for annihilation.

Your first attempt, at page 56, to demonstrate that *matter is not eternal*, is futile indeed; you say: "Then I first observe, that by matter being eternal, we are to understand that the earth, the sun, the moon, and all those, by us, innumerable bodies which we frequently behold revolving in infinite space, are all of them, or rather the materials of which they are composed, both *without beginning and without end*." The eternity of the materials is what we contend for, not the position or particular shape, or form, or size of any one of them. These we conceive to be continually changing and interchanging.

I come now to page 59, where you fancy you have commenced an important demonstration, "*that every substance requires support*." I will quote the vagary you attach to these words; it is thus: "And this is the grand point—this is the foundation of that, Sir, which will mutilate your system—bear down your sophistry—repel with irresistible energy all your bombastical assertions, and totally demolish the chimerical edifice you have created on the certainty of matter being eternal." Wonderful rapture! Let us prove it.

Your argument is simply this, that wherever there is an action there must be an actor. Certainly this is granted, but you consider that matter is only an action or the substance, and then you raise up the phantom of an almighty-supernatural Power as the actor or support. But this is not

cheapest possible form. I will publish them at the price of a few pence, if he will give me liberty—not for profit, but public good, and in contempt of the threatened suppression.

necessary ; I can explain the thing without the aid of your almighty-supernatural Power.

Motion is the action of matter, and matter is the actor of motion. Matter is the first principle of every thing, motion its means of operation. Motion is a property of every particle of matter, and there is not a particle of matter at rest ; therefore, matter is not independent of motion, nor is motion any thing distinct from matter, although its means of operation and change. Try it which you will you cannot get rid of matter, it is the first principle. Matter is motion and motion is matter, but we necessarily distinguish matter the actor and motion the action of matter. Would you ask, what is the support of matter ? I answer its motion, its own peculiar energy is its support. This was what Mr. Palmer meant when you quibbled with his saying that " matter was the cause of its own existence, or that it existed by its own internal energy." He was right, though perhaps the word *cause* was not the best word in our language for his use on that occasion. Matter, in an abstract point of view, is independent of all cause ; it is itself the cause of every action. Matter is not an effect, it is the cause of motion ; the effect, which jointly constitute what we designate the universe. You have travelled in idea beyond matter for an actor, and in so doing you have travelled out of science, philosophy, and common sense, into the regions of fable and fiction, and there I leave you until you find your way back again. Here I consider that I have answered and explained your error as far as page 62, and the next point on which you treat is the doctrine of necessity.

Here again you have spun a fine web of sophistry by setting up necessity as a something distinct from matter. You labour on every head to make matter a creation, a secondary object, but it is as clear to me as the light of day, that necessity is nothing more than the motion of matter. You cannot state a case in opposition, but I will prove the assertion and demonstrate the fact.

You have described *necessity* as an unlimited power, and by a multitude of words you have attempted to trace necessity as a connection with the one Infinite, but you would have been only right by confining necessity where it properly belongs, to the infinity of matter. Necessity or motion is as infinite as matter, because it is reducible to that one simple point. Necessity or motion is the action of matter, the actor. I will wait to see what objections you will

advance to my conclusions before I enter into any thing like a multitude of words by way of explanation; and I wish you to understand that I hold necessity to be but another idea for motion. There is another point I wish to lay before you for consideration: I assert that there is nothing beyond the animal organization that possesses any thing like the power of animal will. This simple point appears to me to be an indisputable proof of the validity of the doctrines of materialism.

Your assertion, that every particle of matter is independent of every other, is not correct. Every particle of matter is dependent upon the whole, and the supposition of a distinct, independent particle is a chimera, an unnatural idea. You are continually broaching ideas of vacuity for want of understanding the powers and properties of matter. A grain of sand is not a particle of matter, in an abstract point of view; it is a substance created by the motion of matter, and must again necessarily be resolved into its constituent elements by further motions. The first principles of matter are a few elementary gases, whose powers of combination and creation are not yet developed. You always speak of matter as created substances, without resolving it into its constituent gases. The gaseous principle of matter is your Almighty Power, its various combinations, which are but secondary objects, form the extent of your comprehension, beyond which you have not yet travelled. Here you may see the ground-work of all your errors, your fictions, your phantoms, your chimeras. In speaking of matter you confine your ideas to a man, a horse, a tree, a planet, which are but secondary objects, mere results of the action of matter, mere emanations from its first principles. In speaking of Nature, you use the word as a something distinct from matter, whereas, the words are synonymous, with the exception that the word Nature includes both the action and the actor, both motion and matter.

I conclude my remarks on your pamphlet with a sincere hope that you will not fail to refute if you find it practicable. Any brief essay, not exceeding sixteen pages, shall find immediate insertion in "The Republican," if you extend your reply beyond that number of pages, it will be better that you print as before, in a distinct pamphlet. My object is enquiry after truth. Every man who thinks at all, thinks himself correct in his notions for the time being, and the only way to propagate the greatest portion of truth is to tolerate free discussion. I therefore call upon you, if

you receive any change of opinion from what I have written, to state it to the Legislature, as a reason why I ought not to be imprisoned. This I consider your duty, or the duty of any man who has ever received conviction of former error by having read my publications. I shall never ask for release myself; I should feel degraded were I to do so, but the case is totally different with any man whose opinions I may have changed, as it is not for what I think myself, but for what I wish to lead others to think that I am imprisoned and robbed. It is because I wish and will to publish what I think as well as what others think.

In the course of your Letter you frequently charge me with "magisterial assertion," "overbearing dictation," and a variety of such phrases, but after having read your pamphlet, I feel myself quite an humble, unassuming character upon such topics. On the first glance at it, I began to think about personal annihilation, so powerful were your denunciations, so dreadful the threatened "carnage" among my opinions; but on a second perusal I perceived it all to be wind, that refreshes instead of demolishing, that cleanses instead of corrupting. You have strengthened my admiration of my own opinions, and have made me set a much higher value upon them than before. The weight of your artillery cannot shake them; you have done nothing but prove their strength.

Your concluding observations on the Bible are beneath my notice to make any remarks upon. There is no one position but I could find passages in the Bible calculated to support it. It is a book of every thing and nothing. It is a paltry, contemptible book for a man calling himself a philosopher to notice. If it were to fall into oblivion there would be nothing lost to truth or morals. It is a book that I never will treat with respect, because it is not intrinsically entitled to any, either for its contents or utility.

I now take my leave of you until I see something more of yours in print, either in the shape of a reply to this or an essay upon some other subject. I promise to answer every thing you write in opposition to the doctrines of materialism, or the eternity and infinity of matter. I will shatter every supernatural image you venture to erect, and prove it nothing superior to the grossest idolatry that ever was practised. If idolatry be a vice, then is all religion vicious, for the words idolatry and religion are strictly synonymous. Morality must find another basis than religion before it can operate effectually among mankind. A

practical morality is the only thing deserving of being called a natural or national religion. I beg you to receive this as a specimen of practical morality, and as a Letter written in the spirit of free and fair discussion; and should you be able to controvert its doctrines, you will receive no thanks more hearty than those of

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Oldham, March 16, 1822.

RESPECTED AND MUCH INJURED SIR,

It is with great pleasure that a few of your friends in this town have again the honour of addressing you: they beg you will accept the enclosed £2. 8s. 4d. towards obtaining you that support your exertions in the cause of universal liberty so well merit.

Sir, we have the honour to acquaint you that the Republicans of this town met on the 29th day of January, to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of that illustrious and immortal individual Thomas Paine.

As a zest to our festivity we had a simple meal provided, after which we enjoyed the expression of the following toasts:

JONATHAN JACKSON in the Chair.

1. The immortal Memory of Thomas Paine, and may his merits and exertions be duly appreciated.
2. Richard Carlile, and may the exertions he has made in the cause of freedom be remembered to the latest generations.
3. The immortal Memory of Mirabaud, that monument of Nature.
4. Joseph Rhodes, and the shopmen of Mr. Carlile, may they always keep true to the cause of Liberty.
5. Republican Government, and may it always keep free of Kings and Priests.
6. May the Sun never shine on a Tyrant, or go down on a Slave.
7. May the Altar of Liberty be erected on the ruins of Despotism.
8. May the Temple of Freedom have all the World for its worshippers.
9. May the day be not distant when the politics of Paine and divinity of Mirabaud shall shine forth like the unclouded meridian Sun.

Sir, whilst we were thus employed in testifying the feelings of grateful minds for having received the political lessons left us by Thomas Paine, we resolved never to miss the opportunity of celebrating the returns of the day.

We assure you, Sir, that the number of Republicans in Oldham increases every day, and those who are of that number desire to express, in a public manner, their sincere gratitude and respect towards you.

With best wishes for yourself and family, for the Republicans of Oldham.

I remain, yours truly,

JOSHUA KERSHAW, North Moore, Oldham.

P. S. Two Pounds of the money sent is from the Oldham Republican Fund, and the remaining 8s. 4d. was brought by the hand of a gentleman from a few friends to freedom, which you will be so good to acknowledge as such.

TO MR. JOSHUA KERSHAW, OLDHAM.

Dorchester Gaol, March 26, 1822.

REPUBLICANS OF OLDHAM,

I RETURN you thanks for this continuation of your support, and feel happy to hear that your numbers are increasing. There are men who call themselves Reformers, and who say that Republicans are not Reformers! This may be swallowed by simpletons who know nothing about principles, and I am sure the assertion is made with no other intent than to delude a few such men, but you, Republicans, and every man of sense and common ideas, must treat the propagators of such nonsense, with contempt. Under a corrupt government a Republican is the only proper designation of those who wish sincerely to reform it. The men who oppose us are nothing but factious party men, mere sectarians; being without principles themselves, they have none to teach to others. All is a clamour about names and words of sound with them. All is delusion, and they studiously calumniate those who seek to open the eyes and clear the heads of their deluded adherents. We challenge investigation: we challenge discussion. If we are wrong in our notions of right, we say, shew it us candidly, and then we will come back to you. But, no, this is not what is wanted; the object with deluders ever has been to set up some name as sacred, and then bawl themselves hoarse and stupid upon it. The happiness of mankind demands that this delusion should cease. It demands the investigation of every principle and pretension, and a mutual toleration of opinion whilst we investigate others opposed to our own. If we cannot convince, we have no right to denounce or to persecute. If all examine, all is done that is necessary, and the majority must preponderate.

Pursue the onward path, Republicans of Oldham, be not ashamed to avow these principles, the superiority of which is impressed upon your minds after the fullest examination. Rather seek to teach than to denounce others, but let not their clamour or abuse move or alarm you. Every animal what-

ever be its organization, if it be of any bulk, has the power of making some noise, and the abuse or the noise of some men must be viewed as a deficiency of the intellectual organization, and not as ridicule or as proceeding from a better idea of right.

Republicans, our principles will always bear repeating. A Representative System of Government, where the voice of one man shall be equal to the voice of the other, and all alike, is the basis of our principles. We protest against all family distinction or hereditary right. To all our enemies, and pretended friends, worse than open enemies, we say, "*if we are wrong, shew it; if you cannot, follow and support.*"

Ever yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Leeds, March 20, 1822.

IN answer to your call in No. 10 of "The Republican," I send you my name, as one willing to enter the lists against the Bridge Street and Essex Street Gangs. You will, perhaps, think this unnecessary, as you have had my name before, but I wish you to understand, that the vindictive sentences on Holmes and Rhodes have not deterred me from following their example.

This letter will answer another purpose; it will let you see my writing, so that you cannot be deceived as to how far I shall be capable of serving you.

I feel quite sensible of the importance of the cause in which you are engaged. It is whether we are to have free discussion on all matters of opinion, or, whether we are still to be kept in ignorance, misery, and degradation, by those equally base impostors, Kings and Priests. Your boldness and perseverance in the cause of free discussion is unparalleled, and must gain you the admiration of all those who have any pretensions to liberality. It is the duty of every friend to honesty and humanity to step forward and render you that assistance which you have requested, and which you have so great a right to expect.

Yours, respectfully,

No. 4, Water Lane Bank, Leeds.

JOSEPH GILL.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Leeds, March 22, 1822.

HAVING seen in one of your Numbers of "The Republican," a call for the names of a few more advocates of Republicanism, I

do hereby offer you mine, to serve as shopman, or in any other capacity you may think most beneficial to the cause of Liberty.

I intended to have offered my service when Boyle and others were arrested; but, in consequence of the sudden robbery of your shop by the Bridge Street Robbers, I relinquished the design till another opportunity should offer itself, which I am happy to see has arrived.

Little Jefferies with his two years imprisonment and hard labour on Rhodes, has not intimidated me in the least; hard labour is what I am daily accustomed to, not only to keep myself, but help to keep a number of impostors under the denomination of Priests, who lead the mind astray on purpose to enslave the body.

I am, with due respect,

WILLIAM LIDDLE.

At Benjamin Harrison's, Caverly Hill Bank, Leeds.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

FELLOW CITIZEN,

Leeds, March 23, 1822.

WE, the Republicans of Leeds, have the pleasure to transmit you the sum of £5. 3s. 6½d. as a further mark of our respect and admiration of the patriotic stand you have made against that mass of corruption called Priestcraft and Kingcraft. A body that is so concentrated in acts of infamy, and that displays so formidable a front, has been forced to swerve, when those powers called Reason and Philosophy have opposed it. Republicanism knows no power but that which proceeds from the united voice of the people, and woe to that tyrant who sets it at defiance. Shall we who have read the works of the immortal Paine and the invincible Carlile, stand heedlessly by whilst Corruption destroys every particle of our Liberty? No: we will wield that shield in the face of despotism which shall ultimately drive it into that abyss which it had prepared for the sons of freedom. The public good shall continue to be our end and aim, and he who will not assist us in the anxious struggle, shall be denounced as a base and infamous coward. The good, the just, the honest, and the virtuous, shall denounce him as unfit to enjoy those comforts and blessings which nature intended for her creatures: he shall not find a resting place, nor participate in the happiness of domestic comfort, until he has done penance for that gross neglect of duty.

We congratulate you on the blow you have given to that monster called Religion; for we feel confident that liberty will be only a thing of the imagination until superstition has received a deadly blow; for under the mask of Religion is hidden that hydra-

headed monster called Vice. So baneful to the happiness of the human species. Priests have been and always will be the advocates of ignorance: and to this evil may be attributed the jargon with which the country is deluded. Let man study Nature and contemplate the beautiful works she offers to his view then he will find a subject worth his consideration. He will find that her laws are fixed and immutable, and tending to one common good. The oppression we at present feel, and the tyranny that is heaped upon us may be attributed to the fabrications of the Priest, and to the contradictory dogmas which have imposed upon the credulity of the ignorant. He has led men's bewildered mind from that point which alone could procure him happiness. He has told him that suffering in this world will procure him everlasting joys in that which is to come, in order to monopolize to his craft the joys of this: and until Priestcraft and Kingcraft shall cease to exist, and Republicanism and Reason are placed on that pedestal which they ought to occupy, we shall have no protection against those arch impostures. We feel great pleasure in perusing the 10th Number of your "Republican" where we find that we are again to be enriched with more productions from the pen of that Noble of Nature, Thomas Paine, for every production from his pen is a mortal stab to tyranny, and will, with the assistance of the honest and upright, ultimately break the chains that bind us. We hope that by the time they are ready to appear amongst us, there will be another Temple of Reason opened in the centre of the Metropolis for their more extensive circulation, and that men of honesty and virtue will be found ready to meet the darts either of the Vice Society or the Bridge Street Horde: for though the Common Tyrant at the Old Bailey may chain and oppress the body he cannot controul the mind, and we pledge ourselves that no pecuniary assistance we can afford shall be wanted to accelerate its progress. We hope you will proceed from your prison as the sun rises to its meridian splendour, and the robbery and injustice which has been inflicted upon you, your wife, and sister, will meet its reward from the honest part of the public. Wishing you and your family every happiness which your secluded station will admit.

I am, Fellow Citizen, in behalf of the whole,

Your ardent Admirer,

JAMES WATSON.

*Account of Subscriptions received for RICHARD CARLILE, since
January 1, 1822.*

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Robert W. Byerly, A Materialist	2	6	craft, Hypocrisy, and every other species of delusion.	1	0
Mrs. Byerly, a determined enemy to Kingcraft, Priest-			Eleanor Byerly, Sarah By-		
Vol. V. No. 14.			erly, Esther Byerly, the		

Gift they had given on the		David Ramsden	4
Era of the Carpenter's		W. E.	2 0 1
Wife's Son's Birth-day	1 6	William Hampson, Wake-	
John Smithson.	4 6	field	0 6
James Warburton	2 6	A Friend	0 6
James Mann	2 0	Robert Walker	0 6
Mr. Witham	0 6	Joseph Slingsby	0 6
John Whincup	3 0	Mrs. Thorp	0 6
Thomas Evans	2 6	John Wood	0 9
Joseph Hurtley	1 0	Joseph Gill	2 0
Joseph Hurtley, jun. John		The support of a Friend	1 0
Hurtley, and Jane Hurt-		George Lee	2 0
ley, to Thomas Paine Car-		Joseph Shires	1 0
lile	0 7	John Mortimer	1 0
William Driver	2 0	John Dixon	0 6
Samuel Ingham	1 8	A Friend	0 9
Thomas Steel	3 0	An enemy to religious Perse-	
John Perkin	0 6	cution	0 4
John Baxter	0 3	James Smithson, that he had	
William Cook	0 3	given for a yule clog in	
William Horrocks	0 3	commemoration of the	
W. L.	2 0	Birth-day of the Carpen-	
An enemy to civil and reli-		ter's Wife's Son	0 4
gious Persecutions	3 0	From a few friends at Hol-	
John Walsh	0 6	beck, near Leeds, who met	
Joseph Oates	0 6	to celebrate the birth-day	
Samuel Booth	2 0	of Thomas Paine	7 6
James Longbottom	0 6	John Houlding	2 6
John Schofield, A real Re-		John Sayner	1 0
publican	0 0	Joshua Sayner	1 6
Joseph Bentley	1 9	Joseph Croft	1 0
J. Kirk	1 0	Anvil Politics	0 6
J. Goldthorp	0 6	William Palmer	0 6
James Watson	2 0	John Jones	0 6
O. Wetherell	0 3		

TO MR. JAMES WATSON, LEEDS.

CITIZEN,

THE uniform, the steady, and the ample support that I receive from the Republicans of Leeds demands every expression of gratitude that I can make, and every mark of esteem that I can convey: though doubtless our satisfaction is mutual, because the object in view is the same, to extend the greatest possible degree of happiness to the greatest possible number of individuals, and we conclude that this can only be done by a Legislature and a Magistracy that shall be the choice of the whole people expressed by their majorities.

When we can once attain this object and a perfect freedom of speech and of the Printing Press, we have no fear

of accomplishing every other good by fair and open discussion.

I am happy in perceiving the rapid progress these sound principles are making in the great county of Yorkshire; and that this spread is taking place in opposition to every political power and persecution, is the best guarantee for the final accomplishment of our object.

I am also happy in informing you that a friend of mine has taken a house and shop in the immediate neighbourhood of my late residence, and is determined that every thing I will publish shall be sold there and openly. The Solicitor General lately boasted in Parliament that the repeated prosecutions had put down my publications, he must have known this to be a wilful lie when he uttered it, for throughout the country they have not been checked in the least instance by the late prosecutions, and in London they have been checked but partially, not owing to the Prosecuting Gangs, but to the ROYAL BURGLARY committed on my premises, and as we found some difficulty in making a shopman of the King, even behind the screen, many customers have been disappointed, and did not know where and how to apply for them, but you well know that "The Republican" has not ceased for a week, nor has its tone been altered; and should his Majesty intrude himself on me again as a lodger, I will either make him a printer or a vendor, as I have done at 55, Fleet Street. He shall not be idle whilst in possession of the same house with me.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

Edinburgh, March 25, in the
 year 1822 of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.
 SIR, I READ, with horror and astonishment, the account of the usage that Mrs. Carlile received after your imprisonment; I could not have imagined, that beings calling themselves men could have used a woman in such a manner: but what can we expect from men who give up their minds to the guidance of those deceivers of mankind, the Clergy.

From your statement of the conduct of *Justice Best*, I am of opinion, that there is nothing wanting but the insertion

of the first letter of the alphabet into his name to complete his character, and make him be pronounced *Justice Beast*.

I have often been surprized to hear the canting Christians, when speaking of the universe, mention it as a piece of workmanship; which is an assertion they advance without any proof, with the intention, I suppose, of conveying to the world the need of their imaginary Creator. Can any rational person, after a little consideration, believe that the immensity of space, at some former period, was void, or that all things in it were in utter confusion? A great many men have given themselves much trouble in endeavouring to support the ridiculous opinion, that there once was a time when there was nothing in existence, or that all was in disorder and confusion: but as we are perfectly convinced that things are in existence at the present time, what proof then have the Priests that there was a time when these things were not in existence? The Clergy have always twisted reason, on purpose that they might dupe mankind into the belief, that there was a time when there was nothing in existence. Then they pretended to argue fairly, by saying, that this universe could not call itself into existence, hence then the necessity of an imaginary and inconceivable something, to put the universe into its present, or as they say, a better order. But has not this imaginary something as much need of another something, to call it into existence or order, as has the material universe? Thus we may go on multiplying causes to an infinity. But why go so far? Let us content ourselves with the material universe. Is it not more reasonable to believe that the universe has existed from all eternity, in some such order as at present, than to suppose that there was a time when nothing existed, or that all was in utter confusion for an eternity before order arrived? We all know that the universe, so far as we are acquainted with it, is in order; and because it is so, are we to infer that it was once out of order, or not in existence at all? Such perverted reasoning is utterly contemptible.

I have seen by the Public Papers, as well as by your "Republican," that the interested Bigots have again shut up your shop and seized all your property a second time; but fear not, my dear Friend, you will every day be more convinced, that the friends of free discussion will stand forward to assist you; indeed, it would be an eternal reproach upon them to suffer you to fall a sacrifice to those idolaters, who cannot support their system by any other means than persecutions and penal laws, by which they wish to shackle

the minds of independent men. We now plainly see that their persecutions have done a great deal of good to our cause, although they have been the occasion of much individual misery; and it was absolutely necessary that such a man as yourself, who was endowed with more than common fortitude, should stand up to expose and oppose these PERSECUTING Christians.

I am happy to inform you, that some of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty in this city, stimulated, no doubt, by your manful exertions against oppression and Priestcraft, had a meeting on Monday, the 18th instant, to consider the propriety of opening a subscription to assist you in the struggle you are making against such powerful enemies. Your prosecution, and the seizures of your property, has been the means of making many a liberal-minded man, who took matters quite easy before, come forward and avow his opinions. And, from what I know, you are every day gaining the approbation of disinterested men.

I hereby send you an account of our meeting, which you may publish if you think proper.

We assembled a little after six o'clock in the evening, and at seven o'clock, Mr. ROBERT AFFLECK, Grocer, was called to the Chair, after which he addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

“ Gentlemen, We are all aware of the strictness and the severity of the laws concerning Public Meetings held for political purposes, but this is no political Meeting, it is held for benevolent purposes. Gentlemen, we are met here for the purpose of considering the best means of ameliorating the condition and of alleviating the distresses of a worthy family, who are suffering imprisonment under a very severe sentence of the law, in what we consider a noble cause.

“ We are met here for the purpose of raising a subscription for the benefit of Richard Carlile and his family, who are suffering a severe imprisonment, and are to pay a heavy fine, for what we account a worthy action—for printing and publishing the AGE OF REASON and the PRINCIPLES OF NATURE, (two books which we hold in high estimation) and for boldly advocating free discussion. Richard Carlile has been blamed by his persecutors for spreading blasphemy and immorality by publishing these two books, but the charge is false, and may be retorted upon his accusers. There is not a blasphemous or immoral sentence in either of these works; none who have read them can say there is. Mr. Paine's principal objection against the Bible is the very wicked and immoral conduct of the great men who are praised in it. We would do a man

less injury to deny his existence altogether, than to blacken his character and ascribe murders to him; the same with the *Deity*: were any man to deny the existence of his Majesty, he would hardly be thought guilty of a crime—but were a man to assert that his Majesty had ordered a set of brigands to murder the people, to rob and plunder the country, he would be held guilty of crime, and liable to punishment: such is the comparison between Richard Carlile and some others concerning the Deity.

“As morality has been introduced, I wish now to direct your attention to the character and conduct of this individual. From any information I can obtain, his moral character will bear the severest scrutiny; he has been a dutiful son, a kind brother, and an affectionate husband. He has fulfilled all the duties of life with honour to himself and satisfaction to his family: indeed, had there been a fault in his conduct, or a spot in his character, it would have been exposed to the world in the blackest colours by his malignant enemies. He raised himself, by his industry and good conduct, (not by patronage) from a journeyman mechanic to a master, and was doing well in business until ruined by his enemies. Though he had not the advantage of a learned education, yet what he has written has shamed many of the learned, and put some bearded Doctors to silence; he has displayed a strength of mind, a boldness of spirit, which I admire in him, though I have little claim to such boldness myself: he is an honour to free-thinkers, and his wife and sister are an honour to their sex.

“Though his enemies have said he was spreading immorality, his character will stand a comparison with any of those who sat in judgment upon him; he is superior to some of them, and inferior to none. How would his character shine if compared with that of a great man whom I will not name? Is he inferior to the pious Sidmouth, the patriotic Castlereagh, or the venerable Judges Best or Bailey? I hold him equal to any of them in point of character, and I value his political principles greatly above theirs. These *honourable* persons wish us to enjoy liberty, but well-regulated, so strictly regulated, that it would not deserve the name of liberty; they wish Englishmen to enjoy as many political privileges as Scotchmen or Irishmen, and the whole to enjoy as much freedom as the natives of Russia and Prussia: but Richard Carlile strives for freedom to all, he advocates the Liberty of the Press, and free discussion, and wishes his principles open to the severest scrutiny.

“Having compared him with some of his enemies, I may now compare him with some other sceptics, with Hobbes, Bolingbroke, Hume, and Gibbon. Those great writers, though excellent moral characters, were none of them friends of freedom; though they despised religion, they did not tell their minds freely and openly, and they were willing to sacrifice the liberties of mankind to the caprice of tyrants. But Richard Carlile is very different, he tells

his mind freely both on religion and politics, and so plainly, that every one can understand him; he thinks no sacrifice too great to overthrow tyranny and superstition; he has risked liberty, life, and fortune, to secure freedom from religious tyranny for his countrymen; he is now suffering, and shall we not contribute to relieve him? In the boldness of his spirit and perseverance in resisting bigoted tyranny, he is equalled by few, and surpassed by none; in the clearness and plainness of his writings, both on politics and religion, he is second only to Thomas Paine, who was an extraordinary man—the friends of freedom ought all to venerate his name, America owed much to him in gaining her independence, he exerted himself for a similar renovation in Britain, in Europe, but tyranny and superstition suppressed that work for a time. Richard Carlile, among others, has endeavoured to revive it; but it is a melancholy fact, though no less true, that the more rational a man's opinions are, and the more he employs his reason on either religion or politics, he is the more detested by our rulers, the more sure to be oppressed and persecuted. Lucky Buchan in Scotland, and Joanna Southcote in England, two new Saviours, were neither of them punished or prosecuted, and were their doctrines more reasonable, were their opinions as rational as those of Thomas Paine or Richard Carlile? We have now to consider the sentence against him—THREE YEARS IMPRISONMENT, and a FINE of £1500, and securities for behaviour afterwards. The imprisonment is severe, the fine is enormous. His enemies, no doubt, thought when this sentence was pronounced that he would never be able to pay the fine, nor yet find securities, and, consequently, that his imprisonment would be for life; and they have done all that they could to make it so by twice forcibly seizing his property, and shutting up his shop. In their conduct to him they have displayed the spirit of Christianity, indeed; they have shewn that an *auto da fe* would have given them satisfaction! Is it not strange, that with a Priesthood in this country more than 20,000 strong, and with a revenue of several millions, that they should be so much afraid of a little book? Is it not strange, that Thomas Paine and Richard Carlile should make such a ponderous system shake to its foundation? Can they not answer them? If they cannot, or do not, it is a proof that their house is built upon the sand—if it is founded on truth, they have nothing to fear from enquiry.

“They tell us that Christianity is founded on a rock, and that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, but they themselves do not believe this; they trust nothing to it; they are the unbelievers themselves; they trust more to penal laws for supporting Christianity than to the Deity, or all the promises which they say he has made them. The Church of Rome, in the dark ages, though it acted with greater cruelty, yet it acted with more con-

sistency than the Protestant Churches ; its dignitaries knew that the Bible would not stand examination, they therefore prohibited the use of it, to keep the people from error: the Protestant Churches recommend the use of it, but if in the course of your reading and examination you differ from them as to its merits, if you see faults and contradictions in it, and tell your mind on the subject, they doom you to punishment in this life, and damnation in the next.

“ Such being the spirit of bigotry, Mr. Carlile has done well to expose it. Messrs. Cobbett, Hunt, and Wooler have made great exertions in the cause of Reform, and deserve also our thanks and support ; there has been some difference among them, I wish it had been otherwise—their united strength is too little for the great work they have undertaken, it is less when disunited and at variance.

“ The Reform proposed by Richard Carlile (I believe) is most to our minds ; he strikes at the root of all tyranny, both political and religious ; for exposing both he is suffering a severe imprisonment, and must pay a heavy fine, as I observed before. His enemies, by imposing so enormous a fine, have shewn that they meant to make his imprisonment for life ; they have proved that they meant so, by twice seizing his property, to deprive him of the means of paying it.

“ Mrs. Carlile, and his sister, also deserve our sympathy and respect in a high degree ; they have done what few females would have done, in a cause so calumniated and unpopular. It is our duty to assist that family as much as we can, as the safety of every free-thinker in the kingdom is seriously threatened by the attacks on their persons and property. Free-thinkers have lived too little in union among themselves, they have supported one another too little in adversity ; but I hope they will unite for the future. We ought all to contribute to the assistance of this family ; I do not expect you will be enthusiasts to injure your own families, I wish you to be just, as well as generous ; but you may spare a little from luxuries, and the poor man’s shilling will be as well received and respected as the richer man’s guinea. Consider your circumstances, and give what you can.”

The above speech was received with marked applause.

I then did myself the honour to propose the following Resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. David Leitch, who in a very handsome manner stated the necessity of giving you every support in our power. Several other Gentlemen also delivered their opinions in neat and pointed speeches, all expressing their approbation of the benevolent purpose for which we were assembled. The Resolutions were then read, and put *seriatim*, and unanimously adopted.

A subscription then commenced, and the sums annexed to the different names were immediately collected.

Expecting to hear from you soon, consider me, dear Sir,
your sincere friend,

J. AFFLECK.

RESOLUTIONS.

At a Meeting of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, held in Mrs. Maxton's Tavern, Old Fish Market, Edinburgh, upon Monday, the 18th day of March, 1822, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

I. That all men have a natural right to express their opinions on every subject; and any endeavour to punish them for using that right, or to deprive them of it, is nothing less than a bare-faced attempt to shackle their minds, and keep them perpetually in mental bondage; against which thousands of intelligent men have expressed their abhorrence.

II. That free inquiry and discussion on every subject is the only means of promoting intellectual improvement, and the interest of mankind in general.

III. That as the Printing Press is the grand medium of information, it is the duty of every friend to civil and religious liberty, to use all their endeavours to prevent it from being fettered, and also to assist those who have honestly used it, as the means of expressing their opinions.

IV. That this Meeting is of opinion, that the Liberty of the Press, the Freedom of Discussion, and the safety of every friend to liberty in this kingdom, has been seriously menaced by the attacks on the person and property of Richard Carlile, it is therefore our bounden duty to do every thing in our power to enable him to overcome the prosecutions and robberies to which he has been subjected, by interested bigots and fanatics, who at the same time pretend that persecution is contrary to the tenets of their *meek and holy religion*.

V. That this Meeting view with abhorrence and detestation the conduct of certain persons, who have caused the property of Richard Carlile to be seized, and his shop to be shut, evidently with the intention of depriving him of the means of paying the enormous fines that have been imposed on him; and, by which proceedings they think to keep him a perpetual prisoner; therefore we consider it a duty incumbent on us, to open a subscription to enable him to bear up against such monstrous oppression.

VI. That this Meeting recommend that subscription papers be left with different individuals, to give an opportunity to others,

who may be inclined to give any thing for the above purpose, and that a Committee be appointed to receive what is collected, and to transmit it in a regular manner.

VII. That this Meeting would also suggest to the friends of freedom in other places of the kingdom, the propriety of holding meetings for the same purpose; that the time-serving tools of corruption may be convinced, that those who wish liberty to mankind, are determined to support the persecuted and oppressed advocates of their emancipation.

The following Sums were subscribed:

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Robert Affleck	2	2	0	John M'Niven	3	3	0
Gordon Murray	0	5	0	William Bleekie	0	5	0
A. Crawford	0	14	0	William Nilson	0	1	0
Andrew Lauder	0	1	0	George Herriot	0	1	0
William Wilson	0	5	0	James M'Intosh	0	2	6
William Mountcastle	0	5	0	A Friend to all persecut-			
James Laurie	0	0	6	ed Men	0	1	0
Thomas Webster	0	4	0	An Enemy to all Perse-			
David Moncur	0	2	0	cution	0	1	0
Boyle Kirk	0	1	0	From three Friends, but			
David M'Donald	0	2	0	not one person	0	12	6
James Scott	0	1	0	From a Friend	0	3	0
James M'Donald	0	1	6	James Nysmith	0	4	0
David Leitch	0	10	0	Thomas Petrie	0	1	0
A Deist	0	5	0	John Kisson	0	1	0
Alexander Gray	0	1	0	John Grinton	0	2	6
William Hay	1	1	0	A Friend to Free Dis-			
John Young	0	1	0	cussion	0	2	0
James Sandiland	0	1	6	J. T.	0	3	0
William Lumsden	0	2	0	From a Friend, who wishes			
James Affleck	1	1	0	his mite was a guinea	0	0	6
John Spence	0	1	0	P. T. who despises all Re-			
A Friend to Mental Liberty	0	5	0	vealed Religions	0	0	6
James Hogg	0	2	6				

MR. JAMES AFFLECK, EDINBURGH.

Dorchester Gaol, April 1,

1822, of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

DEAR SIR,
A COMMUNICATION from Edinburgh is the sure source of renewed pleasure to me, as by each I find a steady increase of the principles of Republicanism and Deism. All your movements are so open and respectable, as to defy calumny and to silence opposition; and if they are not reported in the Newspapers of the day, we have the satisfaction of

knowing that it arises from the dread of free discussion on the part of our enemies, and not from any fear on our parts.

Be pleased to communicate my thanks to the Subscribers for the addition of £13 to a subscription for the payment of my fines. As soon as I can settle them, I will open such a mart for the propagation of our principles as shall baffle all the efforts of all our enemies. It was evident to all, that before this second seizure of my property, the two Prosecuting Gangs, with the Attorney-General in conjunction, could do nothing by prosecutions to check the sale of my publications. To rob was their last resource; and even now they have done nothing more, comparatively speaking, than to shut up a shop where my publications were sold, in which they have been met by another being opened within a gun-shot of the same place. This is the plan by which we shall follow them up and harass them. They may rob me and lessen my property, but their main object, the checking the sale of my publications, shall be baffled. We can continually print anew; and if I were never to write a line more, there is quite enough written already for every purpose. The writings of Thomas Paine are all sufficient, and elucidation they need none.

You will find by my Letter to Mr. Humphreys, that I was writing on the same subject as your letter contains, just at the same moment, and have fallen on the same expressions, as far as you have gone into the matter. I have challenged any man living to mention a reality that I cannot shew to be material. You, no doubt, will be pleased to notice the coincidence of our opinions upon this point, and I feel assured that if ever there be any thing like a uniformity in the opinions of mankind, it will be when they rest upon the principles of materialism. This is the only solid ground. This is the ground where no objections can be taken, until spiritualities can be proved, and there is little hope of that, even among Priests, in the present *infant* state of science.

My antagonist, Mr. Humphreys, is a gardener to some man of property in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield; but I am informed, his pamphlet has been the joint work of the Priests of his neighbourhood; that is to say, I have been informed, that it has been handed about in manuscript from one Priest to another for correction, but how it originated, in the first instance, I have no information. My answer to him was off hand, written one day, travelling to London the second, and printed on the third, without my

having the opportunity to correct it. But I do not expect that he will reply to any thing it contains, unless it were to be upon verbal or grammatical criticism. Philosophically, I have no fear of him, aided by all the Priests in the Island.

I am very sanguine in the idea, that another year will bring such an accession to our strength, as to stay the rage of persecution on the part of the Christians. It would be done instantly if all Deists were "*bold enough to be honest, and honest enough to be bold,*" (an admirable expression of Paine's). At present there are thousands of Deists who are each afraid to speak, lest some part of the persecution should fall upon him. The tradesmen of Edinburgh are much more forward than even the tradesmen of London on this head. In London there would be no possibility of getting a tavern for such a meeting as you held without endangering its licence.

I am, Citizen, respectfully, yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

London Place, Stockport, March 29, 1822,
of the Era of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

CITIZEN,

It is with unfeigned pleasure I again accept of the request to address you on the part of the Republicans of Stockport, our efforts have enabled us to send you the sum of Five Pounds, as a further proof of our esteem for those virtuous and noble principles you possess and spiritedly propagate, I should have felt a still greater pleasure had the office devolved upon some one more able to have assisted you in giving effect to that mighty and overwhelming blow you have given Kingcraft and Priestcraft, for certain I am that this is the time for all the genius in support of truth and reason to rouse and take an active part in assisting you to follow up the blow so effectually given, I perceive the press assassins have made another attempt to stifle truth by sending your shopmen to dungeons, the brave fellows did their duty, and a few more such shopmen will sweep both Kingcraft and Priestcraft down the stream of Contempt into the vortex of Oblivion, their to ruminate on the fall of their One and Three, and Three and One God or Gods, the reptiles might have been convinced long ago of the impropriety of dungeons, for the more they attempt to stifle truth by such means the more rapid does it circulate, there are a few in this part of the country who are giving vent to their rage and

malice against you in consequence of some difference between Mr. Hunt and you, but I hope the good sense of the Republicans will prevent them from taking any notice of such malignity, the straight forward path to truth and reason is the path we ought to pursue, and he who deviates from that path ought to be discountenanced, the principal thing the Republicans should turn their attention to for the present is the payment of your fine, and your sisters, for which I would recommend weekly contributions; you, Sir, have sacrificed much in the cause of truth and reason, and we, as Republicans, ought to render you all the assistance our means will afford, I know men when determined can do much. I recollect when I purchased the Political Works of Mr. Paine, my means was very scanty, but so determined was I to put them in the hands of my children, that I deprived myself of both butter, sugar, and tea. I purchased them as Mr. Sherwin published them, I do not find that my body is any worse for it, but I find a great pleasure in possessing them, and think myself happy that I have it in my power to teach my children the true path to Republicanism, now I am willing to undergo the same thing again; until your fine is paid, and I know if the Republicans generally would follow the same plan, we should very soon have it paid for, I conceive it to be the duty of every friend to truth and justice to step forward with all their means will afford, towards accomplishing so desirable an object, I am anxious to see another Temple of Reason open, it is the Temple of Reason that makes your enemies writhe and twist like a snake in an exhausted receiver, and may they continue to twist themselves until they are poisoned by their own venom, is the hearty wish of your sincere friend and well-wisher.

WILLIAM PERRY.

P. S. The male and female Republicans of Stockport, send their best respects to Mrs. Carlile, and your sister; the females, in particular, are very anxious for Mrs. Carlile's precarious situation. It has been suggested by a gentleman in Stockport that the publication of a Tax Dictionary will have a very good effect, say under the head of the particular letter whatever it may be, the tax, on the smallest quantity sold, for instance, brandy, under the head of B, and every other article taxed under the head of the same letter. Brandy, suppose we say 18s. per gallon, and so on.

Amount of Subscriptions from Stockport.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
T. S.	5	0	John Nield	1	0
Amicus	5	0	Jesse Swann	1	0
A Christian Lady, aged 70	2	0	John Tootell	2	0
Two Loyalists	2	0	Thomas Oldham	2	0

	s.	d.		s.	d.
William Needham	1	6	Joseph Tyms	0	6
John Smith	1	6	William Blackshaw	0	6
John Hough	1	6	W. W.	0	6
George Swindels	1	6	P. C.	0	6
John Hamer	1	6	Widow's mite	0	6
James Hamer	1	6	John Bentley	0	6
Thomas Smith	1	3	Robert Savage	0	6
William Smith	1	2	James Elkin	0	6
J. H.	1	0	Joseph Gibbon	0	6
George Knight	1	0	John Longson	0	6
Richard Torkington	1	0	Tim Bobbin	0	6
A Christian Hairdresser	1	0	Thomas Haslehurst	0	6
Joseph Washington	1	0	George Appleton	0	6
R. Barns	1	0	Thomas Appleton	0	6
John Podmore	1	0	William Shotten	0	6
Samuel Shaw	1	0	Thomas Higgins	0	6
R. W.	2	0	Paddy the boy	0	6
W. S. a Republican and Deist	0	6	William Sherrett	0	3
Thomas Chadwick	1	0	R. W.	0	3
John Fletcher	1	0	Hugh Holme	0	1
John Nield	1	0	J. Vickerton	0	2
An Old Veteran	1	0	Jane Clarke	0	3
William Bloomhead	1	0	William Cheetham	0	4
Bessy Swan	0	6	Thomas Williamson	0	3
Peggy Swan	0	6	—— Bardsley	0	3
David Davies	0	6	C. H.	0	3
J. S.	0	6	William Leah	0	3
Thomas Jessop	0	6	James Fitton	0	3
Robert Wright	0	6	Samuel Swann	0	3
Abraham Longson	0	9	John Read	0	3
Thomas Daine	0	6	John Saxby	0	2
Nicholas Smalley	0	6	Thomas Herron	0	2
William Perry	1	0	John Torrance	0	3
An Enemy to Big Wigs	0	6	William Pearson	0	2
Randle Brownsword	0	6	W. Mason	0	2
John Bardsley	0	6	Isaac Bardsley	0	3
Wm. Fairbrother, Republi-			Charles Crawford	0	3
can and Deist	1	0	—— Turner	0	3
J. V.	0	6	William Fielding	0	3
James Pennington	0	6	G. Hartingstoll	0	3
R. C.	0	6	W. Makin	0	3
Thomas Hill	0	6	Charles Massey	0	2
George Murray	0	6	From the London Place		
John Hadfield	0	6	Reading Society	1	7 8

TO MR. WILLIAM PERRY,
AND THE MALE AND FEMALE REPUBLICANS OF STOCKPORT.

Dorchester Gaol, April 2, 1822,

CITIZENS, of the Era of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.
THIS day's post has brought me your welcome Letter with the sum of Five Pounds, as a further subscription towards meeting my fines, for which I repeat my thanks, and pledge myself not to relax my exertions and endeavours to improve and merit your esteem.

I have this daily assurance, and I wish every one to mark it well; that in the present, comparatively enlightened age, he who stands upon sound and well understood principles, will never fall. Prejudices of all sorts I am prepared to encounter: the hostility of men without any principles for their guidance I expect, and will combat, if that hostility be open, but private slander always operates more powerful than that which is open, and to meet this, I must ask the assistance of all my friends.

That disputes among the advocates of liberty are baneful, I fully understand, but what is the proper point for union, unless it be principles that cannot be openly attached or impeached? What is the name of any man unless it be the emblem of some well understood and approved principles? Nothing in my mind. If a man denounces me without pointing out one error in my professions or practices, if he tells me that I have no right to be considered a Reformer, or to be supported by those men who call themselves Reformers, have I not a right, is it not my duty, to explain upon what my pretensions are founded, whilst I am continuing to receive the support of those persons. I am quite willing to leave it to Republicans, or to the men who call themselves Reformers, to say how far I am worth their notice. The paltry jealousies of Mr. Hunt have been answered from Nottingham, from Edinburgh, from Leeds, and now from Stockport, and I feel satisfied it will not stop here. However, I promise you, Republicans of Stockport, that after I have replied to the charges of falsehood made against me in the 30th Number of Mr. Hunt's Memoirs, and a manoeuvre of his in another quarter, I will drop the subject, if I am not further driven to its continuance.

I have this satisfaction, I never intruded myself into a public or private connection with any man: I never will do it: therefore every man who wishes it may keep himself

away and distinct from me. I shall not run after him or press myself upon his attention.

I am happy to inform you that I and my family are in good health and spirits, and such is the case with all who are imprisoned for assisting me, and all who are likely to be imprisoned. Mrs. Wright has notice of trial for the 15th instant, but I fear we shall be obliged to defer it, as she daily expects confinement as well as Mrs. Carlile.

Again accept my thanks and believe me, yours, in the cause of the only Radical Reform.

R. CARLILE.

ERRATA.

In the last Number of "The Republican," in the Letter to Mr. Humphreys, page 415, there is a verbal error in line 10 from the bottom, *apology* for *analogy*. In the Letter to Mr. Moses Colclough, the word *general contribution* was written *generous contribution*. I am thus particular because they are words calculated to arrest suspicion and doubt as to their meaning. The Reader of the proofs often changes a word for me, which those who know what it is to get up a hurried periodical work will readily excuse.—R. C.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

All communications for "The Republican" may be now sent to No. 5, Water Lane, five doors from Fleet Street, where all Mr. Carlile's Publications may be regularly purchased.

The Report of the First Day's Proceedings on the Mock Trials of R. Carlile is now complete, with a Prefatory Sheet. It contains the Three Parts of the Age of Reason, as read in Court, complete. The price of Fifteen Sheets is 2s. 6d. or Two-pence per Sheet. An extensive circulation is the object of this cheap Publication. Any person possessing the Ten Sheets that were printed in 1819, may now add the remainder of the First Day's Proceedings.

All the Political Works of Thomas Paine may be had according to former Advertisements.

Queen Mab, by Shelley, price 7s. 6d.; Cain, by Lord Byron, 6d.; The Scripturian's Creed, 3d.; Characters of Priest, Peer, and Jew Books, 2d. each; Bible, 1d.

Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street. All Communications (post paid) are requested to be sent to Dorchester Gaol, until a further Address to some House or Shop be given.—Orders, with remittances, or references for payment, will be punctually attended to. Country Agents will find the most liberal Terms for prompt Payment.

The Republican.

No. 15. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, April 12, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, April 9,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,

I WAS obliged to break off in the midst of an intended article last week, in which I wished to acknowledge an act of kindness on the part of Alderman Wood towards my imprisoned Shopmen in Giltspur Street Compter. The Alderman calling at the Compter in his magisterial character, found the men at flax-beating, a dirty, unwholesome employment, and on their complaint of its nature to him, he ordered Holmes and Rhodes to be provided with materials to follow their proper business of shoemaking, and Barkley to do any light employment that may come to hand. For this we return him our thanks, though we mean to question the right of any person to put Holmes and Barkley to labour at all. Although it made no part of the sentence upon Holmes and Barkley, uttered by Little Jeff in Court, still he ordered it to be written on the warrants delivered to Mr. Teague, the Keeper: this, we infer, amounts to a double sentence. It is an infamous practice that a Judge in one Court should be allowed to practise as a Barrister in another, which is the case with the City Common Sergeant, and with many Country Recorders. It is impossible that such a character can ever be a competent, impartial Judge. He may favour a party in one Court with the mere hope of adding to his briefs in another. A Judge should have no remaining excuse to be corrupt, and if he be naturally of a corrupt disposition, he should be treated as one of the worst of criminals. I esteem the character of Mr. Denman, but I could not if I one day saw him a Judge at the Old Bailey, and the next day a Barrister in the Court of King's Bench, or on the Assize Circuit. I may have occasion to give him a brief to defend one case, where he may be compelled to

sit as a Judge on a similar one at the Old Bailey. But with Lawyers, Antiquarians, and Dolts, practice and precedent sanction every thing. The influence of an Attorney full of business on a Barrister is at all times very great, and who knows in what manner "Trinity Murray" may be able to pay Little Jeff for his assistance at the Old Bailey, should he remain a Barrister in the Court of King's Bench?

Whether Dr. Lushington means to let the case of Barkley rest where it is, we cannot pretend to say; but the case of Rhodes is the case that should be taken up in Parliament. The case of Rhodes is a hundred times more aggravated than that of Barkley. There is nothing I dislike so much as to meddle with petitions to so notoriously a corrupt body of men as compose our Parliament, even for individual grievances; if I could address what I feel to them, it would all do very well, but as the language must be necessarily as corrupt as the parties addressed, I find it very difficult to frame my mind to the purpose. I mustered up all the adulation I was master of to prepare a petition for my sister, and sent it to Mr. Hobhouse, but even Mr. Hobhouse, the renowned Member for Westminster, who is so privately bold in avowing all his opinions, has neither the courage, the honesty, nor the gallantry to present it to Castlereagh and Company, and has actually returned it, saying, he does not think it will do any good, or that any object will be gained by presenting it. I shall print the Petition next week, or the week after, with the Correspondence connected with it, and try to get it into the House through the Press, if I cannot find an *Opposition* nor a *Position Member* to take charge of it.

I quit the subject of Little Jeff and his Jury for the present, by saying, that four of the Jury were Booksellers. Blanshard, the Methodist, I have mentioned before. There was also Gardner, the Bookseller to the Oxford University, and the sole Agent in London for their Bibles! How is it possible that such a man as this could give an impartial verdict upon such a question. If he had acquiesced in a verdict of Not Guilty he would have lost all his Oxford Agency, and perhaps his sole means of living with it. The Jury was completely a hostile Jury, and I have not the least doubt but Garratt, Murray, and Little Jeff picked their men for the trials.

We want some of the enemies to the Constitutional Association to take the case of Rhodes up, on two grounds: first, to indict Cooper, the Officer, for perjury, in swearing

that his name was Holmes; and next, to attack Little Jeff some way for persisting in trying Rhodes under that name in spite of all the protestation he could make against it. We have every necessary evidence of Cooper's perjury. I mentioned the name of Bland, the Marshalman, as charging Cooper with perjury, in a former Number of "The Republican," but I have since learnt it was Harrison. I spoke with doubt at the time.

I am sorry to hear that "Trinity Murray" meditates further persecution towards Mr. Ridgeway. I hear he has obtained an Indictment for perjury respecting the swearing about the Sign Board, on which a New Trial was moved for. There is danger that a serious affair may be made out of this most paltry subject. I was certainly astonished to hear so much swearing for and against the Sign Board, and it was evident there must have been false swearing on the one side or the other. I sincerely hope Mr. Ridgeway will be able to throw back the charge upon them, although I cannot help saying, it would have been much better to have set up a manly defence of the pamphlet than to have descended to a dispute about the Sign Board. There was not a question but the pamphlet was sold in Mr. Ridgeway's house; therefore, there could no proper defence remain but to defend the act of selling, and the contents of the pamphlet, particularly after this had been so eloquently, so boldly, and so successfully done by Mr. Cooper in London. Could the Judges have ventured to send Ridgeway to Lancaster Castle, for a year, if the case of my sister, the original publisher, had been forcibly pressed upon their attention? On the defence of Ridgeway, all Mr. Brougham's small talk about the Tea, Tobacco, Snuff, Potatoes, and Children's Books sold by his Client, was materially an injury to the case; it was a wanton trifling with and abandonment of an important question—the right and propriety of publishing such a pamphlet as was then before the Jury.

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. HENRY HUNT, ILCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,
Dorchester Gaol, April 7, 1822.
I HAVE waited the appearance of the 31st Number of your "Memoirs," to see whether you would contradict any one statement made in a public Letter to you of the 20th

February, wherein I undertook to answer some uncalled-for questions you had put forth respecting my conduct; but I find, on the appearance of that Number, that you have dropt the matter, and I should have been equally willing to have done the same, if, in the 30th Number of your "Memoirs," you had not charged me with putting forth falsehoods, and insinuated that there was an understanding between me and the Editor or Proprietors of "The Courier," or some persons who influence that paper. I cannot sit down quiet under this charge: first, because I challenge you to impeach any one item of the statements made in my last Letter, by telling you that you cannot do it; and, secondly, because you had not the least foundation for imputing to me a connection with those who are notoriously the enemies of the advocates of Reform. If you had copied the article from "The Courier," or if I could think that every reader of your "Memoirs" had also read "The Courier" that contained the extract of my Letter to you, I should have been quite content to have left this part of the subject to their own judgments; but as I know there are many persons who have not seen the extract in "The Courier," or any other Paper, who will see your observations on it, I wish, as far as possible, to undeceive them. I will therefore again give you another example of fair play by copying the whole of your article, and shew you how little I fear to meet it.

"I see by the Courier that Mr. Carlile has been attacking me most violently, for which the Courier praises Mr. Carlile. It is with him "*Mr. Carlile and Hunt.*" I give the Courier joy of his new ally, and I give Mr. Carlile joy of his ally the Courier. This alliance, I should think, will open the eyes of those, if there be any so blind as not to understand the object of this attack. The Courier leagues with Mr. Carlile and Atheism against Hunt; and he would league with the devil against Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot. I have desired a friend to send me this notable production of Mr. Carlile's, not with any intention of replying to it, which I shall certainly decline. If it had not been for the Courier I should never have known that I had been the subject of Mr. Carlile's rage. By a letter that I have this moment received from one of the parties, who has, it appears, been also attacked in the same paper, it is evident that Mr. Carlile has not been very scrupulous about the means that he has used. The Gentleman begins his letter "Dear Sir,—I have this moment read Carlile's statement respecting you; if these facts are as much misrepresented as those with which I am connected, it is indeed an atrocious

string of falsehoods.' By another letter I find that Mrs. Fildes, of Manchester, has come in for her share, and that she has written to Mr. Carlile to contradict all that he has stated; and another says, all that he has insinuated against Mr. Harrison, of Stockport, is an infamous falsehood, as Harrison is as good a man as ever lived. However, it appears to be a sweeping attack, and that Mr. Carlile concludes by declaring that no Reform can be of any service till "*all religion is destroyed.*" My friend observes, that Mr. Carlile makes himself out to be a very brave man, quite a hero, and that I am a coward. But, says he, a clergyman who was placed so as to overlook the hustings, told me, that when the yeomanry were cutting their way through the crowd, he kept his eye upon the atheist, and he was ready to faint with fear. That ———, and ———, the two atheists, were the only persons upon the hustings who discovered any fear. This may or may not be true, but, if it be true, does not aburg much in favour of the scheme for *destroying all religion*. With regard to this question of religion, I can most solemnly declare, that I never entertained a wish to *destroy it*; I never will be concerned in any scheme of the sort; but I will, as long as I live, contend for the justice of placing all religions upon the same footing, and to establish full political liberty. I abhor priestcraft as much as the great Reformer, Christ, did; I abhor all intolerance; I would have every one worship his Maker in his own way, and I shall certainly never trouble myself whether Mr. Carlile worships God or Mammon. But I protest in my own name, and in the name of all the Reformers I ever knew, against the intolerant and bigoted dictation of Mr. Carlile. I believe the great mass of the Reformers are religious, but I hope they are neither bigoted nor under the influence of priestcraft. From all I have heard of this attack of Mr. Carlile upon me, it is illiberal, unjust, and untrue. But I am glad he has openly declared, at the same time he denounces me, his determination to *destroy all religion*. I therefore promise him not to retaliate, and he is at perfect liberty to abuse and denounce me with impunity; I shall take no notice of it; I would only recommend him in future to keep a little nearer the TRUTH, if he ever expects to gain any credit either for principle or honesty. I consider him a persecuted man, a persecuted bookseller, but not a persecuted Reformer; for I understand that he denounces every Reformer who does not adopt his notions upon religious subjects. I abhor his persecutors, and if I had been placed with him in Dorchester Gaol, instead of Ilchester Gaol, I would have brought his inhuman and dirty persecutors to justice, and have exposed and punished them as I have exposed and punished the dastardly wretches who persecuted and tortured the poor prisoners confined within these walls.

I am, my friends, your sincere and faithful

H. HUNT.

Your first sentence, that you could see by "The Courier," that I had been attacking you violently, and that "The Courier" had praised me, is false. Your second sentence, that "It is with him, *Mr. Carlile* and Hunt," is false. I have seen "The Courier" of the 6th of March, which had the extract from my Letter, and it was headed thus, "CARLILE and HUNT. These two culprits, &c." This, on a second view, I presume you will say is no distinction, but a perfect equality. It then went on to state that we had fallen out about "our respective merits, or demerits rather," and that I had addressed a Letter to you; the following passage in which, among others, was, at least, worth notice, and quoted the observation I had made of the case of *Mr. White* as a heavier sentence than yours. After which it paid me the compliment of putting *Mr.* to my name (which seems to have grieved you so much, and to have distorted your views so strangely,) in contrast with some Member of Parliament, who had asserted, erroneously, after you, that yours was the heaviest sentence for a political misdemeanor since the days of the Stuarts. I quoted a case to shew that it was not so, "The Courier" copied that case, and I would have copied a similar case from "The Courier" if I had found it and wanted it, and I know you well enough to say that you would have done the same. I am of opinion, from what I have read of the history of this country, that there has been more vindictive feelings displayed by the Judges under the Guelphs than there were under the Stuarts, in cases of political misdemeanor. Recollect, those laws which existed under the Stuarts, and which were then thought not more barbarous than flogging is now thought, such as slitting noses, cutting off ears, and the pillory, are as obsolete as if they were abolished. The putting *Daniel Isaac Eaton* in the pillory caused its abolition by law in all cases except perjury. Our present Judges have all those feelings which *Scroggs* and *Jefferies* had; they would slit our noses, take off our ears, or send us to the stake, if the custom of the country and public opinion would tolerate it. I have not a doubt but *Best* would gladly have hung you as a Traitor, and that *Bailey* would as gladly have sent me to the stake as a Heretic or Blasphemer, if they had not feared the knowledge of the people.

Your wishing me joy of my alliance with "The Courier," and saying, "This alliance, I should think, will open the eyes of those, if there be any so blind as not to understand the object of this attack;" is infamous. It is not an open,

manly charge; it is the insinuation of a scoundrel, that knows the falsehood at the time he states it. Have you forgotten that the same thing was insinuated to you by Mr. Wooler and others, upon much better grounds, when the columns of "The New Times" were almost daily garnished with your attacks upon Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Wooler, and others? Have you forgotten how a certain, and, to you, well known reporter for "The New Times," was wont to be as attentive to your wishes for publication, as is the Court Newsman to his employers? Do you not recollect that this man paid daily and almost hourly visits either to you or your friends, to get from you a little abuse upon some public characters? The columns of "The New Times" were then as much at your service as are the columns of "The Manchester Observer" now: and yet I never entertained an idea, *nor insinuated it without entertaining it*, that you were in alliance, or had an understanding with Dr. Stoddart. I therefore repeat, that your imputation of a connection between me and "The Courier" is dastardly in the extreme.

I am sorry to have occasion to mention the name of Mr. Wooler, lest it should be thought I wish to draw him into this dispute. I thank him for his prudence and good example in not meddling with it, and I protest that I wish to cease this jarring as soon as I have ridded myself of the insinuations you have brought against me. You have not made a manly charge against me upon any point, and I demand that you do it or cease your private slander and public insinuations. I am receiving a very considerable support from the persons who call themselves Reformers, equal to any thing that you are now receiving, therefore, if you know any reasons why I ought not to receive this support, you are in duty bound, as a honest man, to state it openly and manfully, that I may answer it if I can, or that the Reformers may withdraw that support. I challenge you to do it, and I say that if I knew any thing in you deserving of exposition, I would make it without hesitation, to lead the public to a correct opinion. All that I have had to say against you I have stated openly, and will continue so to do.

You state, that at the time of writing that article you had not seen my Letter to you, and that "If it had not been for 'The Courier' I should never have known that I had been the subject of Mr. Carlile's rage." This is paltry indeed. You could not have discovered any thing like rage from the

extract in "The Courier;" besides, in the next sentence you acknowledge the receipt of a letter upon the subject, and in another sentence, another and another letter; but I verily think you had my Letter before you all the time you were writing that article. It was purchased in London by two of your agents on the 1st of March, and it would appear strange to me if it were not in Ilchester Gaol by the 4th, or, at least, I should have thought it so had it been my case as it was yours. The last half a dozen sentences I have quoted from your "Address" are a sufficient proof to me that you had the Letter before you at the time of writing them. However, I have waited long enough for you to see it if you like.

Your next sentence is sufficient to shew that you could not confine yourself to truth upon the matter. You say you have just received a letter "from one of the parties, who has, it appears, been also attacked in the same paper." Now, I have this moment *re-examined* the paper, and I find there is nothing in the shape of attack made upon a single individual but yourself and Mr. Harrison, and the latter may thank your officious kindness for contrasting him with better men; it is also evident that Harrison did not write you this letter, for I believe "The Republican" would not find admittance into Chester Castle. Then, who is the person attacked, Mr. Hunt? Come, you must tell me this, or I shall conclude the thing to be a fiction to help you out of a bad case. If it be otherwise, if the extract of the letter you have given be any thing more than your invention, I challenge you to say who wrote it, or I challenge the person, be it who it may, to make the same statement to me. Now let us see where the "atrocious string of falsehoods" applies. If you wish to clear yourself from the imputation of the fiction, give up your author's name, or call upon him to do it for himself. I make the challenge, and I will engage to find good authority for every sentence I have written in my first Letter to you.

Your next sentence describes Mary Fildes as having "come in for her share," and that you find she had written to me to contradict all that I had stated. This is a slip, Mr. Hunt; you were in too much haste; you have not cunning enough to carry on a scheme well. Here you have let the cat out of the bag too soon by a fortnight. When you wrote this article your instructions had not reached your Great Chronicler in Manchester to get Mary Fildes to put her name to this said letter. This Number of your

"Memoir" was printed and in Manchester by the time Mary Fildes was prevailed upon to put her name to the letter. Your "Address" is dated March 11th; the letter with Mary Fildes's name attached is not dated until the 18th of that month, and printed in "The Manchester Observer" of the 23rd. Mary Walker, whose name is associated with your Bolton Clogs, has shewn a disposition to shake a lance with Mary Fildes upon the matter, and she writes to me that the latter was publicly asked in the Union Rooms, by one Thomson, if she would put her name to this letter, and that she assented instantly. Another female, who was in company at the time with Mary Fildes, I understand, has let out the truth of the matter. Besides, in the first place, I never spoke but highly (too high, I am since informed) of Mary Fildes; but I spoke what I witnessed, and I now say, that what I saw of her conduct on the field of Peterloo, and in marching to it, was admirable: what your Great Chronicler has made her say of me is an invention, and a gross falsehood. I will not quarrel with Mary Fildes, although I am very sorry that she should have lent her name for such a purpose. Who were the other four women that were on the hustings? No doubt they will recollect my helping them down through the aperture. The only words I said to Mary Fildes were, "I hope you are not alarmed at the approach of the military," and she, smiling, answered, "No." Now, if I had displayed that tremor and alarm which the Great Chronicler has imputed to me, it is not likely that I should have addressed such words to another—even to a woman. All the time the Yeomanry were approaching to, and forming before Buxton's House, we stood cheering them, and even until we saw serious work going on. After they had begun to cut their way through the multitude—after screams poured forth from all sides, and a general cry of murder was heard amidst the greatest confusion, if any man could view such a scene without agitation or emotion, he must have been deficient of common sensibility. You, yourself, Sir, displayed as much emotion as any man there, and you would have been a monster if you had not. Throughout the whole scene of carnage, I declare solemnly, that I felt nothing so much as a deep grief to think that so many brave fellows were assembled without the means of resistance; and I can never think upon the subject without feeling that grief to this day. I felt indignation when you charged the multitude with "*running away*," because, I

know it made no part of their disposition, if they had been prepared to resist. It was in obedience to your orders that they came there, with a good conscience and without arms; and coming there was the only proof of courage that offered; there was no opportunity to display courage after the fixed multitude began to feel the sabres, and found themselves at the point of the bayonet and the cannon's mouth, every way without the least means of resistance. If I had displayed the alarm falsely imputed to me, I should not have brought myself off the ground as well as I did. I attribute my safety entirely to a cool and collected judgment amidst such a scene of horror and confusion.

I should remind you of one thing: you say Mary Fildes is to contradict all that I have stated; whilst the result is, that she has contradicted no one thing. She has made me (or, at least, the Great Chronicle has done it for her) call you a coward, and then denies that you are one. The thing never entered my head to charge you with cowardice: it is altogether a paltry turning of other points, both by you and your Chronicle. It is impossible that any man can charge you with cowardice, or a want of nerve. I do think your conduct towards me since I have been in Prison, and before you got there too, was cowardly in the extreme, or, perhaps, I should say, mean, paltry, and illiberal: but as to your being a coward, in the sense of the word, as a want of spirit to brave danger, I never did, I never could impute it to you. I always entertained a very different idea of you, and have always found you acting with uncommon resolution. It was when you charged cowardice upon me and the persons who attended the Manchester Meeting, by hinting that we ran away, I thought it my duty to retort upon you, that if you had allowed the men who attended that Meeting to have followed their own inclinations, there would have been no occasion for running away. Oliver Cromwell was no coward, but he was a very great hypocrite, and such, I believe, was the character of Buonaparte.

The person from whom I received the information about the disposition of the Reformers to come armed to that Meeting, as a safeguard against the threatened attack, was a young man I found at Smedley Cottage, on the Sunday evening, the 15th of August. He walked with me from Smedley Cottage to the Star Inn door, and, in the course of that walk, he told me that you had said, if any one came armed with any thing but a good conscience, you would not attend their Meeting. I told the young man, I knew

well that was your disposition; that you would go a great way towards bringing bodies of men together at Public Meetings, but that you never would be the first to encourage them to take up arms. I know not the name of this young man, but I know the name of another that was with him: it is most likely that he will see this statement.

Respecting my insinuations against Mr. Harrison, I must confess I did make them, and I was sorry that you had driven me to do it by placing his conduct in contrast with mine. I do not mean to retract a word I said, and I have no wish to explain what I meant, unless I am challenged to do it; and if any challenge be made of the kind, my informant has written unasked to me to say that he is prepared to defend his former information, and to shew that he is not that good man you have represented him to be, and that I have not stated an "infamous falsehood." I knew the man I was addressing too well to put forward a tittle of any thing that I could not substantiate, or bring forward good evidence of the truth of the assertion. I never sought after any information about Mr. Harrison, it was sent unasked and unexpected to me. However, I wish to drop the matter if I am not pressed to disclosure. Officious friends are often more dangerous than enemies, and such has been your friendship towards Mr. Harrison. But who was the Clergyman, Mr. Hunt, that said the two Atheists were cowards? A Clergyman call two Atheists cowards!! A Clergyman is a licensed liar, particularly towards those whom he knows to be his enemies. Who is your Clergyman? Give us his name, or I shall conclude that the tale is another fiction of your own. If he were a Manchester Clergyman, how did he know me, who was known to no one belonging to Manchester? And pray who is my fellow Atheist? It is not manly to put blanks or dashes where a name should stand. I have not the least objection to be called an Atheist, although I do not assume, or like the word, or its definition. I had rather be called an Atheist than a Christian. I believe in all the Gods that are in existence, therefore, I leave you to say how far I am an Atheist. The word Deist was not strong enough for you. I cannot swallow the bringing forward a Clergyman at all. It is all a trick, an invention, and a paltry one too. I verily believe that John Knight, the moral John Knight, was the only Christian upon the hustings, excepting a gentleman whom I will not call a Clergyman; and if you allude to the same

person as I do for a Clergyman, just speak out and I shall understand the matter.

We never heard a word about your religion until you got to Ilchester Gaol, or until you gave evidence at York, of being intimate with the Parson of the Parish where you had lived: but I will state some strange contradictions on this head. Bridle says, but I do not believe him, "that since you have been in Ilchester Gaol, the prisoners have all thrown aside their Bibles for Tom Paine's Works." He further says, "that you never attend to hear the Word of God, and that you were the only prisoner that did not attend." However, if you have not listened to the word of God, we know that you have composed a national prayer to the great Jehovah, and that you have frequently given us a scrap from the Bible, only you made a sad mistake in representing your solitary confinement to be like the solitary confinement of Jonah in the whale's belly; and that the time was the same forty days and nights. If Jonah had been forty days and nights in the whale's belly, I rather think he would have been voided in some other way, and not through the mouth, however well he might have been supplied with small fish and fellow prisoners. The Jew men were clever at fasting forty days and nights, but Jonah suffered confinement but three days and nights. Jehovah did not impose such heavy sentences as Abbott, Best, and Bailey. Your Knights of the Order of St. Henry of Ilchester, and the pious pilgrimages to the imprisoned saint, must not be forgotten! In two or three instances you have endeavoured to draw a comparison between yourself and the Jew Reformer, Jesus Christ, one of the instances is now before us. Several little things connected with your religion in the course of publishing your Memoirs would have been worth noting down for reference; but I never trouble myself to note any thing. Daniel in the lion's den, has been seized on as another prototype of St. Henry in Ilchester Gaol, there was nothing wanting to complete the parallel but another Habakkuk to have been removed from Lancashire, by the hair of the head, with a mess of pottage for the modern Daniel's dinner. To finish your pious career, it is only necessary that the lord of the manor of Glastonbury should order his body to be deposited, at death, under the Glastonbury Thorn, engage a few clerical friends to compose a few legends as to the miracles performed in Ilchester Gaol, convert the Gaol into an Abbey, and the pilgrimages of old will soon be eclipsed by the rushing of the pious to the

shrine, the tomb, and the abbey of St. Henry. Religion wants some new stimulus of this kind, and, Cromwell-like, I really think you are the man to furnish it. Like David you have prayed and sung psalms; like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, you have escaped the fiery furnace, unscathed, and unhurt; like Daniel you have been in the lions' den; like Jonah you have been in the whale's belly, only you had an opportunity of frying your small fish, which Jonah had not: like Jesus Christ you are a great Reformer; and like St. Paul you have been persecuted and imprisoned. If the parallels go on in this way the relics of St. Henry, in another century, will become a most valuable treasure, and like Aaron's rod, will bud, grow, and swallow up all other relics.

A word or two by way of contradiction. In the year 1818, on the first of June, when there was a meeting at the Crown and Anchor about returning you for Westminster, you and a few select friends dined together after the meeting was over: after dinner, among other toasts, you began to address the company in a very grave manner, and to complain that justice had not been done to the writings and memory of Thomas Paine, you eulogized his writings, as of the most important kind, without particularizing any of them, and concluded by toasting his memory, which was well received by the company; and the circumstance greatly excited my attachment to you at that moment. As soon as you heard of my prosecution for publishing "The Age of Reason" in 1819, you instantly assured me, that you would give me your support at the time of trial. At the Lent Assizes of that year, you had a cause to defend at Winchester; whilst there, you were surrounded by some avowed Republicans and Deists, to whom you expressed a strong satisfaction as to the line of conduct I was pursuing, and assured them that you would be with me at the time of trial. I was in Winchester in April, the month following, and received this information and congratulation from the mouths of the very men.

When the time of trial came on, my private wish was, that you should not be present, as I knew you were particularly unpopular among the men who were to form my Juries: that wish was expressed to many persons, although it was impossible that I could then have stated it to you. I never gave you the least notice of the approach of my trial, with a hope of keeping you away, but on the eleventh of October you came to town, and finding me absent from

home, you entreated Mrs. Carlile to inform me that you were ready to be with me, and that I would drop you a note, or see you the moment I came into town the next morning. I did not listen to this appointment from the aforementioned reasons, but you came just as I was prepared to start to the Court, and it was then suggested to you by one of my friends present, that your presence would not serve me. You rejected the suggestion with disdain, placed yourself in the same coach with me, and I will give you credit for doing every thing for me that lay in your power during the moment of trial, and behaving towards me with great kindness and attention. You wished to be first and foremost in every thing connected with the defence; although it was known and visible to all my other friends, that you were not master of the subject; and that you had never studied or examined it. But like many of my other professed friends, who were around me when the verdict was Guilty, you were off, and you have never shewn the least disposition to do me a service since; although you have made professions. On the first trial I was what I may call pestered with friends; on the second, I was left almost alone; at least, those who were then with me, I have found ready to stand by me since: and I often entertain the idea that I shall ultimately find the verdict of Guilty beneficial, by shewing me on whom I may depend in future, and I wish you and every one to understand, that I consider my career as only just beginning.

I met you again in the Court on the Saturday morning, when you expected your cause with Dr. Stoddart to come on, you then took me by the hand, bid me be of good cheer, and stated that you had been one of a meeting on the former evening where a subscription for me was determined: but I heard no more of that; and after the sentence, when you were asked to take the Chair at a public meeting for the purpose, you declined it.

But you were not satisfied with a silent abandonment of me; you wished a public disavowal of all connection, and made yourself ridiculous by so doing: for that you had countenanced my career up to the verdict of Guilty against me, was notorious to all the country.

At the close of my trials, you quitted London for a week or more, and on your return, finding I was not bailed, you made a fuss to Mrs. Carlile about it, upbraided Mr. Dolby in my shop for not interfering, and made him promise to go with you and bail me; assuring Mrs. Carlile when you left

the shop that I should be home in a few hours. But we heard nothing further of that matter, and you never came near me, until the evening before sentence was to be passed, when you brought a party with you a few minutes before the gates of the Prison were to be shut: a visit I received more as an insult than an act of friendship, which you might have seen by my manners.

The next thing I heard of you was a few days after I got to this Gaol, that at a dinner at the Crown and Anchor, to celebrate the return of Mr. Cobbett from America, you took the occasion to decry all Deists for allowing me to remain in Prison for want of bail: and if that was Deism you did not wish to participate in it. Mr. Cobbett decried Republicans and Republicanism, and so there was a pretty dish of it between you. I did not notice this matter at the time; although the papers highly coloured your expressions, and you were quite willing to let them go forth to the world so coloured, for all you did to counteract it was to express a great deal of anger to Mrs. Carlile upon the matter, and a hope that I should not see it. It appears it mattered nothing who saw it, so as I did not see it. Very kind and generous!

The next act of your illiberality towards me, happened at your trial at York. Scarlett knew it was touching a sore to mention your connection with me, and my presence with you at the Manchester Meeting, and knowing that it would well answer his purpose to strengthen the prejudices of the Jury, he did not fail to enlarge upon it. In the course of your defence you put the following words to the Jury, of which I did, for once, make a note at the time. "You have heard the miserable attempt to fix upon me an irreligious connexion with Carlile. I know the man, and if I do not say what I think of him, it is because he is now suffering the sentence of the law, and therefore not a fit subject for any body's animadversion." I ask you, can any thing be conceived more infamous than this, considering what had passed between you and me? Now, you too are under the sentence of the law, and we are upon a perfect equality, and as near neighbours as possible: now, I challenge you to say what you know of Carlile to his prejudice.

In the Court of King's Bench, at the time of your receiving sentence, you attempted to work upon the bigoted feelings of Bailey, by touching the same string, and disavowing an irreligious connexion with me. You had gone too far with me to recover a belief from the public in the

sincerity of your professed religious feelings; and be assured that it has only brought a charge of hypocrisy upon you. I am proud in the boast of having freed my mind from every thing called religion: and after I witnessed this abandonment of principle, on your part, I candidly tell you that I derived pleasure from seeing you sent to a neighbouring Goal to fill out a period of imprisonment equivalent to mine. You, your friend the Clergyman, and Parson Harrison, may go a preaching together, if you like, when you are at liberty: I will never encourage you to form an irreligious connection with me again: although, I shall be ever willing to support you on all important political questions. I assure you that all the ill-will I feel towards you will be spent upon this paper: nothing of the kind will remain in my bosom: and you may please yourself about re-kindling it: I am quite indifferent.

I shall close with stating another fact. In addition to Mary Fildes, your man Wilde in London has been set to abuse me. I was informed a fortnight before his *unpaid* letter came to hand, that he was waiting for instructions to do it, but I wish you to understand that nothing that has passed between you and me, shall ever bring me into a dispute with a third person. I will stick to you as long as you like, but I will not notice any thing from a third person, neither will I ever allow any correspondent to attack you, or any other public character, through the pages of "The Republican." Whatever is necessary to be done on that head I will do it myself, and put my own name to it. But I would ask how comes it to pass that you, who have such a distaste for Republicanism and Deism, such a veneration for Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Divinity, should have in your employ persons so directly opposite in sentiment. At a dinner to celebrate the Birth-day of Thomas Paine, on the 29th of January last; your agent Mr. Wilde, who is an avowed advocate for the politics of Paine, and the theology of Mirabaud, was present. Hearing several names toasted, but not hearing the name of Henry Hunt, like a faithful servant and a good man (which I still believe him to be) he rose, and asked the Chairman, if the name of his master was not on the list of toasts. He was answered in the negative, and displayed an uneasiness, and something like indignation, at what he considered an improper neglect. He was answered by the Chairman, that that meeting was to celebrate the birthday of the greatest Republican and Deist that ever lived, and that Mr. Hunt made it his pecu-

liar boast that he was neither of the characters described, therefore, it would be inconsistent to toast his name in conjunction with the name of Thomas Paine. I am informed that Mr. Wilde was by no means appeased, but protested that his master did partake of all the principles of Thomas Paine. However, the name of Henry Hunt was inadmissible, as his own writings and avowed principles were considered to preponderate over the assertion of Mr. Wilde. This of course I have at second hand, but it is no invention of mine; if called for my informant is forthcoming.

However, if you can make even the apparent contradictions here stated, you are welcome. It has been my duty to state them in self defence. You have called for them. You admit that religion is not a corruption in your eye, and you state a wish to preserve it. Throughout all our personal meetings I never saw in you any thing in the shape of a profession of religious feeling, and I now think you have as much religion in you as Cromwell's dispersed Parliament, or Cromwell's horse had. I hold religion to be the worst of all corruptions, and most certainly it is my wish to destroy it all, if it be practicable: but I disclaim what you have imputed to me "an intolerant and bigoted dictation." All I dictate is free discussion, and I dictate against all controul of opinion, but nothing further. *Toleration*, or *Intolerance*, are words I reject altogether.

As to my being a persecuted bookseller, and not a persecuted Reformer, I may just as well say that you are a persecuted farmer, or a persecuted grain roaster and grinder. It was not the bookselling for which I was prosecuted, but for what the books contained. Jealousy has always jaundiced eyes, and you certainly view things through deranged optics. Respecting what you would have done in Dorchester Gaol, or as to doing the same as you have done in Ilchester Gaol, it would be first necessary that the same abuses should exist; and really I do not see any such abuses in the place, unless it be the dread and close confinement of us blasphemers. But I shall have occasion by and by to say more on this subject. Your Fellow Prisoner,

R. CARLILE.

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LAWRENCE'S LECTURES on PHYSIOLOGY, ZOOLOGY,
and the NATURAL HISTORY of MAN, delivered at the
Royal College of Surgeons.
Vol. V. No. 15.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Hyde, near Manchester, March 8, 1822.

ESTEEMED FELLOW-CITIZEN,

PERMIT me, on the behalf of a few of your friends in this and the neighbouring village of Denton, to request your acceptance of the enclosed sum of Two Pounds. We are sorry it is all our finances will allow us to send you at present; had it been commensurate with our wishes, it would have amounted to hundreds of pounds, and which would have been a more adequate reward for the exertions you have made in the cause of Liberty, both Civil and Religious; the firm and undaunted advocate for free and untroubled discussion on all subjects relating to the welfare of society; the noble and bold assertor of Republicanism and the right of men to choose their Legislators and Magistrates, which you have proved yourself to be; the courage and heroism you have shewn whilst combating with the Vice and Bridge Street Hordes of Robbers and Plunderers; the unshaken fortitude you have displayed while suffering unparalleled persecutions and imprisonments, merits not only the pecuniary support, but the gratitude and esteem of every true friend to Liberty in every part of the habitable globe.

You, Sir, are to this generation what Thomas Paine was to the last; and such are the incontrovertible and convincing truths displayed in the writings of Paine, aided by the powerful effects of your great and expanded mind, that there is not the least doubt but they will be duly appreciated by the present and all future generations, and that your names will be handed down together with that veneration and respect they deserve to the latest posterity. Your names and deeds are engraven, in large and legible characters, on such imperishable metal, and that metal is supported by pedestals in the Temple of Fame, so firm and secure, that not all the ghastly grins your enemies may favour it with, nor all the deadly venom they may bespatter it with, will be able to deface one single letter, or remove one single atom of the structure.

Do the Wig, Gown, and Tythe Gentlemen think they can stop the progress of Reason, Truth, and Justice, by persecutions, imprisonments, and fines? No: if they were to incarcerate and fine, nay, if they were to put to death and totally annihilate from the face of the earth all those persons who are now opposed to their system of idolatry, superstition, and fraud, it would set others not opposed to them at present to enquire why such measures were adopted; and when once the most stupid begin to enquire into the nature of things, and reason upon them, rays of Truth will make their way on to their minds, a change will take

place in their sentiments, which not all the Kingcraft or Priestcraft in the world will be able to bring back to their former state of stupidity. Do they suppose that imprisoning you, your family, and your shopmen, will convince all your friends of what they wish them to believe are errors; and that in future, no one will dare to call in question their right and authority to dictate to the inhabitants of the world what they shall think and what they shall say? How laborious will be the task to convince us that truth is not truth! How futile and vain the attempt! The demonstrable truths you have published are now so (and will be still more) widely circulated, and so deeply engraven on the minds of thousands in this country, that our common oppressors view the effects of them on their corrupt system with "fear and trembling;" and the vengeance they are heaping upon the heads of your patriotic and praiseworthy shopmen, plainly shews, they are writhing under the conviction, that ere long their occupation will be gone.

Whatever may be the result of your present contest with your and our enemies; in whatever way they may dispose of you; if they were to put you to death, (which Reason and Justice forbids) be you assured, Sir, other Carliles would start up to vindicate your character and principles, and would continue to expose to the world the impositions and frauds of their idolatrous system, till it be totally banished from the earth. For let the bigoted, the interested; and the powerful exert themselves as much as they please, it is a truth confirmed to us by the experience of all ages, that whatever opinions may prevail in the world, how strongly soever established, or how ancient soever they may be, if not grounded originally on Nature, but on the consent only and contrivance of men, will be sure, in the end, to find the same fate with old buildings, which, while they acquire to themselves a sort of veneration from their very age, are every day gradually weakened, till being found at last rotten and ruinous, they are demolished by common consent.

I dare say it will be no less gratifying to you to hear, than it is for me to inform you, that Reason is assuming her proper station in the minds of the people in this part of the country; that the principles of Republicanism are becoming better known and more generally adopted than they have been; and that Christianity is now estimated by the conduct of its votaries, by their works, and not by their words.

If Murray, Sharp, or any other such shining examples of Christian honesty and morality, who belong to the Bridge Street Gang, would take a tour through the country, would call at every house, and so far insinuate themselves into the confidence of the inhabitants, as to get them to declare what they thought of your persecutions and sufferings, on their return to their fellow-despots they might truly say: "On our journey through the country we have met with thousands whose moral conduct is such, that if set

in competition with the same number of the most pious and devout Christians, they would far outshine them in all the social virtues ; who think our persecuting Carlile for merely imitating our worthy Christian Divines in publishing to the world his opinions and sentiments, is vindictive, cruel, and inhuman ; who identify themselves with him ; whose sentiments and principles correspond with his ; and who are determined to support him by every means in their power, as long as we interfere with his doing the same sort of thing that we expend thousands of pounds every year, and send out missionaries to every part of the world to do, that is, the publishing and disseminating our creeds and doctrines. We have found among the friends of Carlile such firmness of mind, such rectitude of conduct, and such resolution to support him in his present struggle for the first right of man, that of exercising his reason, and expressing his thoughts and sentiments on all subjects without the least restraint or controul, that, like the British Officer, on his return from the American General's camp, we exclaim, ' What chance have we against such men. '

I understand a Banditti of Plunderers have been in your shop and have taken away your property. Roused into the highest state of alarm at your perseverance and determination to enlighten your fellow-countrymen ; to instil into their minds a knowledge of their rights and duties ; warning them to be aware of " wolves in sheeps' clothing ;" to be aware of such men as wish to enslave both body and mind ; finding that imprisoning your shopmen had only the effect of doubling the number of those who were ready to go into your shop as others were taken out of it ; driven to extremities, your enemies forcibly took possession of it, and shut it up, and then, no doubt, in imitation of the would-be-thought infallible " Courier," said, " There, now the play is over we can sit down to supper."

Is such the result ? Is the play over ? Are your exertions in the cause of Freedom finally put a stop to ? Are the truths and sentiments of the great and immortal Paine, and of the no less great and noble Carlile, never more to please our eyes and enliven our hearts ? Are we from the present time to sink into a state of listless apathy, and pay no attention to any thing but the dogmas of non-resistance and passive obedience to the Powers that be ? No such thing. Your persecutors are doomed to sink back into that insignificance from which they ought never to have emerged ; while your prospect will grow brighter and brighter every day. Like a tight-made ship on the stormy ocean, you may for awhile be overwhelmed by the rude waves of Persecution and Oppression, but you will rise superior to every obstacle, and like an expert and experienced Captain, assisted by steady and determined sailors, bring your vessel into the desired port, where all will be peace, harmony, and happiness.

For my own part, I shall continue to give you that support I

tions that inevitably attend a prison, because it evinces the certainty that the object of my imprisonment is defeated; in competition with which I wish my personal feelings or endurance of imprisonment to count as nothing; let it be considered only as a part of my good wishes and humble exertions in the cause of free discussion and a Representative System of Government; for I verily think it has formed the most powerful part, as far as success has hitherto attended the pursuit.

To the inhabitants of the villages of Hyde and Denton, who have subscribed their mites to my support, I return my sincere thanks, and wish the poorest of them to be assured that his pence are valued as highly as the pounds of the richer man. It is the number and principles of the men that I look at, more than any thing else, and although the sums subscribed towards the payment of my fines have not reached much beyond the third part of the necessary sums, I verily believe that the numbers subscribing, equal or exceed those connected with any former subscription of the kind. I was very anxious to enrol names in expression of approbation of my conduct, when I did not see the want of money, as I knew then, and still know, that it is by dint of numbers, known and avowed, that we can alone stay the rage of persecution, and establish, in opposition to the bigotry and idolatry of the day, and the interests of its supporters, the right of free discussion.

However flattering your letter may be to me personally, I have derived greater satisfaction from the ability with which it is written, and I beg to offer it to the notice of Castlereagh, as a proof that the men who are educated at the two Universities are not the only men in the country entitled to the term *educated*: they by no means engross all the intelligence and common sense.

Mrs. Carlile, and my Sister, beg to make their acknowledgments of the kind and sympathising manner in which they have been noticed by you and Mrs. Mercer.

I am, Citizen, faithfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND, Manchester, March 20, 1822.
It is with great pleasure I forward to you the sum of £1. 11s. 1d. that I have received from John Howard, Isaiah Wood, and others,

being a subscription from the brave Republicans of Bury in this neighbourhood, for your manly conduct in defence of Universal Liberty, and hoping that you may be crowned with victory over both the Prosecuting Gangs, and that "Little Jeff" may live to see the day of the liberation of my companion and friend Joseph Rhodes.

I remain your Friend and Fellow Citizen,
JAMES WHEELER.

TO MR. JAMES WHEELER, MANCHESTER.

CITIZEN WHEELER, Dorchester Gaol, March 26, 1822.
THE first time you have an opportunity of going to Bury, you will not fail to return my thanks to those Republicans of Bury who have subscribed their several mites to my support, and to do all you can to make them further acquainted with me, and me with them. All the efforts at delusion I find are vain in Lancashire, and that no name, no hypocrisy, no falsehood, can prevent the men of Lancashire from a free enquiry into the real character of my publications, and an impartial judgment both of them and their Publisher. This is all I seek. I do not ask their esteem upon any false pretensions, I do not desire any clamour to be made about my name, but I wish every man to examine the principles I advocate, and to form his own conclusions as to whether they are right or wrong, moral or immoral, and not be led away by false rumours and the reports of others.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,
R. CARLILE.

CASE OF JOHN MATTHEWS,

Who was Executed for printing a Pamphlet in the Year 1719, being the Sixth Year of the Reign of the FIRST GUELPH.

WE have repeatedly made allusions to this case as a proof that but little was gained in exchanging the Stuarts for the Guelphs, and that every improvement in the state of the

Press and political knowledge had been obtained by dint of perseverance in opposition to persecution and danger; and every advantage of living under the Guelphs in preference to the Stuarts has been wrung from, and not conceded by the former, upon the same principles as might have been done with regard to the latter, if the same measures had been taken.

We shall not now subject ourselves to a charge of Jacobitism, (and to that of Jacobinism we have no objection, though we condemn the phrase) in comparing the Stuarts to the Guelphs, as the former family is said to be extinct, and if not, there is not much danger of their possessing power in this Island again. We sincerely hope that no other family but the present will ever possess Kingly power in this country, and the sooner Nature takes the present to her maternal lap, the better will it be for the people who live under them.

A Correspondent from Leeds has favoured us with a narrative of the case of John Matthews, by which we are assured, the pamphlet we mentioned in the 10th Number as having in our possession, is not a copy of that which he printed, as we previously suspected, although sent to us as such. The following narrative makes it evident that the pamphlet could have little or no circulation, and as likely as not to have been printed at the instigation of some spy, informer, and instigator.

John Matthews was the son of a Printer, in Aldersgate Street, to whom he was apprenticed, but his father dying, he continued to serve with his mother. Having made connections with some persons of Jacobitical principles, he printed some papers against the Government, for which he was once taken into custody, but the evidence being incomplete, he was dismissed.

Encouraged by this escape, he was induced to print a pamphlet entitled, "Ex ore tuo te judico. Vox Populi, vox Dei."—"Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee. The voice of the people is the voice of God." For this offence he was brought to his trial on the 30th of October, 1719; when it appeared that he had composed the pages of the pamphlet in question, but locked them up lest they should be found and made use of to his prejudice.

An elder brother of Matthews apprehending that the youth might endanger himself by his propensity to the printing such pamphlets, directed a journeyman, named Lawrence Vezey, to lock up the door of the printing-house

every night and bring him the key: but Vezey, like a villain, as he was, first suffered the young fellow to print the supposed treasonable matter, and then gave evidence against him.

A general warrant being granted by the Secretary of State for the search of Mrs. Matthews's house, the Blood-hounds of Government found a number of the supposed libel in a room, which the prisoner acknowledged to belong to him. He was carried before the Secretary of State, who committed him to Newgate on his refusing to give up the author.

When Matthews was arraigned at the bar, Vezey swore that the prisoner brought the form containing part of the book to the press, and bid him pull a proof of it, which he did; and that the prisoner afterwards came down to him and said, that the pages had been transposed; but he had now put them right, and he then pulled him another proof. That the prisoner desired this Evidence to come early in the next morning to work off the sheets, saying, that he himself would take care of the paper, and that every thing should be ready.

Accordingly, Vezey went early one morning, intending to call upon William Harper, the apprentice; but the prisoner came to the door, let him in, and called Harper, who assisted Vezey in working off the sheets, Matthews standing by and taking them from the press for the greater expedition; and when the work was done the prisoner paid Vezey for his trouble. This evidence was likewise confirmed by Harper, as far as he was concerned in the transaction; and he added, that he saw the prisoner composing the matter from the manuscript copy.

The Counsel for the Crown exerted their utmost abilities to aggravate the crime of the prisoner, and the King's Messengers swearing to as much as they knew of the affair, Matthews was found guilty, and sentence of death was passed upon him.

After condemnation he was attended by the Rev. Mr. Skerrett, who also accompanied him to the place of execution. His whole behaviour after sentence was such as might be expected from one who had too much sense to expect favour from the people then in power, for it was not customary with the Ministers of George the First to extend mercy to persons convicted of treasonable offences. But perhaps their seeming want of humanity will appear the

more excusable if we reflect on the fatal consequences that might have ensued from the Rebellion in 1715.

But nothing can excuse the method they took to obtain evidence in this case. It is but of late years that the issuing of general warrants has been legally condemned; and Englishmen are not a little obliged to a man, who, whatever his faults may be, has procured the condemnation of these warrants. Happily, we can now sit quietly and write our sentiments in our own houses without being liable to have our papers seized by the arbitrary mandate of a Secretary of State. While we recollect that we are obliged for this favour, in a great degree, to the perseverance of Mr. Wilkes, we should not forget that the judicial determination of Lord Camden perfected the plans so happily begun and so steadily pursued.

John Matthews was executed at Tyburn on the 16th of November, 1719, in the 19th year of his age.

Should any friend possess a copy of the pamphlet for which this youth was hanged, we shall be glad to be favoured with a perusal of it, to see if it be worth reprinting, or what grounds there were for this murder.

EDITOR.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR,

Manchester, March 23, 1822.

If you deem the following Dialogue worthy a place in your invaluable publication, you will by inserting it oblige a lover of truth and an admirer of your honest conduct and political firmness in the cause of equity.

J. R.

DIALOGUE.

A French Gentleman having just arrived from France, and accidentally meeting with an American at the inn, the conversation between them commenced as follows:—

Q. I presume, Sir, you are an Englishman?—A. No, Sir, an American, but I have resided several years in this country.

Q. Have you visited any other parts of the kingdom?—A. Yes; and having travelled the whole of Britain twice, and some of it three times, I am now pretty well acquainted with the country, and the people also.

Q. Then, Sir, you are a very competent person to render me much gratification, and give me much of that information which I am so desirous to acquire; and may I ask this favour from you?—

A. Sir, I shall be very happy to communicate any knowledge I possess that may afford you pleasure respecting this country, and I assure you, I have not been a partial or careless observer in my travels.

Q. What are the natural riches and comforts of Britain?—

A. A large portion of rich and fertile land, and a remarkably moderate and soft climate.

Q. What are the metallic or internal riches of Britain?—A. An abundance of lead, tin, copper, and iron, and some silver. In many parts of the country are found vast quantities of excellent coals; and there are inexhaustible quarries of beautiful marble, and every other description of valuable stone.

Q. What are the natural beauties of Britain?—A. Numerous rich and extensive vales, lofty and highly picturesque mountains, and small hills, with their sides clothed with variegated foliage, deep, rugged, and winding glens; also a great number of beautiful and picturesque rivers, both salt and fresh, many of which have the advantage of the ebb and flow of the tides. There are also several lakes, perhaps equal in beauty to any in the world, some of which are surrounded by scenery the most sublime, terrific, and enchanting.

Q. What do you think of the English people generally, are they contented and happy?—A. No, they are neither happy nor contented.

Q. Can you give any reason for their discontent?—A. Yes, I think there are two principal causes.

Q. What are these two principal causes?—A. Their political and religious opinions, for there is no union of sentiment upon these matters. Almost every man thinks differently in respect to these two important subjects, and each sectary warmly affirms that his principles are correct and right, and of course considers all principles differing from his to be false and injurious. However, the lamentable fact is, there are but very few who think correctly.

Q. Then why are there so many who speak so highly of the British Constitution?—A. Because they know but little of political science, or that they are personally interested in the continuation of the present system: but the greatest number speak highly of it merely from custom, and because it was probably once the best in the world. But philosophy has so much enlightened the people, that many are now beginning to be too wise to be satisfied with such complicated Constitutions and unjust governors.

Q. Will the English ever reform their Government, or obtain an upright and independent House of Commons?—A. No, never;

while the House of Lords exists as it is at present; and it is quite astonishing to me that out of so many politicians there does not appear to have been scarcely one who has clearly seen the baleful effects of this House of Lords.

Q. What are the ill effects attending the House of Lords?—

A. Being a hereditary and privileged body, it has a different interest from the people, and its Members have a great desire to maintain all ancient tyrannical laws and customs.

Q. But how can it influence and corrupt the Commons' House?

—A. As it is privileged and hereditary, its Members will always have sufficient wealth and influence to bring in whom they please, and can of course command a majority in favour of their own Bills. Thus a Parliament may sit eight months in a year and not be able to pass a single Bill that might be calculated to ameliorate the condition of the people.

Q. Is the spirit of the House of Lords repugnant to the spirit of philanthropy, and the dissemination of new and philosophic ideas?—A. Yes, for the principal parents of those two colleague bodies of national locusts now existing in England, known by the names of Vice and Constitutional Societies, are Members of the House of Lords, whose main object, it would seem, is the annihilation, if possible, of the intellectual world; and this is a crime of the very blackest dye, for that tyranny which enslaves the mind, includes within it nearly all the evils that do or can afflict society.

Q. Is there much rational piety in Britain now?—A. No, very little, indeed, but there is a great deal of enthusiastical and baneful fanaticism.

Q. Is there a spirit to despise and persecute amongst the various religious bodies?—A. Yes; most of them are much disposed to persecute, and in some instances they carry their enmity to a very great length, and what is still worse, many of them endeavour to conceal their malevolence as much as possible from the parties to whom it is directed.

Q. Are there no liberal sects in Britain?—A. Yes, I think I know five or six sects that are pretty rational and disposed to be liberal, but they are not numerous.

Q. Do those who are extravagant in censure and persecution evince any disposition to reason with those who hold different opinions?—A. No, they are not searchers after truth, nor lovers of it, but most of them apparently treat both reason and philosophy with a degree of abhorrence.

Q. Are there many philosophic philanthropists in Britain?—

A. Yes, their number is quite sufficient to effect every important change necessary to render the nation virtuous and happy: but, unfortunately, they are but little attended to; nor are they allowed to exercise their talents in order to perform what they are willing and desirous to do for the good of the human race.

Q. Are those men persecuted and abused?—A. Yes, many of them are, and some of them very severely treated.

Q.* If the British Government be not reformed, do you think there will be a revolution?—A. Yes, I think it is inevitable ultimately, (unless the people immediately begin to retrograde towards a state of profound ignorance and brutal stupidity, but which now seems a thing impossible) but as to the precise time it may take place I do not presume to name.

Q. What kind of revolution do you think it will be? Will it be effected as easily as the Spanish Revolution was, or will it be a bloody one?—A. I think there are but two alternatives.

Q. What are these alternatives?—A. They are the power of reason, and physical force: and if reason be allowed to bring it about, physical power will of course be unnecessary, and it may be effected without terror and bloodshed; but in case it should be necessary to use physical force, then there is no possibility of saying where or how the consequences may terminate.

Q. Which of the two do you think will obtain?—A. I cannot give a decided opinion, but I know the weapons of reason and truth are by law almost confined to the narrow limits of those who are able and desirous to wield them.

Q. Do you think the manufacture of Britain will continue to increase and flourish under the present system of Government?—A. No, I do not; but it may hold out four or five years more, after which period, if the system be continued, it will then begin to retrograde rapidly, and in a few years her foreign resources of commerce will be irrecoverably lost.

Q. What makes you think so?—A. Because it was a superior government which Britain possessed over the rest of the world, that caused her to extend in science, manufacture, and greatness; and as she has now allowed, at least, two other nations to surpass her in government, those advantages will necessarily pass from her to those countries whose Government is more perfect and equitable. For where there is the most freedom, political and religious, there will always be the most genius, the most invention, and, of consequence, the most improvement: and as it is one of the essential principles of pure Republicanism to reward all merit, it must be allowed that there is every encouragement for genius, ingenuity, and industry in the vast continent of America, every part of which will soon enjoy the blessings of Republicanism.

Q. Do you think Monarchy a necessary evil?—A. It is an evil in its best state, but not a *necessary* evil; it is absolutely contrary to Nature, therefore cannot be necessary.

Q. What do you think principally upholds Monarchy?—A. Ignorance and superstition.

Q. Do these two calamities decrease in Britain?—A. Yes, notwithstanding the fettered state of the philosophical and political part of the Press, truth finds its way to the human breast.

Q. Do you think that all nations as they advance in philosophy and towards a true knowledge of Nature, will become Republics?

—A. Yes, and the sooner the better; for no nation can be long together either happy or virtuous under a Monarchical Government, and kingdoms are nearly always tormented with external or internal wars and Kingly broils, which can only be settled by bullets and steel; and there can be but little if any real good arise from any system when its fundamental principles are not consistent with the laws of Nature.

Q. Are there many in Britain who are favourable to Republicanism?—A. Yes, there are a great number, but they are very tardy in speaking their sentiments to their neighbours and those who are continually around them, on account of persecution. Two years ago there were but few; however, I know the increase since that time has been very considerable, particularly in Scotland and the North of England.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR,

Edinburgh, March 25, 1822.

I AM sorry to learn that your shop has been again plundered, and your property seized by your enemies, we have had a meeting here in consequence, and have collected a little to assist you in bearing up against your adversaries, as you will learn more fully by another communication. I have sent you another part of a *Critical Enquiry into the Harmony of the Gospels*. If you think this worthy of a place in "The Republican" you may insert it; perhaps it will set some people a thinking, and draw forth something better from some abler pen, and by that means excite rational enquiry, which is sure to promote Deism. I beg you will print another edition of your *Quotations from the Bible*, with some addition, like a small pamphlet, with the verses at full length, there are hundreds who would read them in that way who will never take the trouble of seeking out the verses in the Bible, if you do it not we will print them here but we rather wish you to do it, you are entitled to a preference, with admiration of your exertions and best respects for yourself and your family.

I am, Sir, your sincere friend,

R. A.

A Critical Enquiry into the Harmony of the Gospels continued.

IN reading over Luke's narrative (ch. ii. ver. 22—38) we see when Jesus was presented in the temple, two persons came in who deserve some attention, first Simeon, who pretends to pro:

phesy, and says, that Jesus was "set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel," Was he set for the fall of many? He said also that a sword should pierce through Mary's soul; Was it ever so? What did he mean? His prophecy was so clear, that even Joseph and Mary who heard him did not understand him, then how can we? They marvelled at him! so may we. The second is Anna, a widow of eighty-four years who had lived with a husband seven years from her virginity. What means that? but wonderful as it appears, she served God night and day with fasting and prayer! Did she fast night and day? Strange, if so, she would take no sustenance at all! Is it possible? This is wonderful, but it is the Lord's word, and who can doubt it! but if fasting is meritorious, many of very profligate lives serve God in that way. We are told (Matt. ch. iii. ver. 5, and Mark ch. i. ver. 5) that Jerusalem and all Judea went out to John the Baptist, and were baptized by him in Jordan. Can we believe this? That they all went out and were baptized. It is nearly impossible that a whole nation could be baptized by one man, at one place, and at least improbable; when we know that many of them despised or hated him. Did the High Priest, and all the Priests and Rulers go out? Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and all! This is strange! Were it not the Lord's word, who would believe it.

If several authors write the life of any individual, we do not expect that they will use the same words in the narrative, it is only expected that the substance of their relation shall be the same without contradicting one another; but if these authors profess to give a speech or discourse which the person made, they ought to use the very same words which he spoke, or else it is not correct, it is not his speech, but their own manufacture. Now, besides the apparent contradiction in the narratives of the four Evangelists, they differ essentially both in words and substance, in the speeches which they put into the mouth of Jesus Christ, and also of the other persons who act a part in these transactions, the instances are too many to be quoted, but whoever will compare them will find they are almost all different.

There is also a particular discordance among the four Evangelists in their accounts of the place, where these discourses are said to have been spoken. Discourses which one of them says Jesus spake at a certain place, and to a certain audience, another says he spoke at a different place, and to quite a different suit of hearers. The words which one of them says he spoke to a certain person, another in relating it gives us quite different words.

There is also the utmost confusion among these authors in the order in which they relate events to have taken place, what one relates as transacted at one time and place, another places at quite a different time, events which one author places near the beginning of Christ's ministry, another places near the end of it; and the others still different, if they notice it at all. The accounts

of his journies are as discordant as his words, when one author has him going to one place, another has him going to a different place, and his actions are as *beautifully* varied in the narratives as either his words or his journies.

(To be continued.)

THE BOLTON SUBSCRIPTION FOR MR. R. CARLILE.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Hays	2	0	John O'Hara	0	6
William Whitelegg	1	0	John Crook	0	3
Richard Thomason	0	6	Peter Greenhalgh	0	3
Robert Ellison	1	0	An Enemy to Priestcraft	1	0
Thomas Kenyon	0	6	John Kenneday	0	3
Thomas Latham	0	6	Oliver Wood	0	2
William Cooks	0	3	John Lowe	0	3
Mr. Naisby	3	0	Barnard Stoddart, no rela-		
A Lover of Truth	0	4	tion to Dr. Slop	1	0
A Reader of Cobbett's Ser-			George Holloyway	1	0
mons	0	6	Peter France	1	6
James Heaton	0	6	John Kennerdell	1	0
John Speakeman	1	0	Edward Kennerdell	1	0
Robert Taylor	0	6	Ralph Kennerdell	1	0
Michael Taylor	0	6	Peter Greenhalgh	0	6
John Kell	1	0	John Kirkham	0	6
James Barnes	0	6	Thomas Dawson	0	6
Oliver Nicholson	2	0	William Whitelegg, sen.	0	6
James Thornley	0	6	Thomas Jones	0	6
Thomas Longworth	0	6	Friendly Landlord	0	6
Oak Stick	0	4	J. S. Sisten	0	6
Thomas Wilkinson	1	0	A Friend	0	6
M. Mellor	0	6	Isaac Heap	1	0
Henry Hibbert	0	6	James Brown	0	6
C. J. R. a Soldier	0	6	William Smith	1	0
James Higginson	0	6	James Barlow	1	0
Richard Whittam	0	6	Jefferey Taylor	4	6
Isaac Whittam	0	3	Peter Robinson	0	6
Richard Leach	0	6	James Heaton, a Friend to		
James Hale	0	6	the Stays that all Priests		
James Smith	0	6	cannot pull asunder	1	0
Thomas Greenhalgh	0	4	James Lee	0	6
William Greenhalgh	0	3	Peter Pinder, near Bridge		
G. Marsh	0	3	Street Banditti	1	0
James Haywood	0	3	The Level money	0	1
William Butterworth	0	6			

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EDITOR.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, April 16,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

THERE is now scarce a doubt remaining but that the Russians are waiting only for the approach of summer to open their campaign against Turkey. Nothing positive is yet stated, but from all that is insinuated, the question of war is no longer doubtful. Let us rejoice at this measure, for it must accelerate all our expectations. There will be a grand movement in the South of Europe, the moment it is seen that Russia and Turkey are at blows in earnest. I sincerely wish them equal strength, a long struggle, and a mutual exhaustion. As this will be a war among fanatics and slaves, the longer it is continued, and the more direful its effects to each other, the more important will be the consequence to the philosophic and philanthropic part of mankind. For myself I can say, that I should not be sorry to see the Mahometans penetrate to St. Petersburg and Vienna; although I fear there is more danger of the Russian Autocrat's getting to Constantinople.

- There is nothing passing at home worthy of mention, except it be resemblances of the Irish disposition spreading among the suffering classes of this country. Every thing as to change is a matter of complete uncertainty: except it be the gradual or rather rapid change of property. Castle-reagh will never quit the wreck whilst he can keep his head above water, and live on the remains of the ship's provisions.

Perhaps, it will amuse you to be informed that in the new Temple of Reason my publications are sold by CLOCK WORK!! In the shop is the dial on which is written every publication for sale: the purchaser enters and turns the hand of the dial to the publication he wants, when, on de-

positing his money, the publication drops down before him. There is now scarce an occasion for speaking. This is the best description I can give you of the matter at present; but I understand it answers perfectly well, and the interest excited is again nearly equal to what it was at 55, Fleet Street, before the King became jealous of my prosperity and growing power, and, king-like, made war upon me in violation of all former treaties.

I must lay aside all other matters this week to give you some news from Dorchester Gaol, and to shew you how our Keeper has out-Bridled Bridle during an alarm of fire.

On Thursday evening, the 11th inst. a stack of chimnies, in this Gaol burst forth in a violent blaze, and created no small degree of alarm. The prisoners had just been locked up for the night, and as the fire broke out in the same wing of the Gaol in which my sister was confined, and as a small chimney in her cell formed one of the stack, she had a most narrow escape of suffocation. The manner in which she was locked and bolted up left her not a crevice for air but what came through the chimney, and the moment the fire began to blaze, a column of smoke poured down upon her, that almost deprived her of her senses. A bolted wooden door, and a locked iron grated door, were opposed to her escape. There were four women in the same wing of the prison, with her, but not one on the same floor, and she was the only one of the five who was locked up in a cell, as there are very heavy iron gates at the end of each passage which are always locked; and although the other women, who are chiefly convicted felons, could, at a moment's call, assist each other, yet no one could come to my sister but the Keeper or Turnkeys. By some unaccountable exertions she wrenched open her inner door which was bolted on the outer side, and admitted air sufficient to prevent suffocation: by the time she had accomplished this, and was nearly exhausted with smoke, fright, and screaming, the general cry of fire throughout the Gaol brought the very humane Keeper to her cell-door. But he came not to appease her agonized feelings. His first salute was: "*Oh! damn you! it is you then, is it, that have set fire to the Prison!*" The brute never offered to release her from such a perilous situation, although the smoke and fire came pouring down the chimney in the most terrific manner, and every locked up prisoner in the place was yelling and howling for release. No, he passed on without giving her the least hope of safety, and gave loose to the most savage pas-

sions, and the most horrid oaths and curses. This treatment so terrified her as to accomplish what the former fright had left unfinished, it brought on fainting and hysterics. At length, the matron came and opened her iron door, and amidst a shower of curses from the Keeper, she removed my sister into the passage of his house, and was obliged to leave her in fits on the stair case to be at his heels again.

Mrs. Carlile and myself being in the back part of the prison, could see nothing of the fire but the showers that fell like a snow-fall. The yell of the prisoners was terrific, and a general cry was set up that the Chapel was on fire. Now the Chapel formed the only entrance to our wards, and if any thing like a fire was to occur in the Chapel we could escape no way but through the wall. On hearing this, Mrs. Carlile became dreadfully alarmed, and we both began to tremble at the idea of premature labour at such a moment. We rang our bell for a quarter of an hour, and no one came near us, when I resolved, let what would be the consequence, to see the extent of the danger. I had a pair of heavy dumb bells in the room, and with one of those in a few minutes I opened a way through a thick door. After all the noise of beating down the door, no one came near us, but now I could see we were in no immediate danger, and Mrs. Carlile became pacified.

The wind being high, the quantity of fire that flew from the chimnies caught the roof of the chapel, but it was soon extinguished, and all the alarm ended without injury to any one but my sister, who has not yet recovered her fright and illness. No information was given to me of what had happened to her, for two hours, and even then another hour had elapsed before I could get to see her, although the Doctor was brought to her, and I believe all who saw the state she was in, doubted of her recovery. The wife of the keeper displayed more humanity, and studiously assisted to recover her. When all had become quiet, and the Doctor had left her, so late as eleven o'clock at night, I was told I might come and see her; I found her in the keeper's kitchen in a dreadful tremor, and suffering violent pain in the side. I demanded to see the keeper, but was told I could not, and she instantly informed me of his conduct towards her. It was with difficulty she could move up the staircase to my room, and by my support; and I now fear the consequences of the fright.

The conduct of the keeper was infamous, and the trial

proved him totally unfit to have the lives of so many persons entrusted to his keeping. His swearing and terrific countenance created more confusion among the assistants than the fire itself. The matron who is the wife of one of the turnkeys, a mother of four children, and a very decent woman, he repeatedly called in the most furious manner "*a damned bitch*" although, if one of his prisoners happens to be heard swearing, his punishment is to have his hands ironed, and locked behind him two or three days, during which time he must be fed by another, and seek the assistance of another prisoner even to unbutton and button his small clothes, and otherwise assist him in case of necessity. As an act of common justice and wholesome example, the keeper ought to have been hand-cuffed for a month in the same manner.

The moment I heard of his brutal insult and conduct towards my sister, I resolved to charge him before the Magistrates of his misconduct. I sent him a note the next morning requesting a sight of the first magistrate that came to the prison, and the next day being a Gaol Sessions I charged him before the Magistrates with brutal conduct towards my sister, and general misconduct throughout the alarm of the fire, particularly his imputation on my sister of having set fire to the Prison. I had apprized one of the magistrates of my intention in his presence the day before, so when they all came I found they had arranged the matter between themselves, that he was to admit every thing, but to apologize and plead his confused and alarmed feelings for the safety of the building. I called on the magistrates to make him sensible that he had no right to damn or insult any prisoner, to which they readily acceded; and here the matter ended, with a slight reprimand. I must say I never heard the man swear an oath before, or ever use the least improper language to a prisoner; although he is a complete disciplinarian, and attempts to rule by terror; a principle that I by no means approve. I have always held an idea that if a dignified persuasive instruction will not command a proper respect and attention from assistants, terror will never do it effectually.

The ward we occupy is called the female debtors' ward, and consists of a good sized floor, on the second story, divided into two rooms, separated by a stair-case and passage. Whenever there has been an absence of female debtors, which has been rare of late, we possess both rooms, which forms a tolerably fair range, and enables us to open

a current of air through both. On coming to the gaol, my sister, after much conference and hesitation, was allowed to sleep in the vacant room, although our brutal keepers had previously arranged that she should sleep in one of the convict cells, or have our room parted off to form a sleeping corner for her, although there was a vacant room open before us. The latter case would have rendered our room quite dark and still more unwholesome both by day and night, to avoid which my sister preferred the cell. However, she slept the first month in the adjoining large room, but the moment an old woman of threescore, a female debtor, was brought in, she was not allowed to sleep in the same room, and without the least ceremony was put to sleep in a damp cell that had not been used for some time. The window of this cell was of peculiar construction, and each row of glass played on a sort of swivel by means of iron work. This iron work being rusted there was first some difficulty to admit the least air, but when it was wrenched open, there was no shutting it again; so that for the last three months she has been exposed to all the winds and rains that came, or to a complete darkness, by having the shutters nailed fast on one side, and a close bolted door on the other. The first ill effects of this treatment was a violent inflammation in her knee, by being compelled to lay on her fixed iron bedstead close to the damp wall. However, nothing serious appears to have resulted from this, but her constitution, with such treatment, and the fright of the fire, has received a severe shock the consequences of which I begin to fear; and most certainly, if she dies within a year of this time I will indict the keeper and visiting magistrates for murder, as soon as any thing better than Lancashire law is found in the country.

With the exception of the irons, there is no felon in the place treated in a manner so injurious to health as we have been treated, and what is equally singular, the female debtors, in consequence of our example, are exposed to the same treatment. They are now three women with one child locked up in one room, and, if the weather allows, they are only allowed to walk in the air one hour each day.

The excuse of the Magistrates is, "We have no conveniences for such prisoners as you are: we have complained to the Court of King's Bench for sending you here." But this is all a shuffle. The prison is a most healthy, commodious place; but the little Priestly Despots dread the idea of our coming near any other prisoners without a watch

upon us. The severity of our treatment arises entirely out of their personal feelings and prejudices.

The general treatment of the prisoners in this place is not bad, particularly in the summer, when they are not locked up so many hours in their sleeping-cells as in the winter. Their food consists of a pound and half of bread a day, baked in the prison, just as it comes from the mill, without any separation of the husks from the flour. The only thing in addition to this bread is about three pints of soup each day, which is alternately thickened with peas, not the best, and barley-meal. This stuff is complete pig's-meat, and but few prisoners can touch it on first coming in, particularly the women, who loathe it for weeks if they can get at any thing else. I have never tasted the soup, but of the bread I have frequently purchased a loaf, and would as willingly eat it as what we get from the town bakers, being partial to sweet brown bread, even with the bran. However, as many of the prisoners are put to hard labour, I do not think this a sufficiency of food.

Irons are still in vogue, but not so much so as when I first came to the prison. I then found that even poachers were ironed, but now I see that irons are confined to felons. It is painful occasionally to see boys of fourteen years old dragging about heavy irons, because their charge is felony. Every thing here is the result of custom, and not of any sense of humanity or fellow feeling: in such places abuses wear off gradually, and more from a sense of shame than any thing else.

The only extra punishments that ever I have witnessed in the gaol consist of the hand-cuffing behind the back, as before-mentioned, and a locking up in what are called refractory cells. A serious affair arose out of this hand-cuffing just before I came to the gaol. An Irishwoman being sent in here a prisoner with others for exercising the privilege of locomotion, or what our Aristocrats term vagrancy, had a quarrel with her fellow-prisoners, and was locked up in a cell alone, with her hands ironed behind her. Having a little fire, by some means or other her clothes took fire, and she could not assist herself until she was burnt in a most dreadful manner, and died a few weeks after. As to the real conduct or character of the woman I can say nothing; she has been represented to me to have been of the most violent kind, but certain it is, that her death arose out of the fastening her hands behind her back. The woman died about a fortnight or three weeks after I came to the gaol, and this is

the only unnatural or suspicious death that has happened since I have been here.

The only species of bodily torture practised, except the hand-cuffing, is the flogging, or what the law calls whipping. The public whippings that I have seen in Devonshire I always considered were more intended for degradation than torture. In the town in which I was born it was the custom to give a man one stripe with a rope's-end at every gutter, but this was nothing worth calling a whipping, and amounted to scarce any thing more than leading the person through the town, stripped to the waste. I have heard the Newgate whippings are severe, but in this gaol, for the time being, they amount to what is called military flogging. The resounding lash and the groan or scream of the sufferer can be heard at a considerable distance. I view this system as the last relic of torture, or the infliction of corporeal pang, and the sooner it is abolished the more to the credit of the country. It must be far worse punishment than the pillory, and quite as bad as the cutting of ears. Let some of the canting Religionists in the Parliament look to it. When our gaols are ridded of the cat-o'-nine-tails and all sorts of irons, then we may be allowed to speak of humanity. At present I have no hesitation in saying, that there is no more humanity in the persons who superintend this gaol, than there was two or three centuries back. In point of inflicting torture, they go as far as they dare go with safety to themselves. It is popular knowledge that has abolished the rack, the thumb-screw, and the pillory, and this same power must abolish the use of irons and the lash. Aristocrats look at nothing but custom and precedent, and to all change they must be driven by their personal fears and the force of public knowledge.

There was not the least blame attached to my sister in regard to the chimney being on fire, it was evidently the result of a mouldering fire from the washerwoman's fire below, as a loud explosion took place at combustion within a few minutes of her being locked up. Every attempt was made to throw the blame upon her, only it happened that the Matron kindled her fire and proved that she could add nothing to it.

From the specimen we had of the Keeper's conduct on this occasion, we may pray to have nothing like a fire in the place.

R. CARLILE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

LETTER VII.

I HAVE neglected to number my former Letters to you, but I begin to perceive the necessity of it as a matter of reference, therefore I begin with number seven.

I left off in my last with the Canticle, which should rather be called a general invocation upon all matter, animate and inanimate, to bless the Lord, instead of asking a blessing from him. Rather than a rational prayer or song of praise, it is fitter to rank with the invocations of the witches in Shakspeare's Macbeth.

The next six articles form selections from the book of Luke and Psalms, and as they are moderate, as Jewish rant, I pass them without comment. But there is a note of yours on one of the selections from Luke that arrests my attention, from its notorious falsehood: you say, "One of the peculiarities of Christianity is, that it inculcates meekness, forbearance, forgiveness of injuries, and whatever has a tendency to prevent or terminate dissension." This is the theory of Christianity; the practical part of it has ever been the reverse, and I am very willing to take you, Sir, as an instance. Christianity, practically, has been the religion of rancour, torture, bloodshed, and every thing that disgraces or disturbs society. The moral part of the book called the New Testament, or even of the fictitious life of Jesus himself, is overbalanced by the immoral part. It is very far from containing an uncontaminated code of morals.

I pass on to what is called the *Apostle's Creed*, which forms a much more stupid and ridiculous collection of words than even the *Lord's Prayer*. It is used in conjunction with the latter to charm away all evil; and the examination of its contents will shew that it ought to have been long since consigned to the same oblivion with the incantations of witches, sorcerers, magicians, and necromancers. It begins, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth." The belief in one God can scarcely be deemed objectionable so long as science remains in a state of infancy, as at present, and so long as any part of Nature, or the operations of matter on matter, remains unexplored: but the great mischief arising from the use of the word is, that it is a gratuitous postulate to which the ignorant mind

will be always attaching some unnatural or immaterial ideas. If we could once bring the whole human race, or any great portion, to the practice of believing nothing, or troubling their minds with nothing unproved, then the word *God* would be found a superfluous word: but it seems to be so much the property of the uncultivated mind to fabricate airy fictions, and to believe and admire every thing that seems strange and wonderful, that it seems almost necessary to make the word *God* significant and expressive of the operations of matter upon matter, as the best means of checking and finally annihilating superstition. If we reduce the word *God* to a signification of the great whole of matter, and as nothing independent of matter, we shall proceed on sure and proved ground, when we say, "in him (or in it) we move and have our being:" but there is an absolute necessity for ridding the human mind of all ideas of spiritualities to make way for a sound moral feeling, and a strong mental power and capacity to practise it, in spite of custom or prejudice. So long as the human mind retains notions of spiritual powers, and of being itself an immortal spirit, destined for eternal sensitive existence, so long will it be out of order and insane—so long will it be unnatural and carried beyond its proper sphere. It is necessary, in a moral point of view, that man be taught that his sentient principle is material, and that it must change and decay with his body as part of the same organization. When he is taught this, he will be much less a brute than at present; because, he will feel not only a common equality with his own species, but he will also feel that it is a part of morality to extend happiness to other animals under his controul; for wherever sensation exists, the principles of pleasure and pain exist with it. Whilst man is filled with notions of being a God, or demi-god in embryo, he will never possess a fellow animal feeling, nor cease his plans of torture upon weaker animals: but bring back his ideas to the full extent of animal power and existence, make him know that his own organization is passive, and must yield to the common fate of the most trifling part of the animal creation, and you will place his reasoning faculties in a natural train, and capacitate him for a studied improvement of his own fleeting hours, and a studied lessening of animal misery, as far as his powers extend; you will then distinguish him as the chief of animals, the guide and protector of all.

We cannot say what the operations of matter have produced on other globes, but we may fairly presume that

there are no animals superior to man upon them, as, comparatively speaking, the mind of man can embrace the whole of them; it is calculated to embrace every thing short of the one infinite, therefore nothing can possibly exceed its powers in the scale of perception, for that which exceeds its *embryo* powers must be the one infinite, which has not the capacity of perception or sensation, and is proved almost to demonstration to be a necessitated but senseless body.

When we read the words, "*Maker of Heaven and Earth*," our ideas extend not beyond a workman; and when we know, as we do now know, to a certainty, that the notion of heaven is altogether an illusion, and that there are no other places on which our ideas can rest but similar globes to that we inhabit, and from which we have our being, we can feel nothing but a contemptuous pity for the ignorant mythologist that compiled this Creed, and for the ignorant and fanatical idolators who continue to repeat and believe it. When man confined his ideas of matter to the earth, and fancied whatever he beheld in the regions of space to be mere ornamental appendages to it, he might then well conclude that there was a superior place and power above it, upon which all depended. He had no ideas of the perpetual motion of the earth, and that it was but a small part of a system, but concluded that it was a fixture, and all other things passing it in panoramic view: but now that he has brought within his certain knowledge, that the earth is a perpetual moving globular body, and that it is surrounded by millions of other such bodies, millions of miles apart, even to infinity, it behoves him to reject all Apostles' Creeds, or the Creeds of ignorant councils, and not encourage what Mr. Paine called a mental lying—a wilful self-delusion. I conclude, therefore, that man ought not to "believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth," or to form any ideas of a distinct being as God. The human mind can form some idea of the material system of the universe, but it cannot form any idea of a God distinct from that system. There is no God but the Natural or Material God, of which man and every other animal, vegetable, and mineral, is part and parcel; and this idea of God is the most sublime of any that can be formed, because this alone acknowledges him to be infinite. But to this God I do not apply design or perception, or any thing like the quality of animal will.

"And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord," I

would ask you, Mr. Justice Bailey, if God be the common Parent, or Father, how can Jesus Christ be his *only Son*? Cannot you perceive a contradiction in this? Or do you not, like Ovid and other heathen writers, bring your idol Jehovah to the same level with Jupiter, and make him fond of women? I cannot trust myself to say what the mind suggests as the natural inference of the above phrase. It would come under the denomination of what we call indecency or obscenity.

"Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost." This is another gross, unnatural idea. If we take the Holy Ghost to have been the paternal organ of generating Jesus, we know that he could impregnate, but not conceive. The act of conception is the maternal part of generation. It is a ridiculous solecism to say that Jesus "was conceived by the Holy Ghost." We never read of any female Ghosts, even in the Jew Books.

"Born of the Virgin Mary" is another solecism. To have contended for the virginity of Mary, the alleged Mother of Jesus, it would have looked better if she had never been espoused to Joseph. The tale is very badly managed even in the miraculous part of it. The word Virgin Mother is retained under an idea of giving a purity and supernatural quality to Jesus, but the Grecians were vain enough to raise the same story for Plato some hundred years before the Christian era. A similar tale is common among the Brahmins of India, and has existed from time immemorial, or sufficiently long to encourage the conjecture that the story of Jesus and his Virgin Mother has been borrowed from the one or the other of those people. There is such an incongruity in the ideas of child-birth and virginity, that I will not insult the understandings of those who will read this Letter with the least comment upon it.

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried," is all reasonable enough, because it is natural that tyranny and martyrdom should be united. I speak generally, for I do not believe the tale of Jesus Christ—I hold it to be a fiction. I do not believe in the past existence of any such person. I assert, that there is nothing like authentic history to support even the natural part of the books called the Gospels. I can find no trace of Christians at Jerusalem before its destruction by Titus; and until the contrary can be shewn, it is vain to tell us that Jesus Christ died there, or that the Christian religion originated there.

The writings of Tacitus have been brought against me as

a proof that the Christians were known as a sect before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Tacitus certainly does speak of the sect of Christians being known at Rome two years before the destruction of Jerusalem, but he in nowise proves, or even says, that they were known in Jerusalem before its destruction. You, Sir, with many others, admit that there were no Christians in Jerusalem at the time of its destruction by Titus, which was seventy years after the alleged birth of Christ. It is admitted by all, that the Christians had become a numerous sect at the commencement of the second century, and Mr. Gibbon has shewn that Tacitus did not write his account of the persecution of the Christians by Nero until about the year 130, or not until he was sixty years of age. Tacitus was an infant during Nero's reign, consequently, he was no eye-witness of the persecutions spoken of; and it is as likely, or more likely, that they were Jews who were persecuted, as the early Christians, as well as the Jews, in Rome, were known by the common appellation of Galileans.

Mr. Gibbon himself throws in his doubt of the authenticity of the account of Tacitus, and seems to think that he has made up from common rumour what he could not learn from public records, respecting the origin of the Christian sect, and the death of Christ by a sentence of Pontius Pilate. Others have asserted, that, like the celebrated passage in the works of Josephus, the account is the fabrication and interpolation of some Christian after the death of Tacitus. But be it as it will, Tacitus is no authority for the existence of the Christian sect in Jerusalem before its destruction, whilst the silence of Josephus, and the elder Pliny, is negative evidence that no such sect was then and there known. I admit the existence of the Christian sect as extensive at the close of the first century of the alleged Christian era, but I can nowhere, out of their own writings, trace the least account of them within the first sixty years of that era; nor can it be shewn where they first originated, or the precise time when, or upon what opinions and principles they first established themselves as a distinct sect. The existing writings of the Christians are nothing more than legends, fabricated after a church and orders had been established among them.

"He descended into Hell." There is no such place: the assertion is a fiction—a lie.

"The third day he rose again from the dead." This part of the sentence would not be worth a word, was it not

from the extensive existing belief of a resurrection to life being the fate of all dead human bodies. Whence this disgusting and ridiculous idea originated it is difficult now to say, but I verily think it an emanation of the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls, or the sensitive part of the body. Nothing in the books of the Old Testament warrants the notion of eternal life to one being, but there is much Atheistical or material language to be found scattered throughout it. Beyond the New Testament, we read of nothing concerning such sects as Pharisees and Sadducees among the Jews, that is to say, the books of the Old Testament do not mention them, although their existence, at the time of the origin of Christianity, is certain from the evidence of Josephus. There was also the sect of Essenes, who were the evident originators of the monastic life, and who in all probability were among those who first apostatized from Judaism to the doctrines of Christianity, or who assisted in laying its foundation, as all the sects of the Jews were scattered throughout the Roman provinces from the time of their first subjection to the Roman arms.

Common sense, without the aid of science, might have been thought sufficient to have pointed out to the knowledge of the most shallow thinker, that the human body, like all other animal bodies, rotted and evaporated. There was daily demonstration of it to every human being, even if they were ignorant of its process, and of all the gaseous properties of matter. Yet some Christians have been stupidly blind enough to hold that the same flesh should be raised again—ignorant of a perpetual change in the same flesh even during the life of the body. It is asserted in the New Testament, and in this Book of Common Prayer, in the Athanasian Creed, that Jesus rose with the same flesh, and that this his rising from the dead was a guarantee for the resurrection of the whole human race. Pythagoras was much more rational, he allowed the same sort of soul to one animal as to another, and the same to a vegetable as to the whole.

That every body of every animal and every vegetable does rise from the dead is scientifically demonstrable upon the gaseous principle of matter; but that it does not rise with a sense of former existence, is equally demonstrable, as sensitive power is the result of peculiar organization, and of that alone. The matter which composes my body, or that of any other person, has existed from all eternity, but I have no sense of former existence; the matter that does

now compose my body will exist to all eternity as to the future, but the moment death stifles my organic powers, I, as a distinct sensitive being, shall be annihilated, in every sense of the word; the matter which will compose my body at death will know nothing more of what it has been than I now know what it was a hundred years back. This is the proper mode of reflection upon the mischievous and immoral doctrine of resurrection from the dead, and eternal life to distinct beings. It is time that we gave up such false, such frail, such vain, such ridiculous notions, and learn to improve our time properly through the life we know and feel to be real, by studiously endeavouring to lessen the preponderating sum of animal pain and misery.

"He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty." This point is denied and refuted by the comment on the first article.

"From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." The *quick*, I presume, must mean the *living*. This is a notion confined to the Christian Church, whose adherents taught a final consummation of all earthly things. The Jews and Mahometans, I believe, never had any idea of an end to any thing of the kind.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost." This you are very careful to tell us means "The Holy Spirit;" but if you, Mr. Justice Bailey, believe in this Holy Spirit, you ought to be able to describe it to us, at least. What shape does it take, and what are its component parts? Do you shake your head and blush at the impiety of the questions? Follow the truth, follow what is virtuous and moral, and you will never need to blush, or to punish others for thinking different to yourself.

"The Holy Catholic Church." You tell us this does not mean the Church of Rome. It was so meant when it was first written, as then that Church was in the plenitude of its power, and there was nothing worthy of being called a dis-sension from it in Europe, unless it was the Greek Church, and the only difference between them was a dispute about the manner in which the three Gods proceeded out of each other, and as to the propriety of exhibiting them in images and pictures.

"The communion of Saints." This you say is "what the Scripture calls 'the fellowship' between God and true believers; the participation true believers have in the favour and good-will of God, and also the common bond or union among Christians, considering them members of that body

of which our Saviour Christ is the head, and looking to the common object they have of advancing God's glory, acknowledging his goodness, &c." This is altogether a perverted sense of the meaning of the phrase. It meant, when first written, that there was such a place as Heaven, that the Saints so called who quitted this life met again there, and held communion, and that they were capacitated to make intercession with the Rulers of Heaven for persons on earth, and thus prayers were put up to those Saints for that purpose, and are to this day in the true Catholic Church. But even Mr. Justice Bailey is ashamed of one-half the nonsense practised in the ceremonies of the Christian idolatry, and thus swerves from a true statement of it.

"The forgiveness of sins." Far better is it to convince mankind that sins cannot naturally be forgiven; that it is not in the power of man or God to do it; better to shew them that sin or vice carries its own punishment with it, which no power can forgive or redeem. This is the fact: it is a maxim of Nature, that virtue or vice should carry their own rewards with them. It is a most important doctrine to teach mankind and make them fully sensible of it. Let any vicious character ask himself the question; let him say whether his vices have not created a place of mental torment, and perhaps corporeal torments as well. Let the virtuous man answer the question; let him say whether he does not feel happy; whether his virtue and its consequences are not his greatest reward, or whether he has need of more. The Christian religion is the parent and encourager of crime; it cherishes vice under a mistaken notion of mercy, and for the sake of forgiveness.

"The resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting." This is a subject I have fully treated of already, but in a summary manner I will just say here, that this doctrine appears to have emanated from the doctrines of Pythagoras, that there was a portion of every animal and vegetable that could not die, but that at the death of the substance, passed from one thing to another. Out of this doctrine, it appears, grew up the sect of Pharisees among the Jews, and out of this scattered sect, with the sect of Essenes, who might probably have met with the writings of Plato, and other Grecian philosophers in some of the Roman provinces, I verily think was engendered the still more ridiculous dogmas of the Christian religion. Whether the books of the New Testament were first written by apostate Jews, or by Grecians, it is very difficult to say, and impossible to prove, as

under the Roman conquests there was a complete amalgamation of all nations and all sects then known. The origin of the Christian religion is involved in such obscurity, that it is impossible to trace where it originated, the precise time when, or the exact principles upon which it first gained strength, amidst the contempt of all who were considered respectable under the Roman empire.

It first made its way among the slaves and dregs of the Roman people, and I verily believe began with very different principles to those now professed. Atheism and licentiousness of manners were among the first charges made against the Christians; and when the impartial historian shall safely work upon the rise and fall of the Christian religion, he will most likely discover, that the origin of the sect was from a peculiar practice of the most impure parts of the Pagan mysteries, over which a cloak of morality was attempted to be thrown as a safeguard from Pagan laws. In the polished times of Pliny the younger, and Tacitus, above one hundred years after the alleged era of Jesus, the Christian sect was denominated not only contemptible, but execrable in manners. At no period of the existence of the sect would these or any other philosophers have viewed them in a different light. Thus much for the Apostle's Creed.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, April 7, 1822,
of the Era of the Carpenter's Wife's Son.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND, Manchester, March 28, 1822.
As a test of our admiration for your past conduct, we have forwarded you a further subscription of £6. 1s. 4d. towards the fines which the enemies of the human race have levied upon you. We sincerely hope the people are sufficiently enlivened to a sense of their own danger to rally round you, and lend you all the assistance in their power. You have commenced war against the whole host of tyrants and impostors. You have formed the forlorn hope, and if you have to pay one penny towards your fines, it will shew the people are not prepared for freedom. Nevertheless, your name will be engraven on the breast of every virtuous man,

of every friend to the human race, who has seen your publications, your Spartan-like conduct will be remembered to the latest generations, while those locusts that combine to protect their plunder and enslave the mind, will sink into insignificance and contempt; the reflecting part of the people know, that while there are so many millions of money drained from the earnings of the industrious, to support a set of sinecurists, pensioners, and drones; mere tools to a corrupt to a mocked ministry whose sole aim is to tyrannize and plunder those whom they are appointed to serve, there can be neither liberty, peace, and happiness. The majority of the people know the ill effects of this system, yet they have hitherto been divided among themselves for want of a sound principle to act upon. America was much in such a situation until Paine's "Common Sense" was published; the people read it, acted upon it, and became free! That Noble of Nature seeing the good effect of his exertions and honest principles endeavoured to emancipate his own countryman by that immortal work the "Rights of Man," which should be considered as the Reformers Guide. To those principles they must come at last, as nothing beneath them will be of lasting benefit. Away with the words Moderate Reform, or even Universal Suffrage, they are too vague; they cannot be pure whilst two distinct hereditary bodies are remaining to corrupt them. We must strike at the root of corruption instead of lopping its branches. Let us unite upon sound principles, and be indefatigable in promoting them among those who do not understand them. Go on, worthy Sir, in the noble cause you have embarked in: yours is a struggle for reason and the Rights of Man, and must ultimately succeed. The dogmas of our tyrants are put to the test and found wanting: they have even brought in the arm of power to protect that which they say is of divine origin!

Please to give our thanks and respects to your worthy Partner, likewise your Sister, who was condemned unheard for selling a pamphlet containing one page of argument respecting the Jew Books.

I have been contending for the same principles upwards of thirty years, but still hope to see the emancipation of mankind from Kingcraft and Priestcraft.

I remain, your Fellow Citizen,

JAMES THOMSON,
64, Tickle Street, Manchester.

Subscriptions from Manchester.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
James Thomson	3	0	Robert Tattersal	0	6
Charles Thomson	2	0	James Wood Chorlton	0	6
William Campion	7	0	Roger Bessek	0	3
Joseph Telford	7	0	Robert Dixon	0	2
James Wheeler	5	0	Three true Republicans	4	0
John Gratrix	4	0	A Nottingham Man	0	6
James Williams	3	6	Collected by Citizen John Bot-		
Charles Kuaseby	3	0	tomley for the Use of the		
Robert Robinson	3	0	bravest of the Brave—he has		
Anos Pots	3	0	likewise sent his Mite	1	0
Robert Smith	2	6	Susannah Cook, a well-known old		
Frederick Faulkner	1	0	Radical	0	6
Thomas Darlington	1	0	Matthew Lightgo	0	6
John Dean	1	6	A Looker-on at Peterloo, and has		
John M'Connel	1	0	not forgot it yet	1	0
John Gradwell	1	4	A poor Welchman, of the vale of		
William Waddington	1	0	Cloyd, an Admirer of Mr. Car-		
John Chorlton	1	4	lile's Principles	7	6
Joseph Chorlton	1	4	An Exciseman	3	3
Elizabeth Yates	1	4	A true Friend to Liberty, with a		
Mary Walker	1	6	Promise to send his Mite every		
Hard Peter	1	4	Time there is a Subscription		
Thomas Cope	1	4	made	0	6
Samuel Hulme	1	4	George Washington	0	6
A Dairy-Maid	1	6	R. Lard	1	0
Joseph Gibson	1	2	T. Hursthazel	1	6
James Bessex	1	6	Matthew, chap. x. ver. 34, 35, 36	2	6
Robert Brownbill	1	6	Thomas Paine for ever.		
Thomas Longthorn	1	0	None so bold and clever,		
John Stephenson	1	0	Man's wrongs to oppose		
David Sumner	1	0	With deadly blows,		
Alexander Murray	4	0	And the soaring wings		
Adam Booth	1	0	Of Priests and Kings		
James Robinson	1	0	To strip of every feather	2	6
James Wood Green	0	6	Liberty of the Press	0	6
Mr. Aberdeen	0	4	One of the Nine Wise-acres	1	0
J. S. by John Dean	0	3	An Enemy to Iron Bed-stocks,		
Arthur Irwell	0	3	such as Mary Ann Carille		
James Rhone	0	8	sleeps on	1	0
Samuel Kenyon	1	4	John B.	2	6
Thomas Owen	0	6	An Enemy to Priestcraft	0	6
Mrs. Gaunt	0	4	An Enemy to the Black Slugs		
William Hulme	0	3	that devour the Tenth of every		
E. Higgins	0	6	Man's Labour	2	6
E. Hyle	0	4	Edward Jones	0	6
Sarah Chorlton	0	9	Miss Ann, a Republican	0	9
Michael Paxton	0	6	A poor Potatoc-wheeler	0	2
James Millner	0	6	Thomas Barlow	0	6
William Gladston	0	6	An old Republican Spinner	0	6
James Elliot	0	6	An Hibernian Republican	1	0

TO MR. JAMES THOMSON, 64, TICKLE-STREET,
MANCHESTER.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND, Dorchester Gaol, April 7, 1822.
MY greatest pleasure consists in corresponding with the Republicans of the country, and that pleasure is considerably heightened by the daily assurance of an extensive spread in their numbers. We have no fear of the falling off of a single man who has once his mind imbued with republican principles, who has once conceived those principles upon which alone any thing like true liberty can be obtained—a representative system of government, where the power of every man is equal, and a mutual recognition of rights the common disposition.

Republicans of Manchester, that association which was called the union of Reformers amongst you, is now dissolved, owing to a lack of sound principles necessary to its preservation: that which is called the Great Northern Radical Union is a very *little* concern, a paltry set out, and that too must fall from the same cause as the former; as there is not one good principle connected with its avowed object, which was not altogether the case of the former unions, as there was at least a mutual instruction. It is now your duty, Republicans, to unite in every way that you can make yourselves better known to each other, and for mutual conference and instruction. A reading society, a public library of useful books, and a hall or house wherein you may occasionally assemble for conference, form the only necessary grounds of union, and would tend much to counteract the disuniting effects of assembling in an ale-house. As this is a measure that may be gradually accomplished, the most trifling periodical expence among one hundred persons would keep up a very respectable union and connection, and form an excellent and rational source of amusement and pastime. Suppose one or two persons, as may be agreed, to take a large house, or a house that may contain one or two or more large rooms that may be appropriated to public purposes; let the house have a shop in which may be sold every liberal publication, or every thing calculated to serve the cause of reform: let a library be formed in the house, and let the subscriptions to this library, and for the use of the public room or rooms, be a

sufficiency to enable the proprietor, in connection with his other business, to meet the rent, rates and taxes attending so large a concern, and derive a comfortable living from the joint connection. As a mark of distinction, let this house and shop be called the Temple of Reason, or any other designation the proprietor or subscribers may choose; and here, at a very moderate expence, a focus of union and instruction would be formed that would most certainly go on improving. The thing being in the hands of one or two individuals would be sure to be kept up, because there would be no danger from the secession of an individual subscriber of dissolving the concern, and the more the proprietor improved it, the better chance of support would he have. The proprietor being always on the premises, and a public shop connected with it, there would always be free admission to subscribers, which would tend to prevent the place being over crowded at set times. I can conceive how such a place can be supported by the subscription of a very few pence weekly from each individual, when the number exceeded one hundred. I can conceive how it may be gradually improved by this small subscription so as to become a most important philosophic institution. The only qualification to be received as a subscriber should be sobriety and approved moral character: in every other respect there should be a perfect equality.

I take the liberty, Republicans of Manchester, to lay this suggestion before you, and, in such a town as Manchester, I am of opinion the only thing necessary to ensure success, is for one or two individuals to make the speculation. However, I would have it understood that this was a Republican association, and that Republicans only should be deemed eligible subscribers. It may be open to women as well as men if any approve and wish to subscribe. There is always a grace and a guarantee for good manners when virtuous females form part of any association.

There is nothing like union to effect any purpose; but morally speaking, we had better be without union if it be not made upon sound principles; such principles as, if challenged with, we shall not be ashamed to avow and defend. Union, in the States of America, upon any thing but Republican principles, would never have accomplished their independence. Such will be the case in this country, for such is the natural consequence of such measures. We will unite with any persons who will shew us we are wrong; if they cannot do this, we invite them to unite with us on our principles.

Republicans of Manchester, I return you my thanks for your further subscriptions towards my fines, and your continued support of the principles of a representative system of government that shall recognize no priests nor hereditary rulers. Yours is the meed of perseverance in conscious rectitude and unimpeachable principles: yours is the satisfaction that no man can reproach you with delusion, nor apathy, nor corrupt motives.

I am, Citizen, gratefully yours,
R. CARLILE.

LEEDS PUBLIC MEETING.

On Monday, December 17, 1821, a Public Meeting was held at the Union Room, Richmond Hill, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of sending an Address to Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart. and also to further the Great Northern Union.

MR. JOSEPH WASS in the Chair,

Who opened the business, by stating the object for which they were met.

Mr. MASON.—Gentlemen, in moving that an address be presented to Sir Charles Wolseley, an Address of Congratulation on his liberation from a cruel and unjust incarceration, you will permit me to make a few observations, though I think that you, with me, will admit that no arguments need be urged, in order to prove the propriety of such an Address being sent. We need only glance at the conduct of persons in the higher ranks of life, to enable us duly to appreciate the services of such gentlemen as Sir Charles Wolseley. Such are the fascinating charms of power and courtly influence, that few of our high-bred pretended patriots have been able to resist them: and events of no very distant date, have presented us with instances of such characters descending from the Temple of Liberty to the Cavern of Vulcan, for the purpose of forging thunderbolts, to hurl at the heads of such patriots who still remained to fill the ranks of freedom, which those apostates had so recently deserted. I need not name such characters to you, Gentlemen: they are too well known. I need not remind you of the conduct of our late Heaven-born Minister; that grand apostate and munificent rewarder of apostacy. I need not name to you some of our modern lords and knights, with their trusty esquires, who still profess themselves the advocates of liberty, but who, when they do venture to pronounce her sacred name, they do it so feebly and falteringly, that one would almost imagine they were conscious of the danger of violating the third Commandment, and were about to take the name of the Lord in vain:—and what do these instances of apostacy and supineness teach us, Gentlemen?—What, but the necessity of a Reform, and a Radical Reform too, in our Representative System. They are a few amongst ten thousand instances, of the dangerous policy of intrusting too much power to individuals:—they shew us that the people are the legitimate source of power; and for them to give the reins out of their own hands, is as dangerous an expedient, as of the foolish

God, of fabled memory, who permitted his hair-brained son to guide the Chariot of the Sun. Yet, although we can number but few genuine patriots in the higher ranks of life, at the present day, Sir Charles Wolseley stands amongst the foremost of that few; he generously stepped forth to advocate the people's cause. His rank in society must acquit him of any sinister motive. Should it be urged that he had ambition to gratify, and therefore he courted the applause of the people; to such an insinuation I would only again point to his elevated situation in life, which would certainly afford him a greater scope for the gratification of ambitious views, than advocating the cause of an injured and despised people could do. We infer then that he has been actuated by disinterested motives; that he is indeed a patriot, and worthy of our highest esteem; we therefore cordially congratulate him on his restoration to liberty:—we sincerely rejoice that his fetters are broken; that the arrows of corruption, as they respect him, are spent; and that he is once more at liberty to assist, by his personal efforts, and his influence, that sacred cause in which he has so recently suffered. We can do but little, Gentlemen, by way of compensating our suffering patriots, for God's sake, then let not that little be withheld. We can, at least, tell them, that we approve of their conduct, and give them our thanks for their exertion; and if we cordially enter into the plan recommended by Mr. Hunt, for promoting the Great Northern Union, we shall be able to do more, we shall be enabled to place them in a situation where they can serve the cause more effectually, where they will have the opportunity of perpetually harassing corruption, and combating her on something like level ground. Any plan, Gentlemen, that will tend in the most remote degree, to forward the cause of Radical Reform in our Representative System, ought to have our most cordial support, as for what is termed a Moderate Reform, I contend would be no Reform. Why are we refused a Radical Reform, because, those who now hold the reins of power, would, in giving it, have at the same time to give them into the hands of the people, and such a measure they are not disposed to adopt; and should they be induced to grant us a Moderate Reform, which, I believe, would be very moderate indeed, we should still be subject to their caprice, and what they pleased to grant us to day, they might, if they pleased, deprive us of to-morrow, in short they would still be our masters, and we should continue to be their slaves. No, Gentlemen, this will not do, for I am persuaded that nothing short of a Radical Reform, will overthrow the power of corruption, nothing short of a full and equal representation of the people, can stay the hand of tyranny, or break the yoke of oppression, and this, I contend, will do it, and it is all that we, as Reformers, have at present to do with. When the people are indeed represented, then let them speak, and they will then be heard, let them then complain, and as far as is within the compass of possibility, their grievances will then be redressed. Here then I take my stand, on the right of Britons to a full and equal representation, and I will not be diverted from my station, by any lo heres, or lo theres, for I consider it founded upon a rock, which rock is the basis of all public liberty, and neither the wild schemes of the visionary, the subtlety of the sophist, nor the anathemas of the abettors of corruption, shall ever be able to prevail against it.

Mr. MANN, in seconding the motion said:—Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in coming forward to second the address to Sir Charles Wolseley, whose patriotic conduct and uniform exertions in the people's cause, are deserving of the gratitude and esteem of every true friend to his country. When a man, high in rank and property, comes fearlessly forward to ad-

vocate the cause of the oppressed, regardless of the threats of contending factions, and joins heart and hand with the people in the sacred cause of liberty, we should be unworthy the name of Britons did we not congratulate so distinguished a patriot on the termination of his incarceration, and on his safe return to the bosom of his family and friends. Sir C. Wolseley has proved himself the friend of the persecuted Reformers; in 1819 he voluntarily and unsolicited flew to Manchester, to give bail for Mr. Hunt and the other persecuted Reformers there. He generously came forward to give bail for Messrs. Johnson, Bagguley, and Drummond, at Chester; and at a moment's notice, he went to give bail for Mr. Lewis, at Coventry. Imprisonment has not damped his ardour, nor diminished his exertions, in the cause of Radical Reform: he has accepted the office of General Treasurer to the Great Northern Union of Radical Reformers, recommended by that illustrious champion of liberty, Mr. Hunt, an union which every true friend to Reform ought to encourage and support. The Reformers have too long been like a rope of sand, without Union or leader. Divide and conquer is the maxim of tyrants; let our motto be, "Unite and be free." Conscious of the justice of our cause, and animated by a sense of our duty to our country, let us place in the House of Commons, those tried and able Radical Reformers who will prove themselves the asserters of our rights. Then it may be said that we have come to close quarters with the Boroughmongers; let men of all religious persuasions, sally round the standard of Reform, and join heart and hand in the sacred cause of liberty.

TO SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY, BART.

SIR,

WE should consider ourselves guilty of a dereliction of duty, and also wanting the common sensibility of our nature, did we not avail ourselves of an early opportunity to congratulate you on your emancipation from a tedious and unmerited incarceration. We most cordially rejoice with you on your return to the comforts of the domestic circle, to the delightful intercourse of friendship, and to that portion of liberty which none but the violators of the peace of society ought ever to be deprived of, but we are assured, and so must every Briton, whose heart has not been petrified by the waters of corruption, that you have only been suffering in a righteous cause, and we know that your consciousness of integrity, and the justice of the cause which subjected you to suffering, would not fail to alleviate such suffering. Yes, Sir, we are assured, that the manly, virtuous, and disinterested efforts, which you have used in the cause of freedom, would clothe you with armour which would blunt the darts that the minions of power have been hurling at you from their self-erected eminence, and enable you, although their captive, to tell them you would scorn to exchange situations with them. When, Sir, we contemplate your rank in life, and the exertions you have made in the cause of rational liberty, whilst we admire your disinterested zeal, we also exult in the possession of so cogent an argument, as that which your exertion afforded us in support of our claims; for is it to be supposed, that an independent gentleman of family and fortune, would advocate the claims of the people, if such claims were adverse to the interests of that part of the community to which such a gentleman was particularly connected? No, Sir, we know that you see, and every enlightened Briton must see, that were the people in full possession of their rights, our constitution has sufficiently provided in the aristocracy and the power of the king to strengthen that aristocracy against any undue

encroachment of the people; but, at present, who does not perceive that these two branches of the legislature retain their full weight in the scale, whilst that of the people is considerably lessened; and then that equal power of which we have heard so much is destroyed; and thus it is that the only barrier which should shield us from the attacks of corruption is thrown down, and her waves have rushed upon our Constitution like a deluge, and washed away almost every vestige of our liberty. But we have beheld you, Sir, nobly stand forth to stem the noxious tide, we have heard you fearlessly demand the restoration of the people's rights; for which services, believe us, Sir, we cannot be ungrateful, and still will we indulge the hope that the time is not far distant when you, accompanied by your compatriots, who like yourself have suffered in the glorious cause, shall be found legislating for a free people. In the meantime permit us to express our unqualified approbation of your political proceedings, with our confidence in your future exertions, and with our best wishes for your health and happiness, we remain, Sir, with every feeling of respect and esteem,

THE REFORMERS OF LEEDS.

Mr. J. BRAYSHAW then addressed the meeting as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, In coming forward on the present occasion, I candidly tell you at once, that I should consider myself guilty of a gross neglect of duty, if I should allow the address which has just been read to be put to the vote without proposing an amendment. I trust that the reasons which I shall bring forward will be such as to show that I am justified in my present conduct. In my own opinion the address which has just read is unworthy the support of any set of men who profess to be the advocates of universal freedom, or who are desirous to raise man to that dignity for which he has evidently been designed by nature. In the first place, I consider the address is degrading to ourselves, by making distinctions which nature and reason do not justify. In the next place, I consider that the allusion to the British Constitution, is an allusion to a phantom which can only tend to delude and mislead the unwary; and I further consider that its acknowledgment of peculiar rights belonging to hereditary governors, is an acquiescence in fraud, folly, and stupidity.

As to the first point, I consider that we degrade ourselves whenever we submit to make rank, title, or fortune, the grounds of distinction. The only distinction which rational men ought to make, should be founded on the possession of talent, and the virtuous exercise of such talent for the benefit of the whole human race. Now, in my opinion, that part of the address, which says, "Is it to be supposed, that an independent gentleman of family and fortune would advocate the claims of the people, if such claims were adverse to the interest of that part of the community with which such gentleman was particularly connected," evidently makes his merit to consist in his rank in society, and supposes him to be jealous of those vain distinctions which folly and barbarity have created amongst men. For my own part I cannot entertain so mean an opinion of Sir Charles Wolseley, I consider that he is an individual who despises the nick-names called titles, and the exclusive privileges attached thereto, and that he has risen above the exclusive interest of a party, that he may appear in the character of the philanthropist and the man.

That the allusion to the British Constitution is an allusion to a phantom, I assert without fear of contradiction, and on this point I have no occasion to bring further proof, until some one will condescend to tell me

where the constitution is, or where this wonder, "the envy and admiration of the world," may be found. I boldly defy any man in existence to produce it or to tell me what it is.

It may not be amiss on the present occasion to make a little enquiry into the consistency of those gentlemen who are so very ready to boast of the constitution of our ancestors, and who appear desirous of bringing us back to the state we were in some hundreds of years ago. For my own part I am of opinion that we now possess more liberty than our ancestors ever did; the truth is we are not more enslaved; but we have become wiser, and consequently more impatient of slavery. It must be evident, to any man who reads the history of this country, that we have no records of any period when this country possessed a true representation in the Commons' House. If our ancestors had any constitution, it was evidently nothing but the constitution of brute force or military despotism introduced by the Norman conquest. The will of a conqueror was their constitution, and they were to every intent and purpose a conquered people. Our present race of kings and aristocracy were forced upon the people at the conquest, and I maintain that a conquered people have always the right of reconquest. Every addition made to the liberty of the people since the conquest, has been nothing more than a partial reconquest, the nature of the government has continued the same. Most of the contests that have taken place have been nothing more than struggles for power amongst the conquerors, or quarrels that have sprung up about dividing the spoil; in these quarrels the liberty of the people has rarely been attended to. The liberty of the people at large must not be founded on contests like those of our ancestors, every addition which has yet been made to their liberty has arisen from their becoming more enlightened, and their future liberty must arise from the progress of reason and philosophy. If we refer even to that boasted document called Magna Charta, what benefit has it produced to the people at large. It was evidently obtained by the irritated Barons, in order to secure themselves against the oppression of the chief tyrant, whilst they all conspired to keep the great mass of the people in ignorance and degradation. Most of our other boasted public documents were obtained under similar circumstances, and they are equally useless to the great body of the people.

The folly and absurdity of hereditary government, whether kings or members of an aristocracy, must be evident to every man who reflects for a single moment. The assertion which Mr. Mason has just made, that "Sir Charles is the only English baronet who has come forward to advocate the rights of the people," is sufficient to show the evil of an hereditary aristocracy, and to convince any rational man, that to support such an order, as a distinct order in the state, is directly in opposition to the interests of the people. In fact, the interest of a free people, and the interests of an aristocracy are completely in opposition one to the other. It is absolutely impossible for both to exist together. Aristocracy always engenders corruption. Either the people must be slaves, or the aristocracy must fall into contempt. By what I have already said, I think I have shown the impropriety of the original address, and I beg leave to conclude by proposing the following amendment, in which I trust the objections I have brought against the original address will be obviated, and I hope it will be more consistent with the feelings of Sir Charles Wolseley, as a friend to universal freedom.

TO SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY, BART.

SIR,

WE take the liberty of presenting to you our congratulations on your return from a dreary confinement to the enjoyments of domestic life, more particularly on account of your confinement having been occasioned by your exertions in the cause of justice and humanity.

We detest flattery, and we behold, with a mixture of pity and contempt, the conduct of those who attach importance to rank, fortune, or titles, or who follow the name of the popular leader of the day in which they live, without regard to the principles by which such character may be actuated. In congratulating you on your return from a dreary confinement to the enjoyments of domestic life, and in expressing our admiration of your conduct, we trust that we shall not be found guilty of the practice which we condemn in others, but we hope our commendation of yourself will be such as may be used without degrading ourselves to the character of sycophants. When we contemplate the situation in which you are placed, and consider that you are yourself possessed of rank, title, and fortune, and that you may justly be considered as being placed beyond the reach of those privations and miseries which afflict so large a portion of your countrymen, we cannot sufficiently admire the benevolence which has marked your conduct in exposing yourself to danger by advocating the rights of those who have hitherto been kept in slavery by the artifices of men in power. We feel satisfied that your conduct in this respect could only arise from a pure desire to elevate man to his native dignity, by the establishment of a system of pure Representative Government, under which all shall enjoy equal liberty and protection.

That men who daily feel the severity of the iron hand of oppression, men whose lives have been embittered by political and religious slavery, and whose every hope has been blasted by a degrading system, should be desirous to reform abuses, and to obtain for themselves a voice in the choice of those who exercise authority in making or executing the laws, by which their liberty, their property, and their lives are affected, is naturally to be expected. To such the motives are sufficiently strong to induce them to action. But on you, in the situation in which you are placed, these motives can have little effect, the only selfish motive which can actuate your mind must be the anticipation of the pleasure arising from having been instrumental in establishing justice, and promoting the moral elevation of man. A purer motive cannot actuate the breast of any human being. We feel satisfied that in advocating a system of pure Representative Government, thereby showing the dignity of man, and endeavouring to place him in his proper rank in creation, you will enjoy a degree of satisfaction in your own mind of which oppression cannot deprive you.

With the most ardent wishes for your health and happiness, and for the accomplishment of the political salvation of our country, we remain the sincere admirers of your past conduct.

THE REFORMERS OF LEEDS.

JAMES WATSON then stood forward, and said :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I beg leave to second the amended Address for two reasons. First, because I consider it to be practising an imposition upon the people to talk of a settled Constitution, when no such thing has existence; and Secondly, because I consider a pure Representative Republic as the only system that can ensure us permanent liberty.

Gentlemen, I am happy you have not suffered the exertions of Sir Charles Wolseley to pass by in silence, but that you are now met to pay a tribute of gratitude which he so honourably and justly merits, for his sincerity in the cause of freedom. Need I draw your attention to the firmness he has shewn during his arbitrary and unjust incarceration; no, Gentlemen, his bold, his patriotic, and his manly language to the inhabitants of Birmingham, proves the ardour, the constancy, which animated him in so just a cause. Gentlemen, Sir Charles has told us that he was one of the first to mount the walls of the Bastille in France; I hope the same principles which then animated his heart and caused him to join the brave Republicans of France, in so brave, so humane, so just an action, are

still predominant in his mind. I would fain hope that Sir Charles is convinced that it is only upon the system of a true Representative Republic that our country can be rid of the infernal hand of tyranny, and be placed in that superior scale which nature intended for human beings when she brought them forth. A pure Representative form of Government is the only just and rational plan ever laid down to combine the greatest share of happiness for the least possible expence. Let us not then compromise one jot or tittle, but openly, and manfully advocate the only terms with which we can comply, so as not to surrender ourselves to be the sport of any set of political and religious despots. I boldly but respectfully call upon Sir Charles Wolseley to stand forward and propagate openly the principles of a pure Representative Republic; as the only one likely to ensure permanent happiness. A truth which I have no doubt is clear to his mind as the sun at noon-day. Let not the cries of the pretended British Constitution din his ears with its delusive sound, but proclaim it to the country as it is, a non-entity. Some want this wonderful thing, called the British Constitution, in its purity, but what purity can be attached to a phantom, a thing of the imagination, I am at a loss to imagine; for I assert it as a positive fact, that this wonder of wonders, this glory of Englishman, has not, nor ever had, existence.

Gentlemen, I am well aware what the interested and dependant knaves would have us to believe is a constitution, but their windy assertions are not going to deprive reason of its powers. No, then let us enumerate those prodigies called parts of our Constitution, they are the Magna Charta, Bill of Rights, Declaration of Rights, &c. &c. Before we proceed further let me ask you, Whether these or any one of them proceeded from the voice of the people, or a convention of the people's representatives, chosen for the express purpose of framing such laws, or constitutions? Gentlemen, the truth is obvious, they did not, for if we are to believe history, neither Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, nor any other public record proceeded from the people. Perhaps some one will say, From whence did they proceed? They were wrested from despotic kings, who not content with rendering what are called the lower class slaves, but wanted to reign absolute likewise over a set of licensed robbers, called nobility: such was the case with the tyrant, King John, when the barons resisted him, and likewise that of the Popish James the Second, when the nobility, at present called Whigs, resorted to the same measure. Gentlemen, for my part I think, instead of supporting them; we ought to hold them in contempt, for I am apt to think had not the people been duped by those capricious despots, our country would have enjoyed a constitution in reality. A thing we shall never obtain until we take the making of it into our hands. We, the people, are the body from whom all power ought to be derived. If not, all other power is arbitrary, and a usurpation, and the people may and ought to resist it as such, that the only system of government may be established which can protect us against these despotisms, a pure Representative Republic. To the advocates of a mixed form of government, like ours, I say ye only want an opportunity to oppress the people, and, like the present tyrants, render them subservient to your caprice; for my own part, I think your actions require to be looked after more than the present sycophants who hold the reins of office.

Gentlemen, we must have a written body of laws, as a safeguard for the people against their tyrannical oppressors, and not laws which can be altered at the will of men in power. To the want of a written body of laws, or a real constitution, may be attributed the passing of indemnity bills, and thousands of a similar nature, all of which put together have reduced Englishmen to their present degraded situation. Let us then speak to the people the language of truth, and point out to them their true interest, and not suffer them to be the dupes of deceitful factions. I hope Sir Charles Wolseley will be found directing the principles of the people to the fixed and immutable standard of a pure Representative Republic: principles which are at the present time animating the breasts of millions. Let us unite for this purpose, for unity upon any other basis than this is not worth the consideration of a great and enlightened people. Let us hope the beautiful structure of Republicanism will be erected on the ruins of despotism, and the Temple of Freedom have all the world for its worshippers.

Mr. BRAITHWAITE spoke to the following effect:—

Fellow Townsmen, I am sorry to hear the term visionary applied to Mr. Brayshaw merely because he is the friend and advocate of Republicanism; but I beg leave to say, that if he has been thus branded merely because the system which he advocates appears to be instantly unattainable, then the advocates of what is generally understood by the term Radicalism are equally visionary, because Radicalism is equally unattainable. Neither the one or the other will or can be obtained until the present system of Government be completely abolished.

With regard to my own opinion, I beg leave to say that I prefer a pure Representative System of Government, because I think such a system more consistent with the real spirit of freedom, and more suitable to the dignity and nature of man, than any other system which can be established.

I now beg leave to call your attention to the situation of those brave men who for standing forward in the cause of freedom have been dragged from their homes and families and immured in prison; they have the first claim on the notice, regard, and liberality of the Reformers—common justice requires that their case be first attended to, to neglect them would reflect everlasting disgrace on the Reformers as a body. These men expect, and they have a right to expect, that the friends of Reform will furnish them with every comfort which their circumstances require, and of which their case will admit, they are suffering in the people's cause, and the people ought to support them. Can any one be base enough to suppose that if those brave Reformers are neglected while in prison, they will ever again come forward in the cause of liberty? After many various arguments to excite the attention of the people to the suffering situation of our imprisoned friends, concluded by recommending unanimity and exertion upon sound and intelligible principles.

Mr. WARD, the preacher at the Christian Reformers' Chapel, who came in rather late, spoke at considerable length in favour of the original address, his principal topic was inveighing against the horror of the French Revolution in about the same kind of language that Burke made use of on the same subject, condemning all who supported the amended address as visionary, and declared that no one could vote for it, unless they were ready to deluge the streets with blood.

Mr. RICHARD WHINCUP supported the amendment in an able speech, and completely refuted the unprincipled doctrine of the Christian Reformer's Priest, and proved that it was the half-way Reformers that deluged France with the blood of the Republicans: he concluded by recommending future subscriptions to the Northern Union, to be applied to fighting the Bridge Street Gang, and to ameliorate the condition of the friends of freedom who were lingering in dungeons on gaol allowance, instead of the paltry avowed purpose of sending good men into a House where they could not remain uncorrupted.

Mr. JOSEPH HURLBY followed on the same side:—

Mr. Chairman in giving my support to the amended address I can conscientiously say, that I am actuated by no other motive than that of the welfare of my fellow creatures, and because I think it is better calculated to promote it than the first address proposed to the meeting. I consider it is more respectful, since it is free of fulsome adulation, which can only give pleasure to weak minds, but is disgusting to people of sound judgment and good understanding. Let us do him honour by doing justice to his character, without insulting him by flattery, which is justly termed the nurse of crime, and as Sir Charles has not only declared himself to be a friend to liberty, but proved himself so by being one of the first to mount and scale the ramparts of the BASTILE in FRANCE. Let us give him an opportunity to place himself upon an eminence, to which not one of our modern self-called nobles has yet dared to aspire, by inviting him to take the lead in advocating a Republican, or a pure Representative SYSTEM of GOVERNMENT with an ELECTIVE MAGISTRACY; and thus raise a lasting and living monument to his name.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

Manchester, April 2.

A FEW Republicans in the little village of Whitefield, near Manchester, request your acceptance of the following subscription towards those enormous and unjust fines which the followers of the humble Jesus, with their ally, the State, consider the most convenient and humane way to defend their system against the rude remarks of Reason and Common Sense, and in conformity with the maxim, "Do as you would be done unto."

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J. C. the first, but shall not be the last	0	1	0	Mr. Watts, a Deist and true Republican, and may the Exertions of Mr. R. Carlile never cease till the Dust of Priests and Kings is strip- ped off every One's Eyes	0	2	0
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lican	0	1	0	refute by any other Means			
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From Kensington	0	4	0	By Mr. G. Brown, from a			
A Poor Shoemaker	0	0	3	Republican of the Isle of			
R. Burt	0	0	6	Wight	0	5	0
T. Vine	0	2	6	A Friend of Humanity	1	0	0
Mr. Medley	0	1	0	William Stote	0	1	0
G. Bartlett	0	0	6	Richard Humphries	0	1	0
Mr. Whitby	0	1	0	Mr. Evans	0	1	0
J. Walker	0	0	6	D. King	0	1	0
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A Friend of the present Mi-				From B. received in Dorches-			
nisters!!!	0	5	0	ter Gaol through the Hands			
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of the brave Carlile, an				From Waltham's Cross	0	2	0
Enemy to tyrannical Perse-				Mr. John Gratton, jun. Wing-			
cutions for matter of Opi-				erworth, near Chesterfield	1	0	0

W. V. Holmes, J. Rhodes, and J. Barkley, return their thanks to the unknown Friend for a second Shoulder of Mutton, sent them on the 6th of April; also to William Tunbridge for his present of "The Examiner" every Sunday, and for Sixpence left at the "Temple of Reason," Water Lane.

Subscriptions received by the Committee, at No. 5, Water Lane, Fleet Street, London; by Mr. J. Affleck, 49, Grass-Market, Edinburgh; by Mr. James Wheeler, 3, Cotton Street, George-leigh Street, Manchester; by Mr. R. W. Byerley, Brunswick Street, Water Lane, Leeds; and by Mr. Carlile (through the Post) in Dorchester Gaol.

Mr. Davison begs to acknowledge the receipt of One Pound from the Lynn Union.

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The Republican.

No. 17. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, April 26, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, April 22,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

THE progress of error seems to have passed its zenith, and to be receding before the zetetic disposition of mankind. The distresses that have arisen from that progress having been accompanied with an increased intellectual force from the joint powers of the Printing Press and National Education, have opened the era of sentiment, and the expansive power of knowledge is beginning to put down the fopperies and fooleries both of Governments and of individuals, of Monarchy and of Aristocracy. The manly characteristic of the Representative System of Government is felt where it does not exist; and where it does exist it imparts instantaneous vigour into the social compact. Under Monarchies the Aristocratical distinctions and titles, which hitherto have been the common aim of genius, of courage, and even of virtue, are now relinquished to the basest of mankind, and scorned and scoffed by all in whom natural distinctions do exist. They are viewed but as the focus of corruption, dishonour, and villainy; and the proudest title of the honest man is to be termed a Republican or a Reformer, and the highest distinction craved is to be a denizen, and not a subject. The right to rule is universally disputed, and a sense of the importance of Representative rule is as universally called for. Thus opens the era of Liberty.

That real Liberty is productive of humanity and morality is everywhere to be seen. The horrors of the Inquisition, and almost every species of cruel punishments, have receded before it; and where Liberty increases, crime lessens, and torture is not only deemed cruel, but proved unnecessary. The Courts of Europe are not half so corrupt, so magisterially corrupt, as they were a century since, and

Kings themselves are almost brought to a consciousness of wrong by the power of popular knowledge, or what we now term the zetetic principle of mankind. Laws made to restrain this knowledge, this zetetic principle, are powerless and dead-born, whilst intelligence seems to impregnate the atmosphere and to be inhaled at each exchange of air. It despises the bondages of a Castlereagh, and scoffs at the omnipotence of a British Parliament. Like manure to vegetation, Corruption seems to nourish intelligence instead of destroying it, and the distresses it occasions becomes the energetic or stimulating power to its growth. Let us, then, endeavour to progress in knowledge, since knowledge is demonstrably proved to be power.

It is the power of knowledge that checks the crimes of Cabinets and Courts: it is the power of knowledge that must put a stop to bloody wars, and the direful effects of devastating armies. A soldier, or hired assassin, one who lends his life to the nod of a despot for the purpose of destroying others of his species, will shortly become the most loathsome of all disgusting and terrific things. Instead of tossing his head with a stiff and lofty air, he will be placed beyond the pale of humanity and numbered with the beasts of the field. Even now a despot may be termed a military grazier; he feeds and improves his cattle for slaughter and to bring the greatest reward and profit to himself. Every barracks may be termed a forest of wild beasts of prey, a kennel of blood-hounds, supported for the amusement of Kings, and the terror of the passive slaves whom they rule. The knowledge of the people centered in a Government by Representation will put a stop to those pests; and if necessity requires that every citizen should learn the use of arms for the general defence, there will be a guarantee that they shall not be used against each other, in the absence of a despot to excite popular commotions by his tyranny and oppression; and in the consciousness that every citizen is subject to none. This is what the Representative System of Government promises. Be it our duty to accelerate its accomplishment by a freedom of thought, a boldness of language, and a mutual instruction, which shall have for its basis a free discussion, and set at nought every restraint but that which is moral.

I cannot fathom the motives and ideas of those men who whilst calling themselves Reformers profess to revere all the corruptions that exist, or all the sources of those corruptions. They denounce by a side-wind the corruptions of the

Church, yet not a word will they say about leaving it to take care of itself, as every moral institution should be left to do, but promise it even a splendid continuance! A House of Lords is ridiculed by them for imbecility and perverse dotage, yet not a word must be said about abolishing it! Royal authority, Royal expences, and Royal vices, are treated with marked contempt, an avowed inutility; yet, forsooth, the system must be kept up if it be but for custom's sake! A standing army is proclaimed to be destructive of Liberty by many talkers about Reform, whilst they themselves, or some part of their families, are members of it and supported and enriched by it! Surely the Reform that such men seek must be a mere change of men, a thirst for that power which they now see others hold. It cannot mean any thing that tends to the general good. They talk about the extent of suffrage to elect Members for a House of Commons, but the sound of a complete Representative System of Government is as poisonous to their ears as to the ears of those whose offices would be abolished by it. Republicans, your cry must be a complete Representative System of Government, nothing short of this can make you practical Republicans; nothing short of this can procure you Radical Reform, or a Radical destruction of corruptions and abuses.

Mr. Cobbett, in a letter he has lately done me the honour to address to me, says, that *boroughmongering* is England's real devil. If *boroughmongering* be an expression confined to the purchase of seats in the House of Commons and a paid majority of that House, I do not think it the only real devil that England has to contend with. It is but a portion of the influence of the Crown, and of the Aristocracy, or House of Lords, it is but one of the instruments by which those two corrupt powers hold their sway. If that portion of their influence was reduced, and if the people as a whole had actual possession of it, popular liberty would have gained a point certainly, but it would be far from being perfect; there would be a further struggle for power, and the weakest must eventually go to the wall. I have an idea that a House of Lords and a Kingly power, barring their present influence over the House of Commons, could never exist with a complete Representation of the People. They can exist only by dint of power and brute force, in opposition to their knowledge and better sense of the people that are taxed to support them. There is not an instance on history that displays a practical proof of the con-

trary, whilst there are many instances where the voice of the people have brought down regal and aristocratical abuses that existed over them.

If we were to obtain a real House of Commons in England, there would remain three distinct corrupt powers to counteract its benefits. The power of the Crown which nominates nearly all the magistracy of the country; and to nearly all offices, civil, ecclesiastical, and military; the power of the House of Lords which holds the better half of the landed property, in conjunction with the Crown and the Church; and lastly the power of the Church, which by its power of taking tithes and other fees in every parish, is of itself a species of revenue and taxation, equivalent to the management of a powerful and a splendid Representative System of Government. I may be told, that as the House of Commons has the controul of the national expenditure, it could curtail every abuse by this check, or by refusing to supply the necessary sums of money to their support. Not so. The House of Commons could not reduce the power of the Church without the consent of the King and Lords, and these would never consent to any thing of the kind unless it was by a stipulation to increase their own powers; a sort of concession and treaty as occurs between two hostile powers. Every bill carried in favour of popular liberty would be under the stipulation of an exchange of advantages; and if the Commons were obstreperous, as they have been in former times, and refused the necessary supplies, now, as then, the consequence would be a civil war, and the King and Aristocracy would make a struggle until they were either annihilated, or again possessed absolute power. This is the view I take of the matter, and if it be an erroneous view I shall be very glad to be set right by Mr. Cobbett, or by any other person. I cannot see a prospect of immediate peace and prosperity by the destruction of what is now called *boroughmongering*. I admit it would be a species of progress: but supposing that an abdication of the throne should again take place; as was the case with James the Second, I want to know if we are to send to Germany for another king, who shall bring over a groupe of his followers, enrol them into our aristocracy, and saddle their hungry families upon the backs of the people of England, or of Great Britain and Ireland. This is what I want to know. Are we never to do without Kings and a growing Aristocracy, if an opportunity should offer without depriving any individual of the office? I am

firmly of opinion that the probability of an abdication or a vacancy on the throne is much greater now than it was in the year 1686, and, as I think, if it should occur, we should do well to keep it vacant, I am anxious that the people of this Island, should, as early as possible, fully understand the nature and the value of those things, and be able to judge of different systems of government. There are so many causes in this country operating against the existing system of government, as to render some change absolutely necessary. What or when that change will exactly be I cannot, nor do not, pretend to say: but I am particularly anxious that the whole people should be prepared for it by making themselves acquainted with the relative value of different systems; so that they may choose the best. Government belongs to the people as a whole, and I will as one of them, insist upon the right to make it what we please, or what we have power to do. Precedent will weigh nothing with me, nor shall I view any man as my superior, nor sit quietly down and allow any man or faction to dictate what shall be the future system. Let a National Convention determine it, and whatever it be I will acquiesce with it; but no authority short of the delegated voice of the whole people, expressed by their majorities, will I ever respect.

Republicans, that you may be impressed with the due importance of this subject, and manfully contend for it, is the first and last wish of your fellow-labourer,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Leeds, April 12, 1822, of the
Dreaming Religion.

ESTEEMED FRIEND AND FELLOW-CITIZEN,

I REJOICE with you that the principles of Republicanism, and a knowledge of the utility of free discussion, are rapidly gaining ground in almost every corner of the Island. I am also glad that your friends have opened another "Temple of Reason" in the vicinity of Fleet Street. Oh! the simpletons, who attempt to put Reason down by force, what will they say now? Or what will the Whig Butcher, that I mentioned to you, think of his sneering and boasting about the Robbers having taken possession of your shop in Fleet Street? I told him they had not taken possession of the human mind, and unless they could do this, it would avail them little taking possession of the bricks and materials of which the building was

composed. I hope ere long he will see a "Temple of Reason" opened for the sale of your publications in every market-town. A friend of mine has several times suggested to me the propriety of establishing a National Co-operative Society, and raising a fund for the purpose of disseminating Political Tracts among all classes of society in the same manner as the Methodists disseminate what they call Religious Tracts. Such a plan, in my opinion, would have a very good effect if it was well conducted, especially if it embraced theological as well as political matters, and examined opinions with candour. Truth never loses any thing by enquiry. I believe much good might be done in this way without any great risk of persecution; and such a thing as your Stockport friend's "Taxing Dictionary," well got up, with an argumentative comment, would be a very proper subject to introduce to the notice of every family. As to the suppressed works, I would let the effigies of Sharp and Murray distribute them in every town, if it could be afforded, not so much for the fear of prosecution as for the curiosity it would excite, and the number of hands the works would fall into in consequence. It certainly would take a great number of volunteers to have a supply of men for such an enterprise, but if it was begun in a few of the largest towns first, I believe it would be followed up. I have sometimes thought that a travelling caravan might be made large enough for a family to live in, and travel from town to town, or stand in the vicinity of any town where premises could not be taken for the purpose. If it would not be safe to deliver the works, orders and money might be received, with addresses where the sealed parcels could be left. My family and circumstances will not permit me to take the part that I ought to take in so important a business, but there is a part that I can take, and almost every man that is in employment can, in some degree, assist in, that is, the payment of the enormous fines imposed upon you and your worthy Sister; and I argue, that the poor man who can only spare a penny, and willingly contributes it to such a cause, has done his duty as well, and ought to be as much respected as any other individual.

I hope the Republicans will not let the contracted minds of the invidious deter them from doing their duty on this occasion. I hope they will act in this cause as if they had the good of future generations at heart. Determination and perseverance can do much, as our friend, Mr. Perry, of Stockport, observes; let each man resolutely dispense with some foible or luxury for a few months, and act as if all depended upon his own exertions. We have been deceived by bawling out after names long enough, let us support every man who avows and supports the principles of Paine publicly; and as to those who do not, let them take the advice of our friend Wheeler, of Manchester, "Let them go back and support Pitt." He was right in saying, that the struggle was between the principles of Paine and the principles of Pitt. Paine left it upon record there were such things as "right and wrong in the world," but it has fallen to the lot of Mr. Wheeler to tell us what they were.

What are the few trifling privations imposed upon ourselves compared to the consciousness of having done our duty to our offspring and to posterity? For my own part, I consider myself completely out of the reach of punishment. The materials of which I am composed may be exposed to shocks, and finally to dissolution, but as Lord Byron's Lucifer says, "Nothing can enslave the mind, if the mind will be itself, 'twas made to sway." And with regard to the sufferings of those who are yet disposed to punish themselves, I am of opinion, that all the punishment that can be inflicted, and all the misery that can fall upon the present generation, is as nothing in the scale compared to the miseries that must inevitably follow, if we do not seize upon this opportunity, and each do our part towards securing the peace and tranquillity of all future ages. The grand lever for effecting this is to secure the Liberty of the Press and free discussion on every subject. The enemies of mankind knew this well when they passed sentence upon you, your Wife, and Sister; and they fully expected, or, at least, hoped, that the enormous fines they imposed would keep you in prison for life. I as ardently wish that they may be soon convinced of their error; and as far as lies in my power to convince them, and to enable you to open a shop the next month, I pledge myself (as long as I am able to work and can get employment) to be one of a thousand, if nine hundred and ninety-nine more can be found, to assist you in keeping open a free Press for the publication of opinions and arguments on every subject connected with the well-being of society; and to pay off the whole of both your fines and your Sister's immediately, to prevent her from being apprehensive of any neglect after your liberation.

Enclosed you will find a £2 Bank of England Note for the above purpose, viz. £1. 10s. for the thousandth part of your fines, and 10s. for the thousandth part of the fine imposed upon your Sister. If we get these paid off, we shall then enable you to assist us more effectually in supporting the brave men who volunteered to aid you in the common cause.

I am a great deal more satisfied with your Answer to James Humphrey than I was with your first letter concerning his pamphlet. Truth never needs but to be seen to be understood; and it is possible for boasting beforehand to lessen rather than add to a triumph. As it respects the supposed *almighty power*, so often mentioned in your Answer, there was an idea struck me while I was reading it, that I think worthy the attention of every candid reader. I had often heard it said, that God could not make two hills without a valley betwixt, but in calling God, or the incomprehended Power in Nature, an Almighty Power, raises a fresh difficulty. It struck me, that an Almighty Power could annihilate itself, destroy every particle of matter that we either know of, or can conceive, and make all space a vacuity. Can any man indulge in such an unaccountable, such a monstrous idea? I think you had better recommend your antagonist to read Mirabaud before he writes again. I have not read quite through his pamphlet, but I hope he will write you

an answer for "The Republican," and let us see the matter argued fairly, neither side ought to be condemned unheard. And that all will examine the matter candidly for themselves, is the sincere wish of your fellow-labourer in the search of truth,

JOHN SMITHSON.

TO MR. JOHN SMITHSON, LEEDS.

HAPPY CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, April 18, 1822.

HAPPY I know you always are in acting fully up to every notion of right; an axiom that constitutes moral virtue when supported by the disposition to injure no man. A thousand men determined to do as you have done, would, of course, annihilate mine and my sister's fines; and reduce them to a fine of forty shillings upon a thousand individuals: and be assured that some such determination as this would appal our persecutors, and establish the right of free discussion, or cause it to be countenanced by *even* a Castlereagh. That the public will eventually pay my fines I have no fear, because the support I receive is daily increasing, and one fine is already paid. I am quite easy about them, and care for nothing, so as I can keep the Press going, and a shop for open sale; and should I ever be prevented from doing this, I shall still have the pleasure to think there are others who will do it for me. The thing is gone too far now to suppress it. I mean the principles we advocate, and the right of propagating them, or of submitting them to discussion. As you observe they make a portion of the human mind, that no Robber can seize, or Despot destroy. Propagate them we will, in spite of both.

I have conversed with you in London, I have conversed with you in Manchester, and corresponded with you from Leeds, and am happy to find a continuance of the same principle throughout. You were one to feel the sabres of the Manchester yeomanry; you had more of my company in Manchester than any other man, and could best speak as to my general conduct there, or up to the time of the dispersion of the meeting. If any one wishes information, or if it were worth my while to contradict the paltry tales of another quarter. I might refer them to you.

Accept my thanks for the part you have taken of my fines, and let me hope that you will never think it misspent or misapplied. If it accomplishes the object you have in

view, I am sure you will be satisfied; if it does not, you may say you have done your duty, and more than I had fair reason to expect from you.

I am, Citizen, respectfully yours,
R. CARLILE.

TO MARY ANN CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

RESPECTED FEMALE,

I BEG you will accept the small trifle of Ten Shillings, which I have enclosed, towards your fine. And I hope you will live to tell Judge (or rather Criminal) Best, that his fine of £500 has done you a greater kindness than if he had given you a £500 fortune. Wishing you fortitude to bear the insults that are imposed upon you, till the day of your deliverance, and health to see your country enjoy the fruits of your and your brother's labours, I remain yours in civic regard,

JOHN SMITHSON.

TO MR. JOHN SMITHSON, LEEDS.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, April 18, 1822.

BE pleased to accept my thanks for the thousandth part of my fine, and the good example you have set for my release from it. Infamous as was the imposition of such a fine upon me, who had nothing but what my hands procured, it is not half so bad as the studied attempts of the moral and reverend keepers of this Gaol to destroy my health, as a means of settling it. I have been treated worse in this Gaol than any convicted felon in it, which has not failed to impair my health, and subject me to continual pains of some sort or other.

I am, Sir, respectfully yours,
MARY ANN CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Canterbury, April 18, 1822, of the
Carpenter's Wife's Son.

CITIZEN,

ACCEPT the enclosed One Pound towards paying the enormous fines which the Public Robbers have imposed upon you, and as a mark of

my approbation of your conduct in boldly upholding the Liberty of the Press. Notwithstanding the infamous laws which shackle opinions, you have been more than a match for all your opponents. You, Sir, have sown the seed of sound principles, they have taken deep root, and I have no doubt will produce a bountiful harvest. Then adieu to Kings and Priests, those worst of Devils, that have cursed mankind. We must have a Government founded on the pure Representative System, with the right of free discussion on all subjects. Nothing short will satisfy.

Your sincere Friend,

B. A.

A CRITICAL ENQUIRY INTO THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

(Continued from p. 480.)

In the New Testament the Devil becomes a very important personage, he is scarcely known in the Old, except in the book of Job: but an unbeliever might say, he is now brought forward to set off Jesus Christ, whose actions would be almost useless without him. This Devil, we are told, (Matt. ch. iv. ver. 8. and Luke ch. iv. ver. 5.) had some curious adventures, flying about with Jesus; among others, he took Jesus up into an exceeding high mountain and shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, in a moment, and promised to give him them if he would fall down and worship him. Can we believe this? These two heroes appear ridiculous, in our estimation, by this story; it is similar to some of St. Dunstan's encounters with the Devil, and, some will think, of equal credit.

The author also in relating it displays his own ignorance of the figure of the earth, he has believed it to be a flat surface, not a globe: it would be as impossible to see all the kingdoms of the world from the top of a hill, as it would be to see through the globe. I shall be told, perhaps, that these authors wrote according to the degree of knowledge among their countrymen, but I imagine some even of the Jews knew better. At any rate, would it not be more like divine revelation to inform us the truth, and to enlighten our minds to receive it, to dispel errors rather than to sanction them, as the same story, in conjunction with others, is laid hold of to this very day by ignorant people to prove that the earth is flat and fixed, and that to believe it is a globe is contrary to Scripture, wicked, and impious? The Devil is a person of great consequence and power, (Luke ch. iv. ver. 6.) he is represented as saying to Jesus, that all the kingdoms of the world were delivered

to him, (I suppose Jews and all) and he could give them to whomsoever he pleased. This would make him greater than God himself, in this world at least. This is a strange picture, is it true, or is it all lies together? Thomas Paine observed well on this passage, that the Devil had no power over Republics. What has become of the Devil now? Learning and Common Sense have banished him. He is much like his companion, Jesus Christ, if we have faith in him we can do mighty works, but if we have not faith, he leaves us and can do nothing. Faith is a most useful virtue, it can remove mountains; Jesus Christ himself, we are told, could not work miracles when the people did not believe in him. Strange! But I believe that Matthew tells us, (ch. iv. ver. 12—16.) that Jesus left Nazareth and came and dwelt at Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast, “that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles: the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.” But if we turn to Isaiah, ch. ix. versé 1—2, the passage alluded to, we will find that this is not what he says; it is a mangled quotation altogether; it is only the half of the sentence cut out, and even that half is not correctly quoted; it is completely inapplicable to the circumstances of this case. Isaiah's words are a sort of poetical description of troubles that are past, not a prophecy of Christ, nor is there the least mention of any circumstance connected with him in it.

Is it not most sublime, is it not every way worthy of the Deity, to reveal events to mankind in prophecies which the swinish multitude cannot comprehend, nor yet the wise and prudent, that even his own peculiar servants have wrangled about, with Christian meekness, for hundreds of years without making them a whit plainer? Is this a part of the benevolent plan of blinding men's eyes and hardening their hearts, lest they should repent and be saved? Is it a proof of a superior understanding, or superior folly? The Deist may perhaps say that it is blasphemy to ascribe such things to the Deity; that it is unworthy of that being; that if the Deity had really made a revelation to mankind by prophecy, or otherwise, that it ought to have been clearly and plainly told that the weakest capacity might understand it: but as God will be glorified in the damnation of Deists, it is needless for his dear servants and ministers to trouble themselves with answering these cavils, knowing that the law is also ready to silence them.

Matthew quotes many passages from the Old Testament and calls them prophecies of Jesus Christ, but a sceptic might object and say, that not one of his quotations are correct; they are all cut out or mangled to serve his purpose; they are all utterly inapplicable to Jesus Christ in every circumstance; no uninspired

author would be permitted to make such distorted quotations, but inspiration covers many faults.

Matthew also tells us, "that Jesus did many things that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, &c." Now, in all these quotations (the Deist might say) he is as incorrect as in the others; he cuts and carves them to make them to support his story, although none of them are prophecies, or in the least applicable to Jesus at all. But even if they had been predictions, it is a strange way of fulfilling prophecy to act after the description for the purpose of fulfilling it: another pretender might yet arise and act still more like such description, and mention that the prophecy was fulfilled by him rather than by Jesus Christ.

The Deist might object and say, If we examine these authors minutely we shall find a difference, an apparent contradiction in almost every thing they relate; we have an instance in the calling of Simon, Peter, and Andrew. Both say, (Matt. ch. iv. ver. 18. Mark, ch. i. ver. 14.) that Jesus was *walking* by the Sea of Galilee, and Peter and Andrew were in their ship, fishing, when he called them. Luke says, that he was sitting in a ship and teaching the people on the land. Matthew's and Mark's account is, that Jesus was walking on the shore, and Simon Peter, and Andrew in the ship, fishing: while Luke tells us, that he was in the ship, and they were out washing their nets. Matthew and Mark inform us, that he called them, and they immediately left their nets and followed him: but according to Luke's story, he did not call them at all, and that they followed him in consequence of a great draught of fishes taken by his directions after his sermon was over. But John's relation of this story is altogether different from both; according to his account, (ch. i. ver. 37, 42) these men were followers of John Baptist, not fishers, nor no fishing in the business. He says, that John Baptist, with Andrew, another of his disciples, were standing, we know not where, and looking upon Jesus, who was walking, we know not where; that when John said, "behold the Lamb of God," they left him and followed Jesus. Which of all these accounts is the true one.

We are told of another of his disciples whom he found sitting at the receipt of customs, and called him. Matthew says that his name was Matthew, it was probably himself. But Mark and Luke tell us that this man was Levi, although there was not one of his disciples of the name of Levi, even according to their own lists of their names.

Among all these callings and findings Philip finds Nathanael, and saith unto him, "We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the Prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." Now, I will venture to say, in opposition to both Philip and Nathanael, that neither Moses nor the Prophets wrote any

such thing, and further, that there is not such a name, or words in all the Old Testament. This is a specimen of their accuracy, and a proof how well they were acquainted with the Scriptures.

Matthew (ch. v. vi. vii.) relates a discourse which he says Jesus delivered on a mount to great multitudes of people. This discourse is now called Christ's Sermon on the Mount, it consists of a series of maxims, exhortations, and commands, but a Deist might object and say, If we examine it minutely, and compare it with other parts, it appears to be an entire patch-work of the author's own compiling, a collection of sayings and exhortations which the other Evangelists tell us he addressed to different hearers, and at very different times from this. Luke is the only one of the other Evangelists who mentions it at all; and this sermon, which occupies 111 verses in Matthew, occupies in Luke only 29; and I suppose by way of confirming Matthew's account; he says that Jesus delivered it, standing on a plain near Capernaum, while Matthew says he sat on a hill we know not where.

This famous sermon is certainly every way worthy of being styled a communication from the Deity, delivered to us by his only Son; it is so very sublime, so very refined, that our gross conceptions are not able to comprehend it, or reconcile it with the circumstances and duties of real life, so that another set of preachers are still necessary to expound it to us, to reduce these sublime instructions to our weaker capacities.

An unbeliever, without hearing an explanation, might object and say, that both Father and Son had forgot that they were speaking what we could not understand, that they were commanding duties which are contrary to the natures which they themselves had planted or created in us, and which perverse natures they ought to have altered or corrected before, or, at least, at the time they gave these instructions, that we might be able to act according to them; he might say, that it was hardly either wise or humane to give commands which they who gave them knew we could not follow.

The unbeliever might object and say, that they were commanding us to do actions which appeared to us both pernicious to ourselves and ruinous to our families; and duties which they who commanded them did not appear to practise themselves. The unbeliever might say, that we are commanded (ch. v. ver. 16.) to let our good works shine before men that they may see our good works and glorify our Father: but in chap. vi. ver. 1—6, we are commanded to do our good works in secret, or we shall have no reward. He might object, that Jesus declares (ch. v. ver. 17, 18) he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it, but that his followers, in direct contradiction of this declaration, have capriciously abolished some parts of the law, such as circumcision; that they have changed some of it, as the alteration of the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week, and retained some of it, as

suit their fancy. That they have done all this without any direction from him, or any authority whatever, and that by doing so they have made him nearly a false Prophet, as he declares, (ver. 18,) "Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled;" however, he and his followers may settle that between them.

The unbeliever might object, that, Jesus commanded them, "Swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool:" whereas, his followers have never kept this command, but sworn in his name very freely. He might object, that the threatening, (ch. v. ver. 22.) "Whosoever shall say, thou fool, shall be in danger of Hell fire," displayed a spirit void of all humanity; that the punishment was incomparably greater than the crime deserved, (if it was a crime); that this expression occurs often in the Psalms, and that Jesus Christ himself used these expressions, and even swore on several occasions. He called Herod a fox, and the Canaanites dogs. He might say the punishment was unequalled in severity by the decrees or punishments of the greatest tyrant that ever was on earth, and that it was certainly very unlike loving our enemies.

The unbeliever might still object, that the command, (ch. v. ver. 29—30.) that "if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, and if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee, for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into Hell," appears to our weak capacities downright absurdity; that we do not comprehend how the use of our members (which he is said to have given us) could send us to Hell, or cutting them off could keep us from it; that the eye cannot offend, and the hand acts according to our will; that his zealous Apostle, Paul, did not cut off his member, his thorn in the flesh, which offended him so much, and was just as likely to send him to Hell as a hand or an eye. He might say, that if we cut off our hand, and pluck out our eye, and made ourselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake, as he recommends elsewhere, we would be in a strange state; and that had it not been the threat of such terrible punishments, he might have said, even to the preacher, "Thou fool, why gavest thou such commands!" But these things are the mysteries of godliness!

The sceptic might still object, that the commands, (ch. v. ver. 39—42.) "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also: and if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also," with some others that follow, are truly unearthly, and if they are heavenly, they are such as neither himself nor any of his followers have ever practised, if they were practised they would lead to tyranny, pillage, and every sort of oppression, on the one hand, and cringing subserviency, on the

other. Would they benefit mankind? His followers know so well they would not, that they say he did not mean what he spoke; he could not tell his mind, (poor man!) but left it to them to explain his meaning for him as they thought best. He has fallen into the hands of excellent commentators.

The sceptic might still object to the command, (ver. 44.) "But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you," that it is still more unearthly than the others, and if it is heavenly, it is such as we are told, by our Divines, the Deity himself does not practise. The unbeliever might say, if the Deity loved his enemies, the sceptics might at least be pardoned, even the devils might have hoped, and the punishments of Hell would not exist. If he punishes neutrals so severely as we are told, why does he require of weak and imperfect mortals the exercise of a virtue which he himself does not practise?

But as to loving our enemies, to bless them that curse us, to do good to them that hate us, to pray for them who despitefully use and persecute us, *are not virtues*. If any men use us so, they are wicked men, and to require us to love them is to require virtue to love vice, which is hardly a duty. The sceptic might repeat the objection and say, that it would be better, and more like the work of the Deity, to change our corrupt or perverse nature, than to give such apparently absurd commands, commands which he knew well we could not obey.

The unbeliever might ask, Did the meek and lowly Jesus really love his own enemies? Did he himself practise what he commanded others to do? He might ask, Was it like loving his enemies to threaten punishments severer than the punishments of Sodom and Gomorrah, against those who did not hear and receive his disciples, although the people's hearts were hardened that they might not understand? He might ask, Was it like loving our enemies to make all the members of a family enemies to one another, which he says elsewhere that he came to do? Was it like loving our enemies to order us to hate all our friends? This is overturning the best principles of our nature. He might ask, Was it like loving our enemies to threaten with Hell-fire the most trivial crimes or faults; to say a man had better have a mill-stone round his neck, and be thrown into the sea, than offend one of his little ones? Is this mercy and forgiveness? He might still ask, Was it like loving our enemies to pronounce such woes against Chorahim and Bethsaida, and to threaten that Capernaum should be brought down to Hell, for not believing on him? Was it a proof of either justice or humanity to pronounce such woes against them, when he says himself elsewhere, that the people's hearts were hardened that they could not hearken to him, (Matt. ch. xiii. ver. 14. Matt. ch. iv. ver. 10. Luke ch. viii. ver. 10. John ch. xii. ver. 40.) The Deist might ask, Can we conceive any dis-

position more horribly wicked than to blind men's eyes and harden their hearts, lest they should repent and be saved, which Jesus says was done? Was it for the pleasure of punishing them that they were kept in ignorance? He might say, If Christ's doctrine were necessary for the salvation of mankind, it was a duty rather to open men's eyes and enlighten their minds, that they might see the truth and repent and be saved. After reading these and many other woes and threatenings pronounced, a sceptic might say he was a dogmatical misanthrope, and ask, instead of loving his enemies, did he love any person at all, either friends or enemies? He might say, out of thy own mouth I judge thee.

No doubt all these objections can be sufficiently answered and explained to satisfaction by his ministers and followers, at least, to the satisfaction of those who are disposed or determined to approve of the answer even before it is made: but those who are unholy will be unholy still.

The unbeliever might object, that the command, (ch. vi. ver. 25.) "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on;" and which instruction is strongly enforced, both by command and argument, to the end of the chapter, should be pernicious in the extreme and ruinous to every family, if put in practice. His followers are sensible of that.

(To be continued.)

THE KORAN SOCIETY.

SOME few months back a few advocates of free discussion came to an agreement to publish the Koran, divested of the elaborate notes and disquisitions now thrown round it in the present expensive editions, and to give it, in this very religious country, a fair competition with the Jew Books, by leaving it to the perusal of the pious without note or comment. Circumstances have delayed its appearance, though the object has never been lost sight of. To suit the pockets of all classes, it will commence publishing in single sheets, at threepence per sheet, almost immediately; and although the notes by Mr. Sale may be very interesting to the general reader, yet they are viewed by the pious as a clog to this divine revelation, and as such we shall not add them to our edition.

We fully anticipate that this work, so superior in piety and morals, will obscure the Jew Books, and soon become the peculiar object for circulation by the very pious and very disinterested subscribers to what is now called the

Bible Society. Further, the authenticity of the Koran being the work of Mahomet is unquestionable, whilst the Jew Books are as unquestionably illegitimate, and the reputed authors fictitious persons.

It is expected that the pious will form Auxiliary Societies in every district throughout the Island, and any individual who may be as charitable and as rich as pious, willing to make a gratuitous distribution, shall be supplied at low prices.

(By order of the Society)

ALI,
OMAR,
MUSTAPHUS,
MAHOMET.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

Rastrick, April 5, 1822.

I HAVE received the 12th No. of the Republican wherein you appear to be doubtful whether Mr. Humphrey be the author of the pamphlet, I can assure you, Sir, that he is the writer of the letter and pamphlet which I sent to you. I have had the manuscript in my hands before it was printed, and I am particularly acquainted with Mr. Humphrey, and as you wish to know who and what he is; I have to inform you that he does not wish for any concealment whatever, he is a man possessed of sober and industrious habits, a dutiful son, a kind brother, a steady and warm-hearted friend. He is a young man, by trade a gardener. With respect to religion, he is a methodist, though not a member of the old or new connection: he does sometimes preach for the old sometimes for the new. As I very seldom go to any Chapel, I have never heard him preach, but I have had many a dispute with him which has led, I believe, to the production of the present pamphlet addressed to you. I am the person he alludes to in the 10th page of his Apology, I did lend to him some volumes of "The Republican," "The Deist," and some other pamphlets. He has Gregory's Letters, and your Observations on them, and he always told me that the more Deistical pamphlets he read, the more he was convinced that the Christian religion was true.

I must now conclude by expressing to you, Sir, my hearty thanks for the good you have already done to the cause of universal Civil and Religious Liberty; and so long as you continue to advocate that cause so ably and so boldly, so long shall you have the approbation and support of one who subscribes himself

Your sincere friend and well wisher,

ABRAHAM WALKER.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR, Springdale, near Huddersfield, April 14, 1822.

I THANK you for your gracious offer of publishing in your Republican any thing that I chose to write under sixteen pages, in opposition to your principles. I will subject you to as little trouble as the strictest brevity will admit, in the realization of your promise. With this object in view, I now hasten to your reply to my pamphlet, professing to prove, and actually demonstrating that *matter is not eternal*. Will you, Sir, answer that pamphlet, or will you not? Will you meet me as I met you, or will you not? You have not yet answered it. I believe you have not understood it. I really never saw a weaker resistance made by you against any man than you have made against me. You say you cannot grapple me. But why? You say I rest on nothing stable: but this you never proved. Your decision of the point between Mr. Law and me is truly weak. You place in your comparison, a bounded power against one unbounded; - a finite against an infinite. But will this decide the point? You say that the circumstance of power having nothing to operate upon, is sufficient to prevent its operation. But how is this possible? How can nothing, (for your "CIRCUMSTANCE" is nothing,) prevent *almighty power* from operating. Almighty power is an infinite capability of acting; and this *capability* must be removed, or it is absolutely impossible, but that it can act; but this *capability* cannot be removed by nothing, therefore this power can act where nothing but itself exists, as well as in the midst of existing substances of all descriptions. I am astonished that you could not, or would not, see this: it is actually as plain as two and two makes four. A capability is a capability, and a *capability*, INFINITE, can accomplish whatever implies not a contradiction. Shew one clearly in the case in hand. Your power of animal poison is not INFINITE, and if you could persuade us it was, you present it to us CONFINED; and even after this, to the very power you annex an object to operate upon, and this you call refuting me. This is astonishing! My power is infinite, unconfined, and its operation supposed to be on nothing, yours is finite, confined, and at once set to operate upon something. O, Sir, you must alter this. But then, to overturn effectually this, you controvert the existence of the power I build on, and to do this effectually, you renounce completely what you had before admitted. Pray, Sir, what must I do with you, if you say and unsay thus? But I will not press the point. Your charge upon me for supposing a non-entity, I must observe. I never in this world either said or believe in a perfect non-entity; by this meaning *empty space*. I know that the thing is utterly impossible: it is as im-

possible as that two is four; no philosopher can believe it. But, Sir, could not you perceive that by admitting even the existence of an abstract power, rendered *empty space impossible at once*? Why did you not perceive this? Why have you raised a clamour about *non-entity* when I never insinuated the faintest idea of any thing of the kind? Have I not told you, page 37, that creating a world from a non-entity MEANT, or we MEANT by it, *causing a world to exist, which before that act did not exist*. But did I ever say that this was done when nothing but space existed. And do I not, in the very argument you quote, represent power as operating were nothing BUT ITSELF existed? But is this *empty space*? Again I repeat, that I never in the whole work insinuate that such a thing as empty space is possible. But after all, my proof of the non-eternity of matter does not depend on either an almighty power, nor a vacuum, nor immateriality, nor materialism either. I have nothing at all to do with your demand respecting a vacuum or space being full of matter, or space being matter; but to gratify your curiosity I inform you, that I have something written respecting matter filling all space, and I have taken into consideration both your arguments and those of a Mr. Drew on that subject; but I think this is not a proper season for publishing, let us decide first what we have on hand already. I inform you also, and your friend Abraham Walker can inform you the same if requested, that I have something written respecting the *immateriality of the mind of man*; but this has no connection with matter being eternal.

We are enquiring whether or not matter has existed from eternity, and not whether any thing but matter does exist or not; neither are we labouring to prove pointedly, whether matter fills all space or not, but whether or not it fills eternal duration. Now do bind yourself to the matter of dispute: meet me as I meet you; and answer my arguments as I have answered yours.

My pamphlet consists of three parts, leaving out the apology; first, a clear statement of your system; secondly, a refutation of your arguments; but I have reserved for the third head, a demonstration of my own doctrine. Now upon this part you have advanced scarcely any thing. Some of the clearest demonstration that can possibly be advanced you have overlooked. Now, Sir, if I were to renounce completely every thing respecting an almighty power, a non-entity or all space being full of matter, yet then, my system would stand entire; and this I have clearly told you in the work; thus page 83, I positively assert, that I do not say, or pretend to say, whether the world was created by "a being or not, natural or supernatural, finite or infinite, bounded or unbounded." Why then do you and other of your admirers say, that I should first have proved the existence of an Almighty? I say how is this. I want nothing with almighty power, I rest nothing on it. Why then have you so cavilled on this point? I

have but two proofs that matter is not eternal; to one of them you said almost nothing. How is this? When you could cavil over pages respecting that which was of no importance at all in comparison. You say, that my assertion that every particle of matter is independent of every other particle is not correct. This is strange indeed; but stranger far your proof of this. You say that every particle is dependent on the whole; but then, on what does the whole depend? Your logic stands thus, in meaning *the whole depends upon ITSELF*, but no one particle depends on ITSELF. What made you think of this, Sir? if the whole be *self dependent*, is not every part *self dependent*? O, Sir, never in your life was you so confounded.

Another strange hypothesis is this, that my necessity and your motion are but one and the same thing. I suppose, Sir, that you discovered something in my necessity, which you was desirous to bring over to your party, perhaps it appeared unto you conclusive in its energies. Certain it is, that my necessity is an immutable basis, and what I build upon it can never fall. But how do you unite them, I never saw them in any dictionary brought near each other? How then have you connected them? I am certain that my ideas differ widely when I think of one and then turn to the other, so if you connect the word I must find some other to express my meaning. I shall be obliged to you for one. Motion, according to my ideas and dictionary, is a word which in all cases conveys the idea of an *action*; but necessity according to the above rule expresses in all cases an *ACTOR*. Now, Sir, we must not confound the actor and the action thus.

But my necessity *precedes* in the order of nature all existence, but your motion, Sir, *follows, or results from*, something in existence. Thus, matter must first be necessitated to exist, the moment it is thus necessitated it does exist, *and after it exists, it moves, and NOT BEFORE*. Thus necessity precedes, motion follows, and yet, although the existence of the thing spoken of interposes between them, you have drawn them to each other and connected them. This will not do. It implies these glaring contradictions, that matter moves, before it exists, and that it is not necessitated to exist before it moves. But, Sir, having promised brevity I must attend to it. My design in this letter, was not to advance a laborious refutation of your short remarks upon my pamphlet; but to persuade you to begin afresh to refute it. You must, Sir, before my pamphlet is overturned, adopt totally a new mode of reasoning. You are far behind me yet. You have a deal to do before you have cleared yourself of the work before you. Then if you will act the part of a philosopher, meet my arguments pointedly and manfully, and refute them. You have nothing to do with immateriality; and as to the atmospheric principle of matter, with these we have no connection. I believe, as well as you, indeed it is impossible for a considerate man not

to believe, that the atmosphere of one body extends to the other, when light and heat so visibly extends to us from the sun. I say the same respecting the solid, gaseous, æriform variety of matter, respecting all this I agree with you, and perhaps understand it as well; but again, I say, refute my two arguments; *refute*, I repeat, *my two arguments*, in favour of my system; and when you have done that, I will talk to you about the extent of matter in space, and also about the existence of something supernatural; and for ever bear in mind, *that upon the visible appearance of every object we behold*, and not upon an infinite power, I build my system of the non-eternity of matter. I say, that if matter were eternal, **ITS FORM COULD NEVER CHANGE; ITS FORM COULD NEVER CHANGE, mark this, and refute it**, and do not fly off to an *infinite power*; I say, that if matter were eternal, every grain of sand **WOULD BE INFINITE IN EXTENSION**, I say, *infinite in extension*, refute this, and do not cavil about a power you have renounced. Your infinite variety in matter, expressed thus in your "Observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters" "*ever varying* indestructible matter, which is in itself both nature and nature's magazine of endless varieties," implies an express and palpable contradiction in terms, endless varieties is an absolute *impossibility*. I presume this is what you supposed would place me in a bog to answer it. It is already answered, Do you demand were? I answer in the following, to you cutting fact, **THAT WHICH IS ETERNAL CAN NEVER CHANGE**. This is supported by these proofs, first nothing can exist without some cause or reason why it does exist, rather than not exist; Secondly, that the cause of the existence of that which is eternal, can be nothing but an unlimited necessity, upon this unlimited necessity the form of every thing eternal exists, then that form could never change. Refute this! meet the arguments, just venture a full analyzation of them to the world. I challenge, I intreat, I dare, I desire, I defy you to do this. Venture the encounter; you never will have done with me on that head until you have done this. A friend has desired me to inform you, that your friends, or friend, has stated a glaring falsehood respecting my pamphlet being handed about to the priests in this neighbourhood for correction; not a priest, or any other man saw the work until it entered the printer's hand, neither had any individual, any hand in it by way of manuscript correction, or the proof sheets either, except our farmer and joiner, when I was engaged. Neither will this be read by any individual but myself till you receive it, and I shall not read it over now when wrote to correct it. After fasting all day on Friday, and working hard all day on Saturday, I begun it on Saturday evening about 12 o'clock, I shall conclude, seal, and direct, and then retire to rest, and rise I hope at 6 on Sunday morning, and by thus labouring I can refute you,

Your friend,

JAMES HUMPHREY.

P. S. I did not overlook or treat with contempt your hint for me to write to the Legislature on your behalf, and depend upon it that if your confinement depended on me, you should be delivered speedily from your present state. I am decidedly against persecution for opinions sake, I believe it inconsistent with the religion I profess, I believe the Christian religion might be supported without it; but I have pointedly argued that your persecution differs but little, if any, except in degree, to the persecution of the early Christians. This is my principles respecting you and your publications, you ought to have been wrote against, reasoned with, persuaded, refuted, and then, if you still persisted, your publications should have been constantly opposed by some of an opposite nature, and above all priests should have opposed your principles, by sobriety, chastity, diligence, laborious activity, burning zeal, patient perseverance, humility, meekness, and perfect charity to you and all your admirers, thus to have won what they never were likely to obtain by the measures they adopted, give this as my present appeal on your behalf, if you please, in your Republican.

TO MR. JAMES HUMPHREY, SPRINGDALE,
NEAR HUDDERSFIELD.

SIR,

Dorchester Gaol, April 17, 1822.

I RECEIVED your letter through the Post, and readily insert it in the Republican, with an apology to my readers for so doing; for I really think that like me, they will derive no kind of information from it. However, for my word and candour's sake, I hope they will excuse it, on the condition that you, in return, shall read, in all the Methodist chapels in your neighbourhood, so much of the Republican as is addressed to you.

The insertion of your letter is all that is fairly required from me, as it conveys its own answer. It is ridiculous for you to call upon me to argue upon the strength of your fictitious almighty power. It is sufficient that I deny its existence to stimulate you to prove the contrary. In bringing forward the instance of animal poison and its powers, I introduced it only as part of a system. Your head is filled with the priestly notion that nothing is impossible with God. This is the definition of your almighty power, but this is not proved, and I will admit nothing, nor argue from any idea that is not proved.

If any third person will say, that I have left a point in your pamphlet untouched, and point out the how and where, I will attend to it, or I would now attend to you if you had done it, but you have not; in fact, you have admitted your error upon the grand point, that "*out of nothing, nothing can be made.*" You attempted to controvert this in your pamphlet, but now I have brought you to the acknowledgment that there is no vacuity in space, and by a little more reflection upon this head, you will come to the conclusion that your almighty power is nothing but matter operating upon matter.

In applying the terms "*solid, gaseous, and æriform*" to matter you convince me that your notions of matter are very confused. The word *æriform* was quite unnecessary to be used after *gaseous*, because the latter embraces the former. If matter be the great whole, the infinite, you can find no room for any other power. This is the question between you and me, though you try to run from it. The infinity of matter proves its eternity, and to dispute its eternity you must dispute its infinity. They are the same words.

I found nothing like demonstration in your pamphlet, nothing worthy of the term. Your present letter no more corresponds with your former letter in the pamphlet than it does with my answer, and not so much, for you seem half disposed to give up your almighty power, by saying your system stands without it. This at once is an impeachment of almighty power. My bare disputation of its existence is a proof that there is no supernatural almighty power, because my act breaks it. If there was such an almighty power as you fancy it would be made apparent to all, and leave no opposition: but as you preach to the Methodists, I presume you set up a devil to terrify them, whom you represent as near a match for your great Gods. With an almighty power there could be no devil, no opposition, all would be concord and harmony, or you must allow your almighty power to be what Lord Byron has represented him in his Cain and Lucifer, *a malevolent malicious power.*

As to the point of "*every particle of matter being self dependent if the whole be self dependent,*" the confusion lies with you and not with me. I told you before, how your grain of sand was dependent upon the whole. Dispute the infinity of matter, and you will prove it dependent. The whole I say is infinite, and consequently cannot be dependent: a part of the whole is not infinite, and consequently

is dependent. If you cannot dispute the infinity of matter, you must admit it, and upon this single point you yield the palm to me: for you have said that what is infinite must constitute the almighty power, as there can be but one infinite, and that infinite makes every part dependant, whilst itself alone is independent.

You object to my reducing the word *necessity* to the motive power of matter, and attempt to carry the expression beyond matter itself, by saying, matter is necessitated to exist. I answer with Elihu Palmer, its necessity is nothing more than the result of its own energies, it was not produced by a necessitating power: but all these points centre upon the infinity of matter; and so must every idea of the kind. Human ideas can travel thus far and no farther. If you really wish to settle a point, settle that. That which is infinite is eternal. What is it? I answer matter. What say you?

You say if matter were eternal it could not change. It does not change as a whole, but its parts are incessantly changing. You confound your ideas of parts with the whole. You and me are hourly changing the matter that composes our bodies and our minds. "Ever varying, indestructible matter," you say conveys a palpable contradiction in terms. I say, no. What says a third person? "Endless varieties" you call an absolute impossibility; then confine and number the varieties of matter. If matter be infinite its varieties are infinite or endless. To disprove the one you must disprove both. I shall never move from this one point until it be controverted. I am certain of the existence of matter; I am certain of its extension; I have no doubt of its infinity. Look which ever way I will I perceive variety: but can comprehend nothing but the abstract term *matter and its motion*. It swallows up every thing in my ideas. You call upon me to analyze your arguments: some of them are perfect nonsense, and bid defiance to all analysis. You call the expression of "*that which is eternal can never change*" a cutting fact to me. It cuts not me as a materialist, but it cuts your system of divinity, immateriality, spirituality, or almighty power, according to your ideas to pieces, and leaves not a wreck behind. I admit the phrase upon the sameness of the words *eternal* and *infinite*. I do not attempt to shew any change, you do by arguing for the creation and annihilation of matter. Now, Sir, by fasting a few more Fridays, and thinking further upon this matter, you and I shall agree. We are now

much nearer than when you wrote your first letter. Try it again.

Respectfully yours,
R. CARLILE.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

Wingerworth, near Chesterfield, Derbyshire,
March 16, 1822.

SIR,

I HAVE read the greatest part of the books and pamphlets which you sent me on the 31st of January last, and I in general concur in the sentiments therein contained. The arguments you have brought forward in refutation of Dr. O. Gregory are irrefragable; I am surprised that the Doctor should ever think of taking such a subject in hand. I have read several of his mathematical works, and, in reality, I think he deserves the name of a "man of science:" but when he was so foolish as to put on the clothing of a wolf, he justly deserved the worrying which you have given him.

The Political and Theological Works of Paine need only to be read to be admired; their arguments alone are sufficient to upset the craft of Kings and Priests, and which, sooner or later, will most certainly come to an end, though I fear it will not happen in your time or mine. It is your duty, my duty, and the duty of every honest man and well-wisher to society to forward their dissolution as much as lays in our power; and this I conceive we cannot in any way more effectually promote than by an extensive circulation of Paine's Works.

Paine himself, however, does not seem on all occasions to have overcome the prejudice of a Christian education, I allude to where he speaks about the immortality of the soul.

I have also to observe, that by the craft and subtlety of Priests, the name of Paine has become odious to great numbers of persons, although they have never read a line of his Works, for if you only mention the name of Paine, or "The Age of Reason," they seem to be as much alarmed as if you was to point a loaded blunderbuss at their heads.

These considerations have lead me to think, that if a compilation was made from the Theological Works of Paine, Voltaire, and others, embodying all their fundamental doctrines and most irrefragable arguments, and published in a cheap form, and under a *new title*, more persons would be induced to read such a work than any thing with the name of Paine affixed to it; and I am sure you will allow that great numbers must yet be brought to read, reason, and reflect, before any material change can be effected.

Inclosed you will receive a £1 Note; I wish you to add it to the subscription which is going on for the benefit of yourself and family, and believe me, Sir, to be your friend and well-wisher,
JOHN GRATTON, Jun.

LAWRENCE'S "LECTURES ON PHYSIOLOGY,
ZOOLOGY, AND THE NATURAL HISTORY
OF MAN."

THIS important work, like Southey's "Wat Tyler," and Lord Byron's "Cain," is now coming out in all sizes and at all prices. We have seen three specimens of new editions in Numbers, the first of which (four Numbers are now ready,) is published in the octavo size, at threepence per sheet, at 5, Water Lane, Fleet Street, printed for Mr. Carlile; another edition is publishing by Mr. Benbow, in a smaller type, at fourpence per sheet, octavo; and a third is publishing by Mr. Griffin, at fourpence per sheet, in a still smaller type, in duodecimo; the last of which, if not the best to the eye, will form the cheapest volume. If the demand be so great as is expected for this work, Mr. Carlile will, in addition to his octavo edition, (which for print and paper will not be inferior to the original,) print a very small edition in the cheapest and most compact form. The present is intended to form a handsome volume at half the price of the original: a specimen of the form of the small edition may be shortly seen in a new edition of "The Age of Reason," the first part of which will not exceed the price of sixpence, and the others in proportion.

It was understood by the booksellers that Mr. Lawrence had given up all intention of republishing his "Lectures" from the time when he stopped the sale of them in 1819. His object in applying to the Court of Chancery for an injunction against the pirate, Smith, seems to have been to continue and complete the suppression of the work; here, however, he has completely failed, having been served by the Lord Chancellor as the Poet Laureate and Lord Byron had been served before. English equity, which is said to be designed to remedy the defects of English law, proclaims, that if a publication, in the eye of the Chancellor, be suspected to contain matter of a dangerous tendency, it shall be—not suppressed, nor kept within the controul of

the author—but left open for circulation to all the world, as a common property, in all forms and sizes. This *equitable* decision has occasioned a general scramble for the profits likely to arise from a free publication of such an important work, and understanding that Mr. Lawrence has abandoned altogether any further publication on his own account, all scruples are removed, and we rush with others to grace our Press and our other publications with this addition. We could not be the first to pirate such a work, although we have fixed our eye on it for these three years past, and would gladly have reprinted it, if the Author's consent had been attainable, of which we gave a hint in the First or Second Number of the Second Volume of "The Republican," when we had occasion to make a quotation from it.

The great outcry which has been raised against it by the bigoted and the ignorant, is a strong presumption in its favour; and we think the Author, as a disciple of Nature, possesses a sincere love of truth. On the other hand, he has not always carried his principles to their full extent, and concessions to prejudices and expediency are met with here and there, which bring back to our recollection that the "Lectures" were delivered in a ROYAL COLLEGE.

Our Correspondent, R. L. will perceive that we have followed his suggestion in bringing out two Numbers weekly. We shall exceed that if practicable, and complete the whole work as speedily as possible. Respecting the Report of the Proceedings in the Court of Chancery on the Motion for an Injunction, we will print it as pointed out, and would ask R. L., or any friend, if he can direct us to a better report than "The Times" Newspaper contained.

EDITOR.

A REPORT OF THREE PUBLIC MEETINGS HELD IN LEEDS,

On the subject of addressing Sir Charles Wolseley.

(Continued from p. 508.)

RESOLVED—That in consequence of the Address to Sir Charles Wolseley, agreed to on December 10th, not having been forwarded according to the Resolution passed at the Public Meeting, we call upon Mr. Wass, the Chairman of that

Meeting, to give up the Address signed as agreed to, in order that it may be forwarded to its proper destination; in default of which, we will immediately call another Public Meeting for the purpose of sending an Address, and for the purpose of enquiring into the reasons why the Address already voted has not been forwarded.

JOSEPH BRAYSHAW,
ROBERT BYERLEY,
JOHN SMITHSON,
JOSEPH HURTLEY,
WILLIAM BRAITHWAITE,
JAMES WATSON,
JOSEPH OATES.

Leeds, Jan. 21, 1822.

Proceedings of the Meeting held on the 25th of January, 1822, to take into consideration the propriety of sending an Address to Sir C. Wolseley, and for the further purpose of enquiring into the reasons why the Address voted on the 10th of December had not been forwarded to its destination.

MR. WILLIAM BRAITHWAITE was called to the Chair,

Who read the Requisition as follows:—

“ PUBLIC MEETING.

“ A Public Meeting will be held on Friday evening, January 25, 1822, in a large Room opposite the Spread Eagle, Meadow Lane, Leeds, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of sending an Address to Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart.; and for the further purpose of enquiring into the reasons why the Address voted on the 10th of December last has not been forwarded to its destination.—The Chair will be taken precisely at 8 o'clock.”

JOHN SMITHSON opened the business of the Meeting in the following manner:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—I believe the greatest part of this company are aware that a Public Meeting was held, on the 10th of December last, for one of the before-mentioned purposes, consequently, it may appear to many who are present that this Meeting is unnecessary, yet we have no doubt but you will fully justify us on this head after you have heard a developement of the facts that have come to light, and an exposure of the prevarications that have been practised by persons whose situations in life, and great professions of patriotism, have gained them a degree of respect with a part of the public which their late conduct does not sufficiently merit, and which respect has unfortunately induced us to misplace our confidence. To our own shame we confess, it was only a few days ago that some of us were first informed that the amended Address, *voted six weeks ago*, was not yet sent to its destination, though the Address which the Chairman first read, and the only one which the managers of that Meeting seem to care any thing about, begins with saying, they “ should consider themselves guilty of a *dereliction of duty*, and wanting the common sensibilities of their nature, if they did not avail themselves of an *early opportunity to congratulate, &c.*” and as the amended Address which was voted by the Meeting was not sent off two days ago, the public must see that if it has been sent since that time, or if it be sent at all, it is the sight of the placard which was put up to call this Meeting that has compelled our *should-be Representative* to make this shew of doing his duty. Thus you see we have committed two errors ourselves, we have first misplaced our confidence, and then neglected to look after our servants and see that they did their duty, till that which we intended to be an Address of Congratulation to Sir Charles Wolseley may probably be a source of mortification, such as all our exertions at

this Meeting will not sufficiently counteract. However, since we have found out our error, all we have to do is to follow the advice of the poet, who says,

" 'Tis the first virtue, vices to give o'er,
And the first wisdom, to be fool no more."

This advice, Gentlemen, we have endeavoured to follow in the best manner our judgments pointed out to us, and we trust that if we have erred in this point, the justness of our intentions will be a sufficient apology. Every step that we have taken shall be truly stated to the Meeting, and we will stand corrected if it be proved that we have taken one step that circumstances did not fully justify, as we by no means wish it to go forth to the world that we consider error to be the greatest crime that can be committed, we question whether error can be proved to be a crime at all, it is the attempt to screen or justify error that constitutes the essence of the criminality. The following is an account of the steps we have taken. It being generally known last Sunday evening that the Address was not sent off, we came to the resolution, that as our Chairman had not sent our Address according to our expectations, we would send an Address to him and give him an opportunity to retract and acknowledge his error, (*if error it can be called*). The Address, which shall be now read, was agreed to and signed by twelve persons, four of which persons were deputed to present it to him at 12 o'clock the day following.

" To Mr. JOSEPH WASSE, Chairman of a Meeting held December 10, 1821, to take into consideration the propriety of sending an Address to Sir Charles Wolseley on his liberation from Prison.

" SIR—We, the undersigned, being persons who voted for and subscribed towards sending an Address to Sir C. Wolseley at the Meeting above stated, at which Meeting you presided as Chairman, and being informed by a person who asked you the question, that the Address was not sent off to its destination, we feel it a duty incumbent upon us to call upon you to explain what appears to us to be an unnecessary delay, and to express our regret that such a delay should have taken place, more particularly as no delay of this kind was mentioned at the Meeting, nor any intimation that the subscription was too small to cover all the necessary expences.

" If it should be asked what right we have to enquire, and what are our reasons for making this enquiry and request, we answer as follows:—

" As to our right, we consider that it is unreasonable in us to expect our pretended Representatives to act according to the wish, and for the benefit of their constituents, unless we set them the example, and since both you and ourselves profess to be Reformers, we ought to shew by our conduct that we deserve the name: and our opinions are, that any man who accepts the office of Chairman at a Public Meeting ought to be as much under the controul of the persons who constitute that Meeting, in all things belonging thereto, as a Member of a House of Representatives should be under the controul of his constituents in all things belonging to his office as a Legislator; and for our own parts, as we cannot see the necessity of any delay in sending off the Address, we cannot consistently complain of the negligence and timidity of our ancestors in suffering their pretended Representatives to neglect their duty with impunity, and suffer this opportunity to pass without calling upon you, earnestly and respectfully, as our representative, to explain your conduct and do your duty, or give up the document, (signed according to your promise) in order that it may be sent off immediately.

" As to our reasons, they are as follows:—

" 1. Because if it be necessary to send an Address at all, the proper time to send it is as soon as possible after the liberation of the Gentleman to whom it is addressed,

" 2. Because we expected, and have every reason to believe, that 'NINETEENTHS' of the persons who constituted that Meeting expected that the Address would be sent off immediately, to give Sir Charles Wolseley an opportunity of giving us a public answer in as early a paper as possible after the publication of the Address. Consequently, he has been deprived of the opportunity of writing, and we have been deprived of the satisfaction of reading his answer for upwards of a month without either his or ourselves knowing for what cause.

" 3. Because, whether the Address be considered as a private consolation, or as a public good, it not only loses its effect by the delay, but becomes injurious in a very great degree. To take it as a private consolation, it must be very mortifying to Sir Charles to see an Address, purporting to be for himself, handed about in four or perhaps three times four different publications, without his having an opportunity of answering it, or of shewing the original to any of his friends. If he attempts to suggest to himself a reason for not having received it, what can that reason be? He must either think the Addressers few in number, and too poor to pay the postage, or too negligent of any thing but the publication of their own speeches to do their duty, when the same means that were used to get the account to 'The Manchester Observer' would have been sufficient to forward the Address to Sir Charles. To take it as a public good, it was to give Sir Charles the earliest opportunity possible to communicate his sentiments to us in a public answer, which answer would probably have stimulated other towns to follow our example; and thus it would have shewn both his and our opponents, that all their cowardly attempts to subdue the friend of freedom by incarceration, had a direct contrary tendency: instead of which the delay, and consequent non-appearance of his answer, may possibly have prevented many others from following our example, and whether or not it has given our opponents, and all the agents of the corrupt press in particular, an opportunity of saying that they have silenced one of our boasted leaders, that Sir Charles Wolseley is shrinking from an avowal of his sentiments, that he does not think the Leeds people worthy of a place in his list of correspondents, or that we are so wretchedly poor that we cannot afford to send him the Address.

" 4. Because we have been informed by a friend from Wakefield, that you had been to that town on the 13th instant, and that you had asked the Wakefield friends to let you send the money which they had subscribed towards Mr. Hunt's "Great Northern Radical Union," at the same time when you should send the Address, which conduct implies, that the Leeds Reformers cannot subscribe to that Union sufficient to support their own credit without the assistance of a smaller town, *that their ambition to appear as subscribers is greater than their inclination to subscribe*, or that they are ambitious of appearing to be the leaders of the Wakefield people in a cause where it would be much more commendable to urge both the Wakefield people, and all others who profess to be Reformers, to do their own business in such a way as to prove that they both know how to use and are deserving of the liberty for which they contend.

" 5. Because, as we are likely to be identified with the Address, and consequently subject to all the imputations to which the above-mentioned delay and presumptuous application at Wakefield may give rise to, we wish distinctly to state, that the sending an Address to Sir Charles Wolseley, and the remittance of the subscription-money to Mr. Hunt's Fund, are two separate things; and if there be no subscription-money at Leeds to send off, it is proper that those persons who have furnished Mr. Hunt with such flourishing accounts to be published in his "Memoirs," should take the shame to themselves, without the Address being delayed a single day, and without our being in any way implicated with the conduct of any professors, or the failure of any subscription that we have not pledged ourselves to support.

" 6. Because a copy of the Address having appeared in four different publications, *without either your signature, or one single argument of either the proposer or any other individual in its support*, the immediate appearance of the answer from Sir Charles, with your letter and signature to the original Address, would have

prevented any one from impeaching your conduct, by saying, that the want of signature in the above-mentioned publications was owing to your partiality or neglect.

"Lastly, Because we consider it a duty we owe, not only to ourselves, and the cause we advocate, but we consider it a duty we owe to you, to remind you, that the venerable Major Cartwright's maxim is, 'Do what you ought to do, let the consequence be what it may,' and to call upon you boldly, but respectfully, to do your duty in this and every other office that you may accept the people's call to perform, without being warped either to the right hand or to the left, by either the opinions or the inclinations of either yourself or any other individual or party, as being the only rational duty of every Chairman or representative of any part of the public, which is the only method of shewing the real use and utility of a pure Representative Government, by combining principle and practice with our own professions, and the only conduct that can entitle a man to the permanent esteem of his fellow-countrymen, or of any portion (except it be the tax-eating portion) of the human race.

(Signed)

"JOSEPH HURTLEY,
"THOMAS STEEL,
"JAMES WATSON,
"JOHN SMITHSON,
"ROBERT BYERLEY,
"JOSEPH OATES,
"JAMES ELLIS,
"JAMES WARBURTON,
"JOHN SCHOFIELD,
"WILLIAM BAYNES,
"DAVID RAMSDEN."

"Leeds, January 20, 1822.

Resolved,

1. That the Chairman of the Meeting held on Monday, Dec. 10, 1821, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of sending an Address to Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart. has been guilty of a gross neglect of duty in not having forwarded the Address, then agreed upon, to its proper destination.

2. That the excuse set up for not having forwarded the Address, namely, that he was waiting to send the money belonging to the "Great Northern Radical Union," along with it, is an insult both to Sir Charles Wolseley and to those who voted the Address; and we look upon the assertion of the said Chairman on Monday, the 21st instant, "that he would not send it until he could send some money belonging to the 'Great Northern Union' along with it," as being equivalent to an avowal of his determination that it never should be sent. We look upon it as an insult to Sir Charles Wolseley, because it gives an appearance of the persons who conducted the Meeting having called it for the purpose of giving circulation to their own speeches in the public Papers; and when that was done, entertaining so mean an opinion of the worthy Baronet as to think him unworthy of having the Address forwarded. We look upon it as an insult to those who voted the Address, because most of those who voted for it decidedly disapprove of the principles on which the "Great Northern Union" is founded; and with all proper deference to the high abilities of Mr. Hunt, they look upon the "Great Northern Union" as being incapable of producing any beneficial effect to the nation at large. We disapprove of it, because in principle we are Republicans; we advocate not only an Elective Legislature, but likewise an Elective and accountable Magistracy. For our political creed we refer to a declaration of sentiments agreed to at Stockport on the 19th of March, 1821, and for arguments in support of our general principles we refer to "The Rights of Man," by Thomas Paine. And we consider that the avowed object of the "Great Northern Union" is inconsistent with those principles, and forms only an expedient which must terminate in disappointment. We conclude that the "Great Northern Union" cannot be productive of any important advantage to the community, but that, in

the end, it must bring disappointment to its supporters, because the corruption of what is falsely called the Common House of Parliament, is such, that it has contaminated every man who has hitherto taken a seat within its walls; and we conclude that similar causes must produce similar effects; and if this should not be the case, the Ministers of the Crown possess the power of dissolving Parliament whenever they think proper, and thus they would have an opportunity of turning such Representatives out of doors as soon as the money which paved the way into the House was expended. It is on these grounds that we consider the assertion, that "he would not send the Address until he got some money belonging to the 'Great Northern Union' to send along with it," is equivalent to a determination that it never should be sent, as from our own knowledge of the affairs of "The Northern Union" in Leeds, we think it highly improbable that they should ever raise five pounds for the purpose of sending; and we cannot but look upon those who have communicated the flattering accounts of its progress, which have been published in Mr. Hunt's "Memoirs," as persons who are secretly endeavouring to destroy that Gentleman's reputation, by inducing him to publish accounts which every one in this part of the country, who reads them, must know to be false.

3. That in consequence of the past conduct of the Chairman of the Meeting held on the 10th of December, we ought to place no further confidence in him; but if we are desirous of being satisfied that our Address has actually been forwarded to its proper destination, it is absolutely necessary that we should do our own work.

4. That the Address agreed to on the 10th of December last be adopted as the Address of this Meeting, and that the following lines be added to the Address as an apology for its not having been forwarded at the proper time:—

" Postscript by the Meeting of January 25.

"SIR—We must apologize for what to you, and in the eyes of the public, must appear a strange piece of negligence; it being generally known that a Public Meeting was held on the 10th of December last, at which time the above Address was agreed to, our apology for its not having been forwarded at the proper time is, that the Chairman of that Meeting, in whom we foolishly placed implicit confidence, has neglected to perform the duty of forwarding the Address which was entrusted to him, on which account, we have been under the necessity of calling another Public Meeting for the purpose of performing our own work, or otherwise submitting to have our sentiments suppressed by one in whom we placed a mistaken confidence. Whether the notice for calling the present Meeting may or may not induce our late representative to forward the Address, we cannot tell, but this we know, that it would betray great weakness and indifference on our part to place further confidence in one by whom we have already been deceived, on which account we appoint our present Chairman to forward our Address and apology for our apparent negligence.

"Signed on behalf of the Meeting held on January 25th,

"WILLIAM BRAITHWAITE—Chairman."

(To be continued.)

A further subscription of £1. 10s. from the Republicans and Freethinkers of Canterbury, is acknowledged.

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The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, April 30,
Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

IN my last some observations were made as to the impossibility of union existing between a Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Established Church on the one hand, and a full Representation of the People as a House of Commons on the other: It was suggested that the elements of these bodies were hostile, or at least hostility would exist between the three former bodies, as a Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity, and the People, or their Representatives in a House of Commons. The inference of my suggestion was that a Legislature to exist for the welfare of the People as a whole must be vested in a House of Commons or Representatives over whom no power or check should exist, but in those who choose and appoint them to legislate. Checks from any other quarter would be as many acts of hostility towards the People, of which a clear proof is daily to be found in the conduct of the present parliament. Every attempt to reform is checked by the influence of the Crown and Aristocracy, and such would be the case if a complete House of Commons existed. There would be no harmony, no peace; all would be jealousy, confusion, and even blows. So clear is this case to my mind that in spite of all prejudice or expediency I will persevere in the doctrine, and stake all my pretensions and views as a political writer, on this one point, against all opposition; even if I stand alone for years to come. I am not aware that I am supported in this view of political reform by any one public writer in the country, but I have the satisfaction of seeing that none venture to shew me that I am wrong, and I can only view their silence as a sort of timid support, or an acknowledgment of my being correct without their open countenance. To tell us that this

is not the proper time to discuss the matter is the same species of evasion as the apostate advocates of Reform have ever applied to the question of putting it into practice. It is always the right time to be honest, and no time so well for that purpose as the time present. But I say *most positively* that when we see progressive revolutions in governments surrounding us, and when we are hourly expecting the same thing at home, it is the most proper time to discuss the propriety of the form or system of the future; and the thing can be better done now than when a sort of civil war rages in the country which the breaking up of the present system would inevitably occasion in some degree.

The motion made last week in the House of Commons for a moderate or progressive reform was resisted in the same manner as it would have been if the motion had been for the abolition of the Monarchy, House of Lords, and Established Church. George Canning insists that the People do not want a Reform. He looks at himself and those who live by his means as the People. On the other side it is insisted that the People do want a Reform; but then this is a different People and both are right. There are two sorts of People in this country; the idle and the industrious; the tax-eaters and tax-payers: the former say, "*We like things best as they are,*" and the latter say, "*We must and will have a change,*" and the result will be a trial of physical superiority. That "*Reform will be obtained when the existing authorities have no longer the power to withhold it and not before,*" is an assertion I am not afraid to repeat, although it has been called seditious, and although Mr. Ridgway and others are suffering imprisonment for publishing it. I do not think that Reform will ever be voted in any shape by the Legislature in its present state, neither do I deem it necessary or desirable, for I am certain this Legislature would not vote it effectual, it would leave just as much to be done by the People as they have now to do, and the means adequate to the one will be efficient for the other.

As taxation has now nearly annihilated the whole rental of the land or landed property, it is difficult to say how far the present Legislature will pursue its revolutionary career, or what changes it may adopt. That it is proceeding blindfold is evident even to those who wish to support it; but move which way it will, it must move towards its own declension, and the growing power of its opponent, the industrious part of the community. It has no moral support. I really doubt whether there be a cheerful tax-payer in the

country who takes nothing back from the same source. This, then, is not what is called a civil government: it is a despotism: the tax-payer pays as far as possible, not willingly, but to avoid a greater evil, to avoid a confiscation of what he possesses or wishes to possess, in just the same manner as under the Turkish Government, where an individual who has accumulated some property, freely gives up a portion to an Aga with the hope of concealing the rest.

Painful as is the distress occasioned by excessive taxation, it affords some solace to reflect that the friends as well as the enemies of the present system begin to feel its pressure in reality. Those Janizaries, called the Yeomanry Cavalry, are now more likely to revolt and decapitate their Agas and their Sultan, than to keep down Reformers. They have now something to think about besides the Radicals. That they have been kept up to keep down Reform is now well understood. When the savages at Manchester were hacking and hewing the thronged and resistless multitude, the common cry was, "WE'LL CUT DOWN REFORM, DOWN WITH REFORM AND REFORMERS." In many of their drunken bouts, in different parts of the country, these fellows have expressed a wish that they had some Radicals to engage, or to murder would express their meaning better. They have been taught that their enemies were the advocates of Reform; and the brutes knew no better until distress came upon them to teach them better. A Radical, a Jacobin, and a Frenchman or Spaniard, were the same creatures in their ideas, and were unnaturally viewed as their natural enemies. Distress has become their enlightener, and their old masters may begin to tremble at the revenge and enraged feelings of those whom they have deceived, and to feel the consequences of their training an army of dupes without being able to protect them from the common misery and calamity of their own measures.

The Legislature has proclaimed that its omnipotence is at an end; that it cannot relieve the agriculturist, and that a revolution must result from its past measures. This is the sum and substance of all the debates in Parliament about the agricultural distress. We shall see the session of Parliament broken up much earlier than usual just to prevent its continuing the focus of clamour and complaint. Nothing will be done: nothing can it do but proclaim its past follies and corruptions.

A standing army well clothed and well fed is become the cry of the Government, and as long as this can be kept up,

all attempt to reform will be kept down. When this army is provided for the session of Parliament will close, and it will meet again next year for that purpose and no other. It is the last hold the Government has on the People, and that People will be stripped to the skin and even to the bones to support it, if they are disposed to sit quietly down under the attempt.

Republicans, the very Whig papers are beginning to acknowledge the increase of your numbers, and the probability that the whole People will be driven to avow themselves with us the advocates of a complete Representative System of Government. This will be the end of the present struggle for Reform, I am certain; therefore, I aspire with you to be among the first to proclaim its superiority to all other systems. We shall certainly have the satisfaction to say that we were among the first to advocate that system of government which can alone establish permanent freedom, and that which shall as certainly obtain a decided preference when a time for choice shall arrive.

R. CARLILE.

TO THE CHRISTIAN JUDGE BAILEY.

LETTER VIII.

MY last was a comment proper on that farrago of nonsense, lies, and detestable composition of words called the Apostles' Creed, or commonly, the Creed or Belief. It is one of those stupifying things with which the minds of the children of Christians are imbued even in infancy, and, in conjunction with the stuff called the Lord's Prayer, forms a standard to put up as an orison on all occasions, in addition to a permanent morning and evening dose.

In a note, you tell us that it was not written by the Apostles; this we know: but if you had lived three hundred years since, and had written the same thing, you would have gone to the stake as a heretic and blasphemer: you would have been a martyr instead of what you now are—a persecutor. It was called the Apostles' Creed, because, like many other legends, it was falsely alledged to have been written by the apostles, and received as such by those

worst of all savages, the Christian multitude, and by most of their equally cruel, and equally ignorant priests.

I now pass over several paltry prayers in which there is nothing particular, save that the Christian God is described as a fighting God; such as, "Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou O God," and similar expressions; and come to the Creed called the Athanasian Creed. One of the prayers which I pass, entitled a prayer for the King's Majesty, states that the Christian God, or Jehovah, is the "only ruler of princes," thus saying that all princes have absolute power. This is the Christian maxim we know, but the majesty of the people is fast rising above that of Jehovah and all princes. Look at Spain and Portugal, if you wish to see who are the rulers of princes. You will soon find a power arise that will laugh at and despise both your princes and ruler of princes. The time is coming when an intelligent people shall dispense with both. If you and me do not witness this change completed, another generation will. There will then be no occasion to pray for peace or grace, or any thing else: a wise legislature, the express image of a whole people, shall provide both for their wants and their protection, by a proper application of their minds and their hands, and the produce of national industry.

The creed of St. Athanasius is another document which is now acknowledged not to have been written by the person whose name it bears, although it is a perfect resemblance of the life and conduct of the turbulent and despotic Athanasius. It might be expected that I should find much to say or much to ridicule over this creed, but I really can scarcely persuade myself to pass a comment upon it. Its denunciations are so damnable, its contradictions so gross, that it may be fairly viewed as an epitome of the Christian Religion, and as a focus in which all the rancour of Christianity and Christians is concentrated. It is worse than any thing that can be found in the Jew Books, as a prostitution of language. It is a disgrace to our age and our country, and the man who can support it as far as you have supported it, is much more fit for a human butcher, or a general butcher of all kinds of animals, than to preside over the lives and liberties of his fellow countrymen as a judge of law. If there be a man living who really holds this creed as right and necessary, he must be a cold-blooded brute, an inhuman monster: he must be a Christian indeed: and as Christians renounce both Reason and her parent Nature,

they must of course be unnatural inhuman beings; religious monsters they have proved themselves in all ages. However, there is no kind of Christian who could escape the damnation threatened by this creed: it embraces all mankind, for no man can really believe that which he cannot comprehend. Belief and comprehension are synonymous terms: disbelief, so far from being sinful or immoral, towards any creed or dogmas, is the very essence of virtue and morality, where it be avowed; as it guarantees the absence of hypocrisy; it is synonymous with incomprehension.

In the preposterous creed before us, the whole of which we are told we must believe or be exposed to everlasting fire, we are called upon to believe the existence of three Gods as one God, and one God as three Gods; and further, that we must believe them to be uncreate, eternal, almighty, and incomprehensible. This is a solecism, a gross perversion of language. I should like no better amusement than an hour's conversation with you upon this subject, Mr. Justice Bailey. If I could not put a blush upon your grave and hypocritical face, I would consent to receive another three years imprisonment under those very Christian despots who have so studiously sought to destroy my health, and the healths of those who are confined with me. If I did not destroy your Christian faith or silence you within one hour, by pursuing a string of interrogations arising out of this creed; I will promise never to say a word against you or the Christian Religion hereafter.

The persons who fabricated, and the persons who support this creed, must certainly consider it an attempt to try the point how far the human mind could be imposed upon, and what outrageous notions it could entertain. This creed is a true epitome of Christianity, or such as it came out refined from the turbulent councils of the early fathers, as they are called. When we are told that the Son, which means Jesus Christ, is *not made nor created, but begotten*, may we not wonder how any thing short of insanity can subscribe to such words. To beget is to create or to make, the words are exactly of the same meaning. The two words *Father and Son* imply seniority and emanation, yet we are told the Son is eternal with the Father, and co-equal. Further, the Son is represented as holding the human figure, and human flesh, and deifying the manhood; if so, the Father and the Holy Ghost must be the same, according to this preposterous collection of words. So here at once we are told, what all mythologists have held, that Gods and men are animals

of the same form, and composed of the same matter, and this nonsense is propagated as an argument for the resurrection of the same flesh after death! "Perfect God and perfect man; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting," is the Christian description of the Christian God! Oh! Nature! and am I imprisoned and robbed by Christians for opposing such brutish stuff as this? Am I called a blasphemer for saying the Deity is not composed of human flesh? I am so called, and the case is strictly analogous to the case of the thief, who, whilst running to save himself and his plunder, cries to all enquirers, "*stop the thief whom I am pursuing,*" and thus turns their attention from the real thief. My persecutors are the real blasphemers, and you, Mr. Justice Bailey, are one of them, but to save the plunder which your system of blasphemy procures, you endeavour to divert public attention by setting up a hue and cry of blasphemy against me. I can prove to demonstration that you are a blasphemer of the Deity, and I challenge you to prove any thing of the kind against me: in fact, in passing sentence upon me you acknowledged that mine was not a blasphemy against God, but a blasphemy against my fellow countrymen in attempting to deprive them of their religion. That religion is founded on blasphemy towards the God of Nature; which I will fully explain when I come into the Court of King's Bench again, in spite of all the attempts of you and your brother judges to silence me. I shall come well schooled and prepared for you, which was not the case before. I shall face you in all the boldness of honesty, and with all the dignity of a persecuted man, innocent of the charges upon which he has been robbed and imprisoned. I will look upon you without shame or without a blush, and feel a pride in being the opponent of the hypocrisy, falsehood, and blasphemy which you labour hard to propagate.

I quit the Athanasian Creed, not that I have written all that I could say against it, for there is not a sentence but is a gross lie, or blasphemy, or vagary. It really is too contemptible for the comment of any person who professes a love of truth. To denounce it, as full of lies and blasphemy, is all that is necessary, and all that I can conceive to be required from me. In the first place you acknowledge that it was not written by Athanasius, and it is now more generally understood to have been written by a monk of the name of Vigilius, a century after the time of Athanasius. It forms another proof of the common inauthenticity of all the Chris-

tian legends, and the common practice of putting them under the sanction of some high-sounding name as the best means of imposing upon the credulity of the ignorant multitude.

I shall for the present digress from the subject of the Book of Common Prayer to exhibit a specimen of your infamous persecuting conduct towards another person.

By the time this letter gets into circulation from the press, Robert Wedderburn, who is also confined in this gaol for an alleged charge of blasphemy, will have completed his period of two years imprisonment, and will I hope be able to return to London with a better conscience than you his judge and his persecutor can ever feel. A record of this man's case is worth preserving, as, if your life be spared a few years, it may form an item, and a heavy one too, in your bill of impeachment.

In the year 1819, Robert Wedderburn was in the habit of delivering discourses in a place called Hopkins' Street Chapel, and such was the degree of interest excited, that, I have been informed his chapel was always crowded whenever he thought proper to open it. I was never present at any of his discourses, but I have heard those say on whose judgments I could rely, that although, he was evidently what is called an uneducated or unlettered man, still he possessed great natural ability, which, combined with a powerful and striking eccentricity of manner, was calculated not only to engage the attention but the admiration of many of his friends and hearers. To these acquirements it was well known that he added invariably a boldness and honesty of sentiment, and a probity of manners calculated on all occasions to counteract the defects of judgment, or the want of a few superficial accomplishments.

After my mock trials had passed in the Court of King's Bench, the subject was discussed in Mr. Wedderburn's chapel: "Whether Judge Abbott had refused my examination of the Bible from a motive of piety, or a consciousness that it was a book that could not bear that examination." These, if not the words, were the substance of the question for discussion. During this discussion, I understand, Mr. Wedderburn alluded to the contradiction of the Jew Books about the visibility of the Deity. The New Testament says, that, "No man hath seen God at any time," and Mr. Wedderburn sagaciously observed, that, if this were true "what a liar Moses must be who was always meeting God, in every bush, face to face." These with some words about

Jesus Christ, that I do not now recollect, as I write altogether from memory, formed the subject of an information by the Attorney General, when the Grand Jury at a Middlesex Session had thrown out a bill of indictment for the same thing or something very similar before.

At the time of trial, Mr. Wedderburn put in a very able written defence, arguing the propriety of a free discussion; a defence which the Chief Justice complimented for its stile, its force, and its ability; and the Jury, although they returned a verdict of guilty, particularly recommended him to mercy, on the ground that he having been born in Jamaica, had not been educated in the Christian Religion. At the time of receiving sentence he put in another very able paper, but prefaced it with some oral observations on the Bible, which called forth your animadversion, and persecuting-bigot like you, sentenced him to two years imprisonment in this gaol, although he had previously suffered some months confinement in Newgate for want of bail, and this in the face of the Jury's particular recommendation to mercy!

His treatment in this Gaol has been no less wanton and cruel than your sentence. On his arrival he was kept for some months over what is called the lodge, where prisoners are first put before they are examined by the gaol surgeon, to see whether they are clean and free from all diseases; and immediately on being so examined they are removed into their respective wards. This was not the treatment for Mr. Wedderburn, he was locked up in this very confined place for near three months, and then removed to a situation very little better, that is, into the ward of solitude, where he has been treated exactly as prisoners are treated who are sentenced to solitary confinement, throughout his two years. His residence has been a small cell, which has a small fireplace, in which he might put fire if he could purchase fuel, and not otherwise. In the day time his cell door was opened, and he had the range of a passage that may be twenty feet long or better, but from this passage he could see nothing nor no person, but accidental passers up the stair-case, and at the best of times, this passage must have been gloomy, at others very cold from a strong current of air. No prisoner was allowed to go near him to converse, and one hour each day only was he allowed to walk out in company with a sentinel, which I presume has been neglected as often as practised. Wedderburn's treatment has been altogether worse than mine, and the looking at his case has made me in some measure think lighter of my own, for

within the walls of a room I have had every thing that is desirable but society, and since Mrs. Carlile and the infant came I have had that, and if we had free access to the open air in the day time no complaint should we have remaining, but the lack of this makes our confinement unwholesome and unhealthy, and the capricious exclusion of friends makes it further painful. Still when I consider that Wedderburn has been two years without the sight of a friend, or the conversation of any one whom he knew before, shut up in solitary confinement, and denied even the solace or amusement that I as a fellow prisoner could and was anxious to have furnished him, in the loan of books and many other trifles, when I consider this, my own case has always appeared to me comparatively light and scarcely worth a murmur.

How far Mr. Wedderburn may have suffered in health I cannot say, he does not appear to me to be as robust as three years ago in London, but I feel assured that if he does not take particular care of himself he will feel serious effects arising from his confinement, on entering into his former condition in life. Gilbert Wakefield survived his confinement in this gaol but a short time, although he was here at a time when there were indulgences very different to what are now to be obtained, and when the residence of the mother of the present keeper in the prison formed a guarantee for humanity: for what the old lady could not do openly for the prisoners she would do secretly. The case is now very different, the present keeper is a mere insensate machine in the hands of the magistrates, and if he pleases them he appears to consider that he has no other duties to perform. His horse or his cow engages his humanity as much as his prisoners, and obtain just as much consideration. Of the general management of the prison I do not complain, but the case of Wedderburn has been abominable, comparing his treatment with the common treatment of other prisoners. Instead of being treated with a leniency suitable to his alleged misdemeanor, he has been treated with a marked severity. Perhaps Mr. Wedderburn does not know that the canting Wilberforce has visited and conversed with him in his cell, about a year and a half since, and subsequently pronounced him a honest conscientious man! Did he think Wedderburn had fair play I should like to know?

Now Mr. Justice Bailey, Wedderburn's imprisonment is expired; and I would ask you to reflect seriously on his case, and consider whether the words he spoke deserved any

such a tremendous punishment, or any punishment at all. The sum and substance of his words were that there were contradictions in the Bible. This was a moral truth; no honest man can deny it. Admitting that his sense of the matter was not expressed in the most refined manner, this alters not the case; his language, or his stile of expression, was suited to the minds of his company or his audience, there was a familiarity existing between them, which justified the stile of expression: what the one expressed the others felt, and this entirely annihilates the idea that a truth expressed in coarse language is an offence against the public morals. Wedderburn, I insist, did nothing in opposition to public morals. His language was not calculated to injure any one; what then was the spirit that persecuted him? The spirit of bigotry, of tyranny, of revenge, for an exposed folly, falsehood, and inconsistency. The conduct of Wedderburn was strictly moral, your conduct in persecuting him was immoral in the extreme, the punishment to which you have subjected him is inhuman on your part, and on the part of those who have participated in it. It was not called for, it was not necessary to any honest purpose whatever, it was not legal, and should I perceive it to have destroyed his health or to hasten his death, I should not hesitate a moment to charge you with participating in his murder.

If a man for a trifling misdemeanor be exposed to a long and severe imprisonment, if his treatment be such as to undermine his health and hasten his dissolution, even if he survives his imprisonment, that man is a murdered man; a man murdered by the worst and most painful means, and all who participate in his sentence, and his treatment under that sentence, are his murderers, and assassins of the very worst species. He who strikes with the dagger, or causes death by any sudden blow, is not half so great a monster as he who produces death by a slow and painful process, or such as that of improper treatment under a long or even a short imprisonment.

Prisons, I may be told, are not intended to be places of comfort; I grant they ought not to be, if none but those who deserve imprisonment are confined in them. A prison, I assert, ought to be a place of frugal living and hard labour, but then none ought to be confined but those who have robbed another, or inflicted bodily injury on another; and then a compensation should be made by a proportionate degree of labour, and not by a length of confinement. There should be no punishment but hard labour; the pro-

duce of which should be applied to compensate the injury done by the prisoner, where property could compensate. Connected with such a system, every thing calculated to preserve or improve the health and the morals of the prisoner should be strictly observed; otherwise, those who have him in custody become greater criminals to society than the thief himself. The present system of gaol discipline is nothing but a system of revenge, torture, and mental degradation; there is no moralizing, no improvement, no compensation to individuals who prosecute for injury done them. It would be better to be without gaols altogether, and to put in force what is called village justice or summary punishment to offenders, than support them in their present state. The laws of this country are laws that would increase the savageness of savages: they are revengeful, they are blood-thirsty, inimical to the propagation of morality, and a bar to all moral and mental improvement. Talk of civilization and humanity indeed! Neither of it exists in this country yet. Human misery still preponderates here, and none increase it more than such false moralists, such hypocrites, and men with minds so idolatrous, so superstitious as Mr. Justice Bailey's. When human misery loses the balance we will begin to talk of humanity and civilization; until then the future historian will rank us with the savage ages and nations, and justly so: there will then be no distinction made between a Bailey and a Jefferies.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, April 28, 1822,
of the Christian Idolatry.

THE FOLLOWING EXTRACTS

Are translated from "LE BON SEUS," the Work of a French Priest; the whole of which will be shortly translated and printed in this country under the title of "GOOD SENSE, OR NATURAL OPPOSED TO SUPERNATURAL IDEAS."

"WHEN the opinions of men are coolly and dispassionately examined, nothing is more rare than to see them make use of good sense, even in those things which they regard as of the highest importance and most essential value. Good sense is that portion of judgment which is sufficient for the

discovery of simple truths and useful knowledge; it teaches us to reject striking absurdities and palpable contradiction. Yet how surprizing is it, that in theology we have an example of its total absence, for though it is a science that has been revered in all times, and in all countries, and though it is regarded by them as the most important, the most useful, and the most indispensable object to the happiness of society, still, very few give themselves the trouble to examine the principles on which this science pretends to establish itself. If they did this, they would be obliged to acknowledge that these principles, which are considered as incontestible, are only hazardous suppositions invented by ignorance, propagated by enthusiasm or bad faith, adopted by timid credulity, preserved by custom, which has never reasoned upon them, and revered solely because they are imaginary and incomprehensible.

“Of all the different ideas given to us of the will of a Supreme Being, of a God who is called the Creator and Preserver of Man, there are none more revolting than those of that wily impostor, Moses.

“The principles of all religion are founded on the ideas of a God: but it is impossible for men to have true ideas of a being that acts on none of their senses. All principle is judgment, all judgment is the effect of experience; experience is acquired by the exercise of the senses: hence it evidently follows, that religious principles are founded on nothing, and are not innate.

“All our ideas are the representations of objects which strike us; what then can represent to us the idea of *God*, which is evidently an idea without object? Is not such an idea as impossible as an effect without a cause? Is an idea without prototype any thing else than a chimera? Yet some Doctors assure us, that the idea of *God* is *innate*, or that men have these ideas from their mothers' wombs.

“If God is an infinite being, there can be no relation between man and his God, either in the actual world or in a world to come.

“Ignorance and fear are the two pivots on which all religions turn. The fears of men become habitual to them, and change according to their wants, till, at length, they are led to believe they want something, if they have nothing to terrify them. When the mind is under the influence of superstition, it will have fear, the imagination demands it, and seems to fear nothing so much as to have nothing to fear.

" If religion was clear, it would be much less attractive to the vulgar and ignorant. There must be obscurity, mysteries, terrors, fables, prodigies, and incredible things, perpetually, to unsettle their brains. Romances, idle stories, the recitals of dreams and sorceries have more charms for vulgar minds than true history.

" The origin of religious opinions may generally be dated from those times when savage nations were yet in a state of infancy."

A CRITICAL ENQUIRY INTO THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

(Continued from p. 528.)

But here, as in other cases, he did not mean what he said, his ideas were so sublime, he could not express them ! But his disciples can tell us the meaning. No doubt there are a set of men who live upon the industry of others, to them it is applicable; they do not need to care for to-morrow, they are the lilies of the valley; they toil not, neither do they spin: yet see how well they live. They may follow this advice, but the whole of mankind cannot.

According to Matthew, (ch. vi. ver. 9—13.) it was when he delivered this famous Sermon that he gave that form of prayer which is called the Lord's Prayer by way of eminence: but according to Luke, (ch. xi. ver. 1.) this form of prayer must have been given at a later period of his life, and certainly on a different occasion, for he tells us that he had been praying apparently alone, and when he came, one of his disciples said unto him, " Lord, teach us how to pray," when he gave them that precious specimen as a form or pattern. But the words of this Prayer are not the same in both. Luke entirely omits the conclusion. Mark and John, I suppose, never heard of either it or the Sermon, as they have not thought it worth repeating, nor the Sermon worth the smallest notice. This is very strange, to omit even the Lord's Prayer, and, at the same time, to relate so many other trifles !

Matthew tells us, (ch. viii. ver. 2.) when he had finished his Sermon and was come down from the mount, a leper came to him desiring to be cleansed, which was done: but Mark (ch. i. ver. 40.) says, this was done when he was in Galilee, preaching in their synagogues. Luke says, it was in a certain city, we know not where; and John passes it over without notice.

Matthew tells us also (ch. viii. ver. 5.) of a centurion who came to Jesus beseeching him to come and heal his servant: but Luke says, (ch. vii. ver. 7.) that the centurion did not come, because he did not think himself worthy, but sent (ver. 3.) the elders of the Jews, and when Jesus was come near he sent his friends. Now, Matthew says he went himself; and Luke says he did not, but sent. Which of these accounts is true? Mark and John have not thought the story worth telling, or else we should probably have had something different from both.

No kind of miracles make so great a figure among the actions of Jesus as casting out devils; in reading the Evangelists we might suppose that one-half of the inhabitants were diseased or possessed with them. Possession with the devil is a trouble unknown in any former age of the world, except in the case of Saul, who had one sent from God; and it is equally unknown in any other age or country, since it is peculiar to God's own people alone. This imaginary possession must have originated entirely in the ignorance and superstition of these authors, in ascribing every unknown disease to the power of the devil, and in their earnest wish to shew the power of their hero over him. In all the accounts that we have of the Deity or Gods, from whatever nation, it appears indispensable, in order to shew his or their power, to create some opposite power to vanquish, that they may display his power the better. The case has been the same with these writers, it would seem, by their account that at this time the Deity and the Devil were striving which to get possession of the earth.

But these marvellous diseases, these possessions with the Devil, even admitting the relation to be true, and that the diseases were such as they are described, after cool examination, cease to appear in any respect supernatural; they appear to have been cases of epilepsy, or falling sickness and insanity, diseases which are to be found everywhere, and for which an unbeliever might say, the Deity was more to blame than the Devil. These diseases are not wonderful in themselves, but the history of them is very suspicious on account of their number, and certainly very incredible in relating the method of cure: but when the Pharisees said that Jesus cast out Devils through Belzebub, the Prince of Devils, he asked them by what power their children cast them out—this proves it was a common operation with them. What are we to think of this?

The account of the legion of Devils dispossessed and sent into the herd of swine is, like most of their stories, very beautifully varied in the relation. Matthew tell us, that it was in the country of the Gergesenes: Mark and Luke both say it was in the country of the Gadarenes. Matthew says, there were two men who met him possessed with Devils: but according to Mark and Luke, there was only one. Mark says, no man could bind him, no not with chains: but Luke tells us he was *kept bound* in chains, but he had broken them. Mark says, the Devils besought Jesus not to send them out of the

country, (they had liked the Jews for neighbours) : Luke says, they besought Jesus that he would not command them to go into the deep? Were they afraid of being drowned? Or does the deep mean Hell? Where is Hell, is it beneath? We are told, when the Devils were cast out they entered (at Christ's command) into a herd of about 2000 swine that were feeding near, and the whole herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea and were drowned. This was strange! But John passes over the whole story in silent contempt.

There are several questions naturally arising out of this story.

1. How was such a number of swine as 2000 kept in one herd in a country where swine were declared unclean, in their law, and were held in abomination by the people?

2. Has the story been fabricated by the authors to excite a prejudice against *swine*?

3. Was it justice, if true, to drown the people's swine?

4. Could Jesus not cast out the Devils without destroying people's property, and perhaps ruining them?

Although Christians pretend to admire this transaction at this distance of time and place, yet, were any person in this country to cause so many of his neighbour's swine to be drowned, he would probably be sent after them himself, and many would think he deserved it: but the Saints in the New Testament had the privilege of working mischief with impunity as well as the Worthies in the Old. A Deist might say, that Jesus Christ appears to sanction that by word as well as example; he says, that the Priests in the Temple profane the Sabbath-day, and are blameless, and refers to the law of Moses for proof of what he says, triumphantly asking the scribes and Pharisees (ch. xii. ver. 5.) if they had not read it, although there is not such a passage in all the law of Moses!

On another occasion they brought to him many that were possessed with Devils, and he cast them out, and healed all who were sick, (this he did) that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias, saying, "Himself took our infirmities and bore our sicknesses." Now, what are we to make of this, there is no such passage in all the book of Isaiah? The passage to which he referred is perhaps ch. liii. ver. 4. "Surely he hath borne, our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted." Who the person is we are not told, but this is spoken of what is past, and not of Jesus Christ at all; even the words are not the same, nor is the sense given.

Matthew (ch. viii. ver. 20.) and Luke (ch. ix. ver. 53.) tell us of a man who wished to follow Jesus wherever he went, but Jesus told him that the foxes had holes and the birds of the air had nests, but he had nowhere to lay his head: now, John (ch. i. ver. 39.) says, that he had a house, and the disciples went and saw where he dwelt, and Matthew tells us that he dwelt at Capernaum. Is this a contradiction, or had he been turned out of both houses? We need not wonder if he was, considering his strolling habits.

About this time (Matt. ch. x. ver. 1.) Jesus sent forth his twelve Apostles to teach the people, and to preach concerning him; and before sending them out we have a muster of them, a list of their names given. Now, in the simple business of a list of their names we might have expected agreement, but no, we are not told correctly what were the names of all the twelve Apostles. Matthew and Mark have in their list one named Thaddeus: while Luke has not one of that name in his. Luke, again, has in his list Judas, the brother of James, a name which is not to be found in any of the others. These two differ so much, that we do not know what were their names, or who they were. This is strange, that they cannot agree on the names of the twelve Apostles, names which ought to have been correctly known to all.

Matthew gives us a copy of the instructions which Jesus gave them before he sent them out: these instructions are almost wholly omitted by the other Evangelists; indeed, few of them deserve to be recorded. An unbeliever might say, that several of them deserve the severest censure for their intolerance and partiality.

If he was really come on earth for the salvation of mankind, why did he command his disciples, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not?" Now, how could they believe on him if they did not hear of him, if men are to be damned for not believing on him? The Deist may ask, Was there any humanity in this order? But he says, "Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Was not this partiality? Was the Israelite more or less deserving than the Gentiles or Samaritans? And why did he strictly charge his disciples afterwards to tell no man of him that he was the Christ? (See Matt. ch. xvi. ver. 20. Mark ch. viii. ver. 36. Luke ch. ix. ver. 21.)

His order to them to provide nothing for their journey, was improvident, and a proof that he meant his followers to live upon the industry of other men, an order which they have not failed to follow in succeeding ages.

The unbeliever might object, the threat that it should be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for those who did not receive or hear his disciples, is a proof of a very tolerant spirit, indeed! We are informed in Genesis what was the punishment inflicted on Sodom and Gomorrah, fire and brimstone from Heaven; so he meant worse for them who would not hear his disciples. Does this prove that he only wanted power, or else would he have been as cruel a persecutor as other religious enthusiasts? The professors of his religion have been largely endowed with the same charitable spirit, indeed, Christianity has been apparently the most intolerant and bloody of all religions, not only against those who did not believe it at all, but also the different sects against one another, it partakes largely of its Jewish origin.

And what are we to think of his prophecy, or promises, (ver. 23.) "Verily ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel until the son of man be come." Did he mean his second coming, which has been

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so long expected? He could not mean his first coming, as he was with them at the time, and if he meant his second coming, what are we to think of him as a prophet? Has it happened according to his prediction?

And what are we to think of a man, the founder of a religion, who declares that he came not to send peace on earth, but a sword? To set the father against the son, and the son against the father, the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; in short, to make all the members of the family enemies to one another! Can we suppose any calamity or mischief greater than a sword without, and a man's family all enemies to one another within? However, we should hold our peace, and remember, that the peace of God passeth all understanding. But does the man deserve to be venerated, deified, or worshipped, who was the cause of it? Is this the humble, meek, and lowly Jesus? In this he resembles Moses considerably. Does Mahomet promise such blessings to the world? Or does he threaten worse punishment to his enemies?

He declares also, (Luke ch. x. ver. 21.) that except a man hate his father and his mother, brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be his disciple! What ought we to think of the founder of a religion who made such a declaration? What ought we to think of a band of disciples filled with such sublime virtues as this? This is Christian virtue and benevolence, indeed! We shall, no doubt, be told that here also he did not mean what he said, but why did he not speak common sense, and tell his own meaning plainly himself? Why did he not enlighten men's minds and make them to understand the truth at once? However, this was hardly to be expected when he returns thanks to his father, (ch. xi. ver. 25.) that he had hid these things from the wise and prudent, and had revealed them unto babes! A sceptic might object, why were they hidden from any if they were for the benefit of mankind? Wise and prudent men were most likely to be correct judges of wise doctrines, and more likely to communicate or teach them to the rest of mankind than babes or fools: but probably wise and prudent men would have seen too much folly and absurdity about them to have rejected them, and babes and fools only could receive them!

(To be continued.)

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR,

PERHAPS you will not deem me intrusive if I attempt to point out to you a few errors which have been committed in the getting up of the report of the proceedings of the Meeting held in Leeds on the 10th (and not on the 17th, as stated in "The Republican,") of last December, for the purpose of addressing Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart.

In the first place, I think some reasons ought to have been assigned why the proceedings were now published in "The Republican," above four months after the Meeting was held. With those reasons you no doubt are acquainted.

And, secondly, it ought to have been observed, that after Mr. Watson, who seconded the amended Address, had done speaking, Mr. Mason, the proposer of the original Address, immediately rose to controvert the arguments used by Mr. Brayshaw, and in his speech took occasion to hold forth Mr. Brayshaw as a visionary, and as the advocate of visionary schemes of Government. Mr. Brayshaw then rose to reply, and fully proved that a pure Representative Government and an Elective Magistracy was the only system of Government under which a people could enjoy real Liberty—be contented and happy. Wm. Braithwaite followed on the same side, and from the above will be seen the propriety of my allusions to Mr. Brayshaw.

And, thirdly, it ought to have been observed, that the amended Address was carried.

And now, Sir, in conclusion, I beg leave to say, that you and I totally differ on religious subjects, yet I admire your political principles, believing you to be an honest, sincere man, a man who has the good of your fellow-creatures at heart, and, as such, deserving far more support than you have hitherto received. I profess myself a Christian, yet, if I had it in my power, I would remove the huge mountain of Prejudice which a set of *hypocritical money-loving* PRIESTS and ignorant fanatics have excited against you, and pay the unjust and exorbitant fines which the (I don't know what to call them) Judges have imposed upon you and your Sister. Christianity wants not the support of such wretched men. I now conclude, wishing you, your Wife, Sister, and Family, and all who have volunteered their service in your support, all possible happiness and comfort, and may we soon obtain of your exertions the RIGHT OF FREE DISCUSSION ON ALL SUBJECTS.

Yours truly,

W. BRAITHWAITE.

Leeds, April 22, 1822.

A sad mistake has occurred in setting up the Report of the Leeds' Meetings; a connecting comment was sent with the Reports, which the Printer has overlooked and omitted. The second speech of Mr. Mason was not sent, nor was it published in any other document. If Mr. Mason wishes it added, and will send it, it shall be inserted as an appendix. It is too late to mend the matter now, but a full explanation shall be made when the whole of the documents have appeared.

EDITOR.

PETITION OF MARY ANN CARLILE TO THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS, AND CORRESPOND-
ENCE WITH MR. HOBHOUSE ON THE SUB-
JECT.

*TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEM-
BLED.*

The Petition of MARY ANN CARLILE, late of London, Book-
seller, now a Prisoner in his Majesty's Gaol of Dorchester.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioner comes before your Honourable House with a complaint of an undue administration of the laws towards her, on the part of the Judges of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, and on the part of Sir William Draper Best, Knt., one of the Judges of that Court, in particular.

That on the 24th day of July, 1821, your Petitioner appeared in the Court of King's Bench to defend herself against an indictment instituted by a secret association of prosecutors, calling themselves a Society for the Suppression of Vice, but who, in fact, are a set of intolerant, bigoted persecutors, aiming chiefly at the suppression of virtue, or the truths that would inevitably arise from a free discussion of matters of theology and philosophy; in which indictment a selection from a pamphlet, entitled "An Appendix to the Theological Works of Thomas Paine," was charged as a blasphemous libel; and that in the course of her defence she had occasion to state that the Common Law, on which it was pretended that her indictment was founded, was a common abuse, and although the written defence with which she was prepared to defend herself fully bore out the assertion, and gave a complete explanation of the term used, the Judge (Sir William Draper Best) stopped her defence altogether, and would not allow her to offer another sentence, nor even the completion of that in the midst of which she was stopped, unless she would retract the assertion that the Common Law was a common abuse, and promise not to repeat it. Your Petitioner not feeling disposed to acquiesce in this arbitrary, unjust, illegal, and despotic command, was altogether prevented from making her defence, and the aforesaid Judge called upon the Jury

for their verdict, stating positively that the charge of the indictment was proper, and that the selection from the pamphlet in question was a blasphemous libel; upon which unfair assertion a verdict of Guilty was returned without any trial taking place, or without any defence being heard: whilst your Petitioner verily believes, that if she had received a fair hearing, she would have been acquitted of the charge on that indictment, as she was on a subsequent one on the same day, where she trusted her defence to a Counsel, whom the Judge repeatedly tried, in vain, to silence.

That, in the Michaelmas Term last, she employed Counsel to move for a new trial before a full Court, when Mr. Justice Best swayed the Court by a statement utterly false, that in the course of reading he had repeatedly complained of your Petitioner's defence before he stopped it altogether, when, in fact, not the least interruption occurred, nor was any objection made to a sentence, or even a word, until the afore-mentioned phrase was uttered, when it was stopped for once and altogether, without referring to the copy of the defence for an examination of the bearing of the phrase by the context, or even to see how it was modified by the conclusion of the sentence. In consequence of this false statement, Petitioner's Counsel was disconcerted in his argument, having no allusion to any such circumstance on his brief, because no such circumstance had occurred at the time of trial, in support of which assertion your Petitioner can bring forward the most respectable and most efficient evidence, and in contradiction of the statement of the Judge, which she should have done by affidavit before receiving the judgment of the Court, if she had been allowed time, and if she had not been hurried to Prison within two days of her Counsel's motion for a new trial.

That the sentence of the Court upon her after this unjust proceeding was a year's imprisonment in Dorchester Gaol, a fine of five hundred pounds, and securities for seven years to the amount of twelve hundred pounds: whereas, your Petitioner was merely a servant to her brother, and at no period of her life was she ever worth ten pounds; by reason of which fine she has no prospect whatever of being able to comply with the sentence from her own means, and without a remission of the fine, or public charity, she must be imprisoned for life. Such a sentence she submits to your Honourable House is a violation of the law as laid down in the Declaration of Rights, which says, that excessive fines shall not be imposed.

She further submits to your Honourable House, that the denial to her of the right to make a defence, a right never before disputed out of the Star Chamber, is a gross violation of the law and custom of this country committed by the said Sir William Draper Best, and countenanced by the other Judges of that Court; for which she prays the interference of your Honourable House, as the highest tribunal, to a full examination of the matter alleged in this Petition.

And sheweth, as a matter of elucidation of the severity and injustice of Petitioner's case, that the phrase of the Common Law being in many instances an abuse, is fully borne out by a reference to the Journals of your Honourable House, in which it will be found, that your Honourable House has lately interposed statute laws to repeal the laws relating to what has been called Witchcraft, and the Wager of Battle, as the last relic of the mode of trial by ordeal, such laws having been founded upon erroneous opinions, superstitions, and prejudices, which, from an improved state of knowledge, have fallen into desuetude, or have been considered particularly obnoxious and requiring abolition or correction. Your Petitioner therefore submits to your Honourable House, that it was not sufficient ground for the Judge to have stopped her defence from the use of such a phrase, particularly when it was held forth that the continuation of the defence would have explained and have convinced the Jury of the correctness of the assertion. She submits also, that the Jury ought to have been the Judges of her defence, and they were not allowed to hear it by the undue interference of the Judge.

Your Petitioner further submits, that there is another part of her case worthy of the most serious consideration of your Honourable House. Upon what is called the Common Law your Petitioner was indicted for an alleged blasphemous libel, the selection from the pamphlet setting forth that there was no connection between the books of the Old and the New Testaments; for which assertion, in the very selection alleged to be a libel, the authority of the late Archbishop Tillotson is brought forward, and an inference is drawn that the passages called prophecies in the books comprising the Old Testament are not in reality prophecies of the person of Jesus Christ, as mentioned in the books of the New Testament, by which the divinity of the Great Reformer of the Jews is disputed. Now, an act of your Honourable House, passed in the 53d of George the Third, entitled "An Act to relieve those Persons who impugn the

Doctrine of the Holy Trinity," which enactment implies the encouragement and legality of disputing the divinity of Jesus in the legality of impugning the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; nay, so wide a range does this legality to impugn the doctrine of the Holy Trinity take, that the persons who come under the denomination of Atheists may claim a legal right to impugn every principle of Theism under its sanction, by saying, that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is the doctrine of the Christian Deity, and an Act of the British Legislature, passed so late as the year 1813, has expressly and literally made it lawful to impugn that Deity, in direct contradiction of the principle, that Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land and of the pretended Common Law which is still kept in practice; and in consequence of the provisions of this Act of your Honourable House, the sect denominated Unitarians, for whose relief it was avowedly passed, professing to worship one God only, in unity and not in trinity, who have now chapels or places for worship and lecturing erected in almost every town in the country, are continually describing the sacred person of Jesus Christ, whom Christians worship as a branch of their Deity, as the Peasant of Judea and the Carpenter's Wife's Son, thereby stating that they believe him to have been a mere man; in which they are not only tolerated, but feel themselves secured by an express law, as above-mentioned.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays, that your Honourable House will obtain for her that justice which has been denied her in the Court of King's Bench, rescue her from the unjust judgment under which she is now suffering and the penalties imposed on her; and further, that your Honourable House will in its wisdom think fit to render the laws more decisive and intelligible on this head, as the late pretended proceeding by Common Law against your Petitioner has been in evident contradiction to the statute law above-mentioned.

And, as in duty bound,
Your Petitioner will ever pray,

MARY ANN CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 28, 1822.

SIR,
Dorchester Gaol, Feb. 28, 1822.
I TAKE the liberty to entrust to your care, for presentation to the Honourable the House of Commons, the Petition of

my sister, Mary Ann Carlile ; as the distinguished manner in which you before noticed the conduct of Mr. Justice Best, in the case of Mr. Davison, and the pledge you gave to the Honourable House to bring before it any and every similar abuse of the kind that should again occur, has rendered it a duty on my part to ask the favour of your presentation and support of this petition.

I or my sister will be ready, at a moment's notice, to give explanation and information on any and every point mentioned in the Petition, and for the accuracy of every point I undertake to vouch.

Should you, Sir, wish to examine the printed copy of the Suppressed Defence, or the Pamphlet indicted, or a Newspaper report of the proceedings in the Court of King's Bench on moving for a new trial, they shall be forwarded to your appointment.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
RICHARD CARLILE.

John Cam Hobhouse, Esq., M.P.
 6, Clarges Street, London.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR, 6, Albany Court, London.
 I HAVE received your letter, and also your Sister's Petition. With respect to the latter, I am sure it would come with greater weight from any other Member of the House of Commons than from myself. At the same time, I cannot but state my opinion, that no object whatever would be gained by the presentation of the Petition by any one. I shall keep the paper until you send for it.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
JOHN C. HOBHOUSE.

SIR, Dorchester Gaol, March 9, 1822.
 YOUR declining to present my Sister's Petition to the House of Commons places me in a very delicate position in regard to asking that favour (I should say *right*) from any other Member. There is no one statement in that Petition but my Sister can bring forward respectable persons to verify.

I understand the duty of an honest Member of Parliament to be, *not to refuse to lay before the House of Commons the grievance of any individual, however humble or whatever be its nature, where redress cannot be obtained in the ordinary Courts of Law.* This is my Sister's case. In this character she has applied to you as a Member who has made a great deal of profession upon the very subject of which she complains, and who stands pledged to the House to bring before it, with a "*substantial motion*," any arbitrary acts of the Judges that should follow Mr. Davison's case.

The object to be gained by presenting that Petition to the House of Commons is of the same description as all other objects where complaints are made of certain laws, or of the administration of law: but I had never entertained an idea that the prayer of the Petition would be listened to by a majority of the House of Commons, for a moment, yet much useful discussion may be raised upon the subject if there be a Member to be found bold and honest enough to present it in a becoming manner. This is the aim and end of all such Petitions. You have never seen a Petition presented to the House of Commons, complaining of the conduct of any of the Members of the present Government, the prayer of which has been attended to, or its professed object gained: therefore I am astonished at such an excuse from the Member for Westminster, whose constituents are constantly presenting such Petitions through their Members.

Pursuant to your request, I shall cause a person to call at your house for the paper some day next week, but should it be more agreeable to you to be rid of it by putting it under cover and sending it through the Post, or by servant if left with * * * * *, it will answer every purpose of mine.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
R. CARLILE.

We do not think it necessary to make the least comment on this correspondence. Those who have marked the many unperformed, big promises of Mr. Hobhouse, both in the House and out of the House, will perhaps recollect that his father was once as great a promiser, as little a performer, and bought by Pitt's party for a mere trifle; and that if the circumstances were in existence, it is more than probable that it would be like father like son throughout.

EDITOR.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE LONDON ZETETIC SOCIETY.

I. THAT no person shall be admitted a member without being first proposed at one of its meetings, and approved by a majority of the members present.

II. That every member subscribe, on admission, the sum of one shilling, and one shilling monthly, such subscription to be applied to defray the expences attending the proceedings; the overplus, if any, to be given towards the purchase of a library, &c.

III. That every member shall have the right of introducing one friend, besides ladies, provided the same person be not introduced as a visitor more than three times within one year. Visitors to have equally the right of speaking: the Chairman having the power to stop any one who occupies more than fifteen minutes.

IV. That any member may be expelled by a majority consisting of no less than two-thirds of the members present at any meeting, if confirmed by two-thirds of the members present at the following meeting. A week's notice of the motion for such expulsion shall be given to the society, and to the member proposed to be expelled.

V. A Treasurer and Secretary shall be appointed to receive the subscriptions, make disbursements, and record the proceedings of the society.

VI. The business of the Society shall be conducted as follows: a meeting shall be held in a place which will be made known to persons on becoming members, every Sunday evening, until a convenient and public place can be taken and announced, the business to commence by each member, in his turn, delivering a lecture, or reading a paper on any topic connected with Theological Controversy, Arts, Science, or History, selected by himself, and afterwards discussed by the meeting. The person furnishing a subject one evening, to act as president on the following evening, or in case of his absence a president to be chosen by the majority.

Persons wishing to become members of this society, are requested to leave their name and address either at No. 5,

Water Lane, Fleet Street; R. Helder's, 10, Duke Street, West Smithfield; or Mr. Griffin's, 11, Middle Row, Holborn.

The above Society has commenced purchasing a library, and has had a few meetings; and will, as early as possible, make itself public, or as soon as a proper place of meeting can be procured and established. Free discussion on all subjects, with philosophical pursuits, will form its ground work.

EDITOR.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

SIR,

As you have before admitted some of my rhymes into the pages of the Republican I have taken the liberty of sending you a few more. If the foregoing feeble squib, in the absence of a more powerful cracker, meets with your approval, its admission into your line of battle against Corruption's host, will oblige,

Sir, yours respectfully,

W. R.

THE PATRIOTS.

DULL Silence reign'd upon the banks of Thames,
And, in the arms of Morpheus, virtuous dames
Beside their faithful bridegrooms found repose;
While o'er their heads unnumber'd stars arose
To swell the gorgeous retinue of Night,
And give to wakeful lovers genial light.
Augusta's guardians waited for the sound
That should command them on their hourly round;
The tides, obedient to their queen alone,
In "undebauched loyalty" roll'd on;
While brightly she illumin'd St. Paul's clock,
And shed her radiance over—Puddledock;
Perchance, that night beneath its waters lay
A vampire, waiting the reviving ray
Of gentle Cynthia—anon it came,
Reanimating all his torpid frame.
St. Paul's strikes twelve—the sonorous sound he hears,
And from his bed of mud congenial rears
His watery head—its venerable locks
Drip in nice unison with distant clocks,

Which now with various intonated chime,
 Proclaim afar the reign of Night sublime,
 From Blackfriar's-bridge unearthly voices cry,
 Come forth! in Puddledock no longer lie!
 Murray come forth! to life and fame awake,
 Or sleep for ever in your murky lake.
 From arch to arch the echoing summons flies,
 Which to obey *instantly* Murray hies;
 To Puddledock he bids a long adieu;
 Changed from a vampire to a patriot true,
 He ardent wooes Britannia to his arms,
 To shield from violence her sacred charms.

An *honest* lawyer having lived before,
 He seeks instinctively his office door;
 On future fame in meditation sweet,
 He paces patiently each lonely street;
 At home arrived, with anxious thought oppress'd
 On his connubial couch he sinks to rest,
 Till through his window Sol's bright beams appear
 To light him on his glorious career.

O for some poet's fire whose deathless name
 Adorns the golden pinnacle of fame!
 O for those beams which great Apollo sheds
 On his aspiring votaries' favour'd heads!
 Then should my muse right worthily rehearse
 The Patriot's praises in immortal verse.
 Old Thames, exult, for near your classic flood
 Old Murray labours for his country's good;
 Murray, who loves his king and would embrace
 With joy ten thousand pictures of his face.
 Yes!—leader of the patriotic throng—
 Old Murray* claims the tribute of my song;
 O for the lyre of Pindar to proclaim!
 In loftiest lays of melody his name;
 To rescue him from Hone's vile insolence,
 And from the gaudy 'scutcheon of pretence
 Redeem his limbs, that form the noble arms
 Of his compeers in glory—war's alarms
 Against the impious and seditious, he
 Proclaims aloud, from love of lucre free.
 Slander avaunt! thou vile, malicious elf!
 Nor dare to whisper, "Murray loves himself"—
 Sings not our poet, Pope, that son of Fame
 Sweetly, self-love and social are the same?
 Besides, 'tis fitting, by the gods! I swear,
 That he who makes the church his constant care,
 Who both the altar and the throne sustains,
 Should reap the golden harvest of his pains.
 Then march on Murray—Glory's path pursue;
 Glory and gains are one, why make them two?

* The appellation *old* is not used disrespectfully, for age is honourable; it is merely intended to distinguish our hero from all the *young* Murrays, lest they should shine in borrowed splendour.

But, Muse, in humbly praising Britain's friend,
 The "leg improper, proper, and leg-bend"
 Are not thy theme—nor doth the goodly frame
 Which they so well support thy numbers claim;
 What though in Murray's "human face divine"
 The comeliest attributes of manhood shine,
 And in it tuneful Hayley* might have seen
 Triumphant temper amiably serene,
 Of these the wisest judges are the fair,
 Who mark each manly grace with special care;
 Some love-sick poetess whose tender heart
 Has felt the point of wanton Cupid's dart,
 Shot from dear Murray's amorous winning look,
 May on her loved Adonis write a book
 Of melting sonnets, fraught with burning sighs,
 And say—"for love of Murray Flora dies."

Another theme is mine, his God-like mind,
 Bent restless on the good of human kind!
 In vain our noble senate-houses stand,
 Their inmates cannot save our sinking land;
 Murray must seize and guide the helm instead,
 And lo! the patriot's temple rears its head,
 Within the sound of Paul's portentous clock,
 And near his recent dwelling—Puddledock.
 Let no sarcastic rebel scorn the place,
 In mud or muddy brains there's no disgrace,
 Ev'n though that coarse commodity were found
 In Murray's head with such bright genius crown'd.

Brave Britons be no more cajoled by words,
 Mere words, in House of Commons or of Lords,
 But bless kind providence for having sent,
 In time of need, great Sewell's Parliament;
 In *time of need* it came, by Heaven's behest;
 As Murray and dear Budworth can attest.
 No Manners Sutton here shall e'er preside,
 Nor doubting Eldon be the senates guide,
 Let him go crying, doubting, to his grave,
 For Byron's "Cain" has *mark'd* him fool or knave;
 Still on the Woolsack he may shed a tear,
 For Murray only shall be Mentor here;
 Save when in fits of condescending grace
 He kindly yields to good Sir John the place.

And hark! for hearts congenial to his own
 He calls to rally round great George's throne;
 Anon they come obedient to his call,
 With ducal caps and mitres crown'd withal;
 Peers and their dames forget their wonted pride,
 And stand with humble plebians side by side;
 No more their noble pedigrees they trace
 To conquering William, but with christian grace
 Nature's true genealogy receive,
 And father Adam own and mother Eve.

* Author of "Triumphs of Temper," a Poem.

All trace their origin to those glad hours
 When our enamoured sire, in Eden's bowers,
 (As Milton sings) woo'd beauteous Eve to wed,
 And press'd with her the roseate nuptial bed.
 Perchance, some fair ones with their beauties try
 To tempt the touch or catch the admiring eye,
 Some duke, or lord, in whispers talks of love,
 But graver patriots their peers reprove;
 "Silence your Grace"—"hush, ladies, not a word
 Great Murray speaks and Murray must be heard."
 "A pin-drop silence" now pervades the scene,
 (Save when clandestine wooings intervene)
 And thus with ardour that all hearts enflames,
 The noble-minded orator exclaims:—
 "All hail! ye high-born pillars of the state,
 We meet for Britain's welfare to debate,
 The tottering altar and the throne to save
 From sinking prematurely to their grave.
 Most noble peers! the swinish multitude
 Must by our speedy union be subdued,
 Or by great Lucifer! (bright son of morn!)
 Your titles, lands, and sinecures are gone,
 For that arch-devil knowledge walks abroad,
 Prohibiting all homage but to God.
 The ducal bonnet and the mitre now
 Command no suppliant reverential bow.
 Nay, men beneath the regal rod repine,
 And dare deny a monarch's right divine;
 No longer with true vassal-grace they bend,
 But for their rights audaciously contend.
 No potent logic can convince the slaves
 Of error, or repel sedition's waves
 From the prerogative of kingly sway,
 Though holy bishops exorcise and pray,
 While saucy politicians wield the pen
 To advocate the rights of common men.
 Shall they dictate to prince, or duke, or lord?
 Great-Captain of the Age unsheathe thy sword!
 Yet stay awhile, your Grace, we Christians must
 Learn to be merciful as well as just;
 We will awhile with their perverseness strive,
 We will not kill but bury them alive.
 Immured, enchain'd, on bread and water fed,
 The demagogues will in effect be dead.
 Your purse-strings draw, the glorious libel laws
 Will well defend, my friends, our falling cause.
 And first to save the populace from Hell
 (Which plea methinks all others must excell)
 I'll sally forth—dear Budworth in my rear—
 With love of country full, but free from fear—
 And rase that dreadful pestilential pile,
 The boasted temple of the fiend Carlike!
 For though elsewhere seditious vipers hiss,
 Their venom's harmless, Sir, compared to this

Corroding poison, this profane Address
 Against all royalty and blessedness,
 Which in my hand I bear, and fain would read,
 But, that methinks 'twould be a damning deed
 To pour such blasphemies around me here
 As on this black infernal page appear."

Great Murray ended, and in all their ears
 "So charming leaves his voice" that he appears
 Still speaking till as from a thunder-cloud
 Th' applause burst forth in peals both long and loud.—
 A sound more sweet, than from the wild-harp flows
 Greets Murray's ear, sweet voices now propose
 That they from overflowing coffers bring
 Bright tributes forth to their loved church and king!
 Soon belles and beaus, young, old, deformed and fair,
 With pious zeal their shining offerings bear
 To loyalty's proud shrine, and fondly hope
 Victoriously with Jacobins to cope;
 The blooming maids, though they for bridegrooms sigh,
 Vow they'll ne'er wed them, though they maidens die;
 The buxom widows, in their weeds protest,
 Though Hymen's antique fashion suits them best,
 They never will his sacred torch profane
 By being bound in an unholy chain.
 The wrinkled virgins tremulously say,—
 (While false black ringlets hide the genuine gray)
 They'll frown on every swain who dares to woo
 Unless he proves a loyal man and true.
 Thus far the fair—the swains the strain prolong,
 And Wellington leads on the bounteous throng,
 Gives all that's left by dice, and w——s, and wine,
 A willing offering at Religion's shrine!
 And doubtless here the noble duke design'd
 To read a "moral lesson" to mankind!
 Dear Budworth smiles at Murray, knowing well
 That treasure given to save poor souls from hell
 Will purchase something like a heaven for them,
 Whate'er befalls the "spotless diadem."

But thou resplendent sun of Waterloo!
 Brave votary of Mars and Venus too,
 How shall I sing of thee, whom all the fair
 The *ablest* Captain of the Age declare;
 Whose prowess nymphs and swains alike approve
 And hail thee *non-pareil* in war and love?
 Though the bold Louis rules his native land,
 And Spaniards own beloved Ferdinand,
 But how unlike that pious prince art thou,
 No saintly wreath shall deck thy rakish brow;
 His royal fingers wrought one Virgin's vest,
 While thine, perhaps, unveiled another's breast,
 To prove that beauty needs not care nor cost
 But "is when unadorn'd adorn'd the most."
 Had beauty's queen assailed thee with her charms
 And woo'd thee to the Heaven of her arms,

As once, 'tis said, she young Adonis press'd,
 But press'd in vain, to be supremely bless'd,
 Like him, thou wouldst not churlishly have flown
 From the allurements of her unveil'd zone.—

But cease, my muse, the province to invade
 Of many a beauteous captivated maid
 Whom gratitude might tenderly inspire
 In her loved hero's praise to sweep the lyre,
 Some lady in the list of those fair friends
 To whom thy pure Platonic love extends
 Who entertains thee at the festive board
 Or ought beside of her dear *absent* lord.

Ye other numerous worthies who belong
 To this transcendent patriotic throng
 Your righteous meed of praise you must excuse;
 My unpoetical and fireless muse
 Cannot proceed—her Pegasus is tired!
 Some poet with true inspiration fired
 Shall sing your praise in strains that shall survive
 As long as despots reign and serviles live.
 Nought but accursed Freedom's wild-fire light
 Shall ever eclipse your page of glory bright,
 Nay, even then shall live each honour'd name
 "Damn'd," through each age "to everlasting fame."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MANY enquiries have been made when the publication of the Second and following Days' Proceedings on the Mock Trials of Mr. Carlile will commence. To this it is answered, that no opportunity will be lost for completing the publication, but it may be two or three months before any thing further of it will be printed. The demand for the First Day's Proceedings equals for the present our means of keeping them in print, and we wish to see something of the extent of the demand before the Second Day is proceeded with. The moment we begin with the Second Day, the whole will be very soon finished, of which due notice will be given, and the publication will go on at Twopence per Sheet, as it commenced. All Subscribers are advised to complete their First Day's Proceedings as early as possible, as "The Age of Reason" being perfect in it, at the small price of Half-a-Crown, a demand is calculated upon, that will require our utmost exertions for some months to supply.

Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street. All Communications (post paid) are requested to be sent to Dorchester Gaol, until a further Address to some House or Shop be given.—Orders, with remittances, or references for payment, will be punctually attended to. Country Agents will find the most liberal Terms for prompt Payment.

The Republican.

No. 19. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, May 10, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, May 7,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

PURSUING my object of contending for the superiority of a complete Representative System of Government, over which no checks of any kind shall exist, I shall enquire in the present article, what period of the British History is worthy of our imitation, or whether there ever has been a Government in this Island deserving to be called free, upon our present views of what constitutes freedom, or such as is exhibited to us by the Constitutions of the Republics of America, or even by the Monarchical Constitution of Spain?

It is not necessary for me to go back to the period when civil war raged for centuries between what were called the Houses of York and Lancaster; and it is now equally a folly to talk about our British or our Saxon ancestors, our Edwards or our Henries; let us take in the two last Henries as a beginning, because, during their reigns the rage of civil war ceased: and no sooner had it ceased than an era of religious persecution and judicial robbery commenced. This will be going back full three centuries, quite far enough for one who has no conceit to be deemed an antiquarian.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh there was great discontent, and frequent insurrections, arising out of the avarice of the Monarch, who fleeced his subjects at pleasure, for no other purpose than to fill a number of coffers with gold. There was nothing worthy of being called a Parliament in that reign, or the voice of the People in that Parliament, had no more effect than the bleating of their sheep; both were sheared alike. It was this fellow, who was so conscious of his tyranny as to be in constant fear of an attack upon his life, that first originated a standing army in time

of peace in England. It was he who established what is called the Yeomen or Body Guard of the King. In his time monopolies for securing to individuals, by what were called patents, the right to furnish the whole of certain articles that were consumed, were carried to a most atrocious length. A set of vile courtiers, either by dint of favour or money, would obtain these patents from the King, and then charge whatever they liked for the article; and cause fines and imprisonments to be inflicted in the most summary manner on those who should be found infringing what was called their right and patent! In this reign lived two wretches of Judges, who were hung in the next, called Empson and Dudley. These fellows held peculiar commissions from the King, both to extend patents and to punish what they would consider infringements on those patents. In fact, there was scarce a man of property in the country but these fellows would get into their meshes and fleece at pleasure, and all upon the strength of what they called the law of the land. They talked of the law of the land in exactly the same strain as Abbott, Best, Bailey, and little Jeff do now, and felt the same authority, and displayed the same tyranny. But they were hanged at last. Mark that! This was a most odious and oppressive reign for the people. Henry the Seventh was a sullen miser-like tyrant, and these are the worst of all tyrants, for scarce any one can thrive or be happy under such a wretch.

Next came his son, Harry the Eighth, the exact prototype of our present King. He squandered all his father had accumulated, made whatsoever women he wished the subject of his lust, and thought nothing more of taking off the head of one wife, than of going to bed to a new one. His father had robbed the people of all they had to spare, and this fellow laid his hands on the churches, abbies, and monasteries, and stripped them of almost every thing that was convertible into money. He made very great pretensions about religion, and although he was really ignorant, and a mere brute, yet to differ in opinion with him upon the definition of a word was a sure prelude to the scaffold or the stake. A brute himself, he openly told the people of England that they were brutes, and expressed a wonder how they should dare to murmur to him, or to judge whether his conduct towards them was right or wrong. Parliaments, he declared, had no authority but to supply his wants and to vote him supplies. Yet this fellow was the first English King who was called *Sacred Majesty* and

Defender of the Faith! It was high treason to imagine his death, or to say that he would even die a natural death! There was nothing in this reign, I presume, worthy the notice of those who call themselves Radical Reformers, and talk about restoring the British Constitution to its original purity! Wonderful purity! where shall we find it?

Next comes Edward the Sixth, who dying a minor, of course could scarcely be said to reign. His Protectors and Ministers made pretty work in his time, and it is generally supposed that he fell a victim to poisonous drugs through their intrigues, and a hope that some branch of one of their families would succeed him to the throne.

Edward being dead, there was an actual vacancy on the throne, for the two surviving daughters of Old Harry had both been illegitimatised by Act of Parliament; but as the people of England in those days were mere savages in manners and in knowledge, they would have thought the world would end if they had no King or Queen, and for almost the first time, they hoisted a woman to the throne, as the Empress Maud could scarcely be said to have reigned. This woman was she whom we call the Bloody Queen Mary. Being a bigot of a worst species than her father; and Luther, Calvin, and others having raised the cry of Reformation, she burnt by wholesale all the heretics and blasphemers who read the Bible, or any part of it, or who could not answer all the questions of her Bishops, (Bonner, and others,) upon subjects whereon they could derive no information but from the contradictory babbling of the Priests. There was nothing, I presume, very pure or enviable in this part of the British Constitution.

Next came Elizabeth, who, as a whore, a tyrant, and a deceitful woman, forms a complete prototype for the late Catherine of Russia. Elizabeth was lewd, vindictive, and cruel; lavish in her favours to favourites, who were frequently changed, she never failed to seek the life of those who offended her. She was not exactly a bigot in religion, considering the times in which she lived, although many were destroyed for their opinions in her reign. She had the knack of getting popularity in consequence of not treating the people with so much harshness and contempt as her sister and father had done, and for this forbearance alone has she obtained all the undeserved eulogiums that have been passed upon her! She forbid every thing like a display of power on the part of the Parliament and would threaten the Speaker and Members with pains and penalties if any sub-

ject was discussed that did not meet her approbation! Oh! the glorious days of good Queen Bess! Her Parliaments were as succumbing as she was despotic, and this I presume would not suit as a model for our antiquarian constitutional puritans. She died at last on the floor, refusing for many days to be undressed, or covered, or fed, from a sullen fit occasioned by one of the ladies of her court who had interfered and defeated one of her intrigues with the Earl of Essex, so as to bring him to the block. A sort of intrigue, jealousy and treachery that is continually in practice where there are Kings, Queens and Courtiers, although popular contempt for the whole has reduced the power of taking away lives upon this head, and exclusion from the Royal Presence is now the only punishment in vogue!

Another actual vacancy occurred on the throne but in obedience to the will of the Queen, verbally expressed; a Jamie Stuart was fetched from Scotland with a train of needy followers to riot on the industry of the English People. However, as I before observed, there was yet no notion of a Representative System of Government, and a King was considered as necessary as a Priest to the well-being of society; the one to take care of the bodies, the other of the souls of the dupes. We are beginning to know better, at last, and another vacancy on the throne would require something more than a Scotchman or a German to fill it.

This subject will be too extensive for me to complete this week. I have neither time nor space to do it justice, therefore I shall finish it in my next address.

I feel assured that there is nothing pure in the heads of those who talk about restoring the purity of the British Constitution. There never was a good government in this country that lasted a second reign, which assertion I challenge any man to contradict, and I will engage to meet him fairly by a display of historical facts and statements, and I think I may venture to affirm that there cannot be a good government unless it be where an intelligent people can govern themselves by their representatives, annually or biennially chosen or changed.

R. CARLILE.

CONTINUATION OF THE REPORT OF THREE PUBLIC MEETINGS HELD AT LEEDS.

THE following is the connecting comment that should have accompanied the imperfect reports of the proceedings at Leeds, on the subject of addressing Sir Charles Wolseley. The whole matter was sent to the Press with an intention of having it printed as a pamphlet, but the pressure of other matter delayed it so as to urge its appearance in "The Republican;" and the report of each day's proceedings being sealed up in different packets, and the following connection in another by itself, in setting up the matter for "The Republican," the Compositor took the proceedings in their apparent order without examining the fourth packet, which should have embraced the whole, and thus led to the mistake that has occurred. The documents were not received from Leeds until the middle of March, and all that now appears was then written to accompany them. Every apology is offered to our readers for this error and confused statement, but on the appearance of the whole, though irregular, they will not fail to see through the whole affair, and receive the same impression as if the thing had been printed in a proper manner.

EDITOR.

The Triumph of Honest Principle over Faction; being a Report of the Proceedings of Three Public Meetings held in the Town of Leeds, respecting an Address voted to Sir Charles Wolseley on his Liberation from Abingdon Gaol, with Strictures on the Conduct of the Leaders of the Faction calling themselves Radicals at Leeds.

On Monday, the 10th of December, 1821, a Public Meeting was held in the town of Leeds, pursuant to public advertisement, for the purpose of addressing Sir Charles Wolseley on his liberation from confinement. Mr. Joseph Wasse was called to the Chair, and the business of the Meeting was opened by Mr. Mason in the following speech.

[This speech is to be found at page 501.]

At the close of this speech, Mr. Mason proposed that the following Address should be adopted as the Address of the Meeting.

[Printed at page 503.]

Mr. James Maun then came forward to second the motion for adopting the foregoing Address, and addressed the assembly as follows.

[Speech to be found at 502.]

Mr. Brayshaw then stepped forward and spoke to the following effect.

[Speeches in moving and seconding amended Address at 504, and following pages.]

Mr. Mason then stepped forward in support of his Address, and argued, that although he would not condemn the principle of a pure Representative System of Government, or a Republic, as visionary, still he would condemn the pursuit of it in this country as visionary at this moment.

Mr. Brayshaw replied to him in one of his sound and convincing speeches, and argued, that of all the schemes for Reform, now the general topics of conversation, the least visionary was the pure Representative System, or what, in other words, is denominated Republicanism; and if

any were more easily attainable than the other, it was the one for which he now contended.

[Here should have followed the observations of Messrs. Braithwaite, Ward, Whincup, and Hurtle, as at page 508.]

The Chairman then put the two Addresses to a shew of hands, when the amended Address was carried by a large majority; but such was the mortification of those who called the Meeting, and brought forward the first Address, that, doubting their own eyes, they called for a division, which was instantly acceded to amidst the cheers of the triumphing party, and the abashed looks of the minority. So confident were the persons calling themselves Radical Reformers, without defining their principles, or what they mean by the appellation they assume, that their Address would not be amended, or an opposition effectually offered, that they exhibited it for months before the time of meeting, and before Sir Charles was liberated. The first Address was the composition of Mr. Mason, and accords with all his frothy effusions, his words without meaning, and figures without application, calculated to enchant and delude the ignorant and unwary, but which a man with a very small portion of common sense can disperse with a breath as he would an air-borne bubble. His Address was exhibited as a master-piece of composition, and a sort of compromise on the part of the Radical Reformers with the Aristocracy, on the subject of rank, rights, titles, and privileges; a falling back which more than one of the persons who call themselves Leaders of the Radical Reformers begin to exhibit.

But these recreant and compromising Radicals of Leeds were not content with defeat and a flagrant exposure of a lack of all sound and useful principle, but they added dishonesty to it; and as the Chairman of the Meeting was one of the defeated party, he neglected to forward the amended Address to its destination. The Republicans had not expected such unfair play, even from men whose sincerity they doubted, and it was not known for some weeks after, until a wonder was raised why Sir Charles did not answer the Address, that it was never officially sent, although it was printed in "The Manchester Observer," in Mr. Hunt's "Memoirs," and in "The Black Dwarf," with a garbled report of the proceedings, or with two speeches only which accompanied the rejected Address, that is, the first speech of Mr. Mason and Mr. Mann, as here copied. This is a specimen of Radical impartiality when beset by honest men. This is what is to be expected from those "great and exclusive channels of Radical intelligence." The rejected Address was not given, nor one word of the argument which caused the Meeting to reject the one and support the other. Call you this free and fair discussion? Radicals, you must reform yourselves, as the first and most important step towards a Radical Reform.

After a great deal of surmise and wonder on the part of the majority who had carried the amended Address why it was not answered, it began to be whispered about that it had not been forwarded, and that the excuse of the Chairman for not forwarding it, was because they had no money subscribed that they could send to the Great Northern Union, but that the Address should go as soon as they could make a remittance. Now, the persons who voted the Address were not subscribers to this Union, therefore, the excuse was an infamy worse than the neglect. The Northern Union, as it regarded the Address, was a private affair of the Chairman's, and its failure was no ground of neglecting to forward the Address agreeable to his duty as Chairman of the Meeting that had voted it.

In consequence of this neglect, a few of those persons who had carried

the amended Address assembled privately and passed the following Resolution.

[Here should have followed the Resolution at page 539.]

This Resolution led to the drawing up an Address, which was presented to Mr. Wasse, who made the excuse before-mentioned, and which led to the calling of another Public Meeting, for the purpose of re-voting the Address and sending it by another Chairman. The proceedings of which Meeting were as follows.

[Reported at page 540.]

Mr. Braithwaite, the Chairman, having forwarded the Address to Sir Charles Wolseley, immediately received the following answer:—

“ SIR,

“ I RECEIVED the Address from the Reformers of Leeds, which is flattering in the extreme; and I cannot help expressing how pleased I am to think so many of my brother Reformers are so well satisfied with my political conduct. What I have been, I flatter myself I shall continue to be. I must, however, acknowledge, that you have placed me in a dilemma by the sort of schism that, I am sorry to find, exists amongst you; my knowledge of this disagreement comes from my having received the *same Address* from Mr. Joseph Wasse, who has given his account of this disagreeable business. It is not for me to judge, at this distance, which party is right, my part is only to lament there should be any disunion among the Radical Reformers. He informs me, that it is occasioned by many of them wishing that the funds of the Northern Union should be appropriated to the sole use of Mr. Carlile and Family. This, I must say, I have a difficulty in giving entire credit to, for if a Union of Reformers is established for one specific purpose, surely, no Member of that Union would wish to pervert it. If there are any who wish to advocate the cause of Mr. Carlile, let them do it by all means: but, for God's sake, let them leave the Great Northern Union to effect that for which it was solely and only established.

“ I shall write to Mr. Wasse by this post, and shall copy what I have written above; and shall be happy to hear on my return from Paris, where I am going in a day or two for a few weeks, on particular business, that all disagreements are made up.

“ And remain, Sir, your obliged and obedient Servant.

“ C. WOLSELEY.”

“ Wolseley, Jan. 30.”

The Addressers of Sir Charles Wolseley were astonished at the contents of this Letter, as far as it regarded the statement of Mr. Wasse, and were highly pleased with the candour of the Baronet in stating what he had heard. Mr. Wasse must have calculated on the Baronet being like himself, a mere man of intrigue among parties, to have put forth such a base and unfounded tale, as the cause of the delay of the Address, and the disputes between the Reformers of Leeds.

In consequence of this answer from Sir Charles Wolseley to the Address, a Public Meeting was immediately announced in the following manner:—

“ A Public Meeting will be held on the evening of Thursday next, the 7th of February, in a large Room opposite the Spread Eagle Inn, Meadow Lane, at Eight o'Clock, for the purpose of hearing the Answer of Sir C. Wolseley to the Address voted at two Public Meetings, held on Dec. 10th, 1821, and Jan. 25th, 1822; and for the further purpose of enquiring into the grounds on which the Chairman of the Meeting held on the 10th of December, has stated to Sir Charles that “ the disunion amongst the Reformers was occasioned by many of them wishing that the funds of the Northern Union should be appropriated to the sole use of Mr. Carlile and Family.—Leeds, Feb. 4th, 1822.”

At this Meeting the following Resolutions were unanimously passed :—

Resolved,

1. That no individual who took part in getting up the amended Address which was voted on the two former Meetings, or in sending the Address to Mr. Wasse, in consequence of his delay, had any controul over the funds of the Northern Union; and we challenge either Mr. Wasse or any other person to prove the contrary.

2. That the account of the Chairman of the 10th of December, in which he stated to Sir Charles, the cause of the disunion arose from many of the Reformers wishing to appropriate the funds of the Northern Union to the sole use of Mr. Carlile and Family, appears to be nothing but a base subterfuge in order to cover his own negligence, as those who got up the amended Address never had any connection with the Northern Union, either directly or indirectly.

3. That in consequence of the Chairman of the 10th of December not having attended this Meeting in order to explain the reasons of his late conduct, it is necessary, in order to place the matter fairly before the public, that the whole proceedings should be published.

Mr. Wasse had been invited to this Meeting, and after the Resolutions had been passed, and some other business taken up, about a quarter before ten o'clock Mr. Wasse entered with his friends, Mr. Mason and Mr. Mann. The Chairman enquired if Mr. Wasse was prepared to support the statement he had sent to Sir Charles Wolseley. Mr. Mason rose to defend the conduct of Mr. Wasse, but suffered the old embittered feeling about his rejected Address to supersede every other object. He complained that Mr. Wasse was too impartial as a Chairman in allowing such long speeches to be made against the first Address, and if he had been in the Chair he would have stopped them! forgetting, that instead of defending Mr. Wasse, he was, in reality, sinking him deeper in the mire and himself with him. He was replied to by Mr. Smithson, who observed, that the duty of a Chairman was to hear every man whilst he confined himself to the object of the Meeting, and that any man had an undoubted right to offer and support an amendment to any proceedings, and no man had a right to thrust his favourite dogmas down the throats of a company in spite of their reason. If the pretended friends of universal liberty could have the audacity to advocate such a doctrine, the despotism of Castlereagh was mildness to it.

Messrs. Wasse, Mason, and Mann, then left the room without having made a word of defence for the false statement made to Sir Charles Wolseley, evincing how much better it is to support principles than men, and what a never-ending dilemma those men fall into who look at men alone and think nothing of principles.

The Republicans of Leeds entertain a very high opinion of Sir Charles Wolseley, and were really anxious to pay him every possible respect. Judge, then, of their chagrin and disappointment on finding they had been so shamefully deceived by Mr. Wasse! In resolving to print these proceedings, they challenge contradiction to the reports and statements here made, and should they not meet contradiction or answer, the conduct of the party impeached must be viewed as sufficiently outrageous to shame them into obscurity and silence on all future public matters.

Respecting the Great Northern Radical Union, it was lately blazoned forth in the "the great channel for Radical intelligence," that at its commencement some obstacles were opposed to it in Leeds, but that now they were surmounted, and a support equal to the extent of the place would be found from it; when, in fact, up to this moment, an average of

half-a-crown a week has not been subscribed to it in that town. The case is, the Leeds people see through the thing, and they have once before been duped by the same men who manage the present subscription in regard to the application of the money of what was called the Leeds Union.

It is disgusting to hear the great Chroniclers of Radical Intelligence talking about the Boroughmongers beginning to tremble at the funds of the Great Northern Radical Union, when, in reality, scarce £200 have yet been paid to the Treasurer, or at the time of writing this, (the middle of March).

The only Political Union that is deserving the support of honest men, would be a Union for the propagation of sound, intelligible, and well-defined political principles among the mass of the people. Such a Union as this would lead on to that most important of all Unions, that is, it would prepare the great body of the people for a united resistance to all tyranny and oppression. There would be no need to wait for the raising of great sums of money for the purposes of this Union; there would be no need of confiding heavy sums or balances to any one individual, or to few individuals. The weekly collections would be weekly expended, and the propagation of sound principles incessantly carried on. The plan suggested resembles the Religious Tract Societies, and should be carried on upon the same principle with a few improvements.

In every town there should be a Union Library, consisting of the very best works for improving the mind, both in morals and in politics. Contiguous to this library should be a large room or hall for lectures and discussions, and for all Public Meetings, rendered sufficiently commodious and comfortable, so as to leave no excuse for resorting to an ale-house for any of those purposes.

After keeping this Library well stocked with the most important works, the surplus subscription-money may be consumed in gratuitous distribution of the most approved tracts on the most important subjects. Such a Union as this would be at once respectable and important. Something of the kind, on a small scale, exists in Edinburgh and in Stockport. Without an effectually enlightened people, we shall never have an enlightened, well-conducted, and humane Government. Many people calling themselves humane, now-a-day, are found to defend absolute power upon the pretence of popular ignorance, and the excuse, that the people would turn liberty into anarchy. Anarchy will only exist with ignorance. Remove ignorance, and you will remove all the danger that arises from anarchy.

It is the knowledge of and adherence to sound and well-defined principles that can alone produce a great National Union. Knowledge is power, an axiom not now denied. Extend popular knowledge, and you extend popular union and popular power. A subscription of money for the purpose of buying up or destroying corruption, is one of the greatest humbugs that ever was attempted upon a cheated and deluded people. Of all the methods for resisting corruption that ever have been broached, this is the most contemptible and the most outrageous to intelligent minds. Look at it, Reformers! Look at the principle, and not the men who support or originate it!

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

FELLOW CITIZEN,

Manchester, April 29, 1822.

WE the members of the Miles Platting Reading Society, together with a few friends at Failsworth, do ourselves the honour of again subscribing our mites towards the payment of your fines. We have to congratulate you on the wide diffusion of your principles, in Manchester and its vicinity, and if the next year brings with it, an accession of numbers to the standard of reason equal to the last, we shall then have nothing to fear from the opposition of those plundering bandittis, nor of the vile insinuations of pretended friends. We know not what those men would have who preach about obtaining a Reform, yet disclaim the principles of Thomas Paine or a Representative System of Government. It is evident that a change is fast approaching in this country. Now Reform is a change, or a revolution from bad to good, and any Reform or revolution short of an elective or really Representative System can produce no lasting benefits to a nation, therefore we do not wish to possess such a Reform, and we believe that three-fourths of the reformers at this moment are with us on this point, and would have been long ago, had it not been for the wild denunciations that have at times issued from the press of those misleaders of Reform. However we have nothing to fear from them, their opposition to us will excite inquiry, and inquiry leads to correct opinions. We are rather inclined to smile at the childish petulance with which these men rave at the opposition that has been at last excited by their aspersion of the principles of one of the best and bravest of mankind. They have been unceasingly employed in heaping insult and contumely upon the advocates of a Representative System of Government, and now when the silent contempt, with which their mischievous practices have been too long observed, has, at length, been changed for the open reproof of virtuous indignation they writhe and lament over their falling fortunes, and make piteous outcries against the vexatious opposition of those who will not allow the principles of the immortal Paine to be stifled, in order to make room for the desperate ambition of one who cannot bear the thoughts of an equal in the political world. They may now perceive their whimpering and wailing, will be vain and futile. There is a spirit of inquiry pervading the whole people of Britain, and nothing can stay its progress. The spirit of the nation has awoken; and they may as well attempt to fetter the North wind with a cobweb as to imagine that Englishmen wishing to be free, and indignant at the chains they have too long borne, can be deterred from expressing their abhorrence of all Systems of Monarchy, and their open avowal of

and determination to support the principles of the philanthropic Paine.

Although we cannot repress our sympathy for your late shopmen, yet we are of opinion that the cruel and vindictive sentences passed upon them, will rather benefit than injure our cause. It is a proof our persecutors cannot stand the test of discussion when they have recourse to brutal force. Those unjust sentences are each a strong symptom of the dissolution of their power.

Persecution ever did and ever will make proselytes, so let them proceed in the manner in which they have begun; they may fine, imprison and doom to hard labour, but they cannot destroy the principle, as John Thelwall observes, "The spirit of a great Reformer martyred for a glorious principle, will rise again. The Phoenix mind springs triumphant from the Pyre; and the winds that scatter the ashes of the martyr, propagate the principles for which he fell."

You will oblige us by remembering us to Mrs. Carlile and your worthy sister Mary Ann Carlile, also to Rhodes, Holmes, and all our persecuted friends, and we assure them nothing can be stronger than our detestation and abhorrence of their blood-thirsty persecutors, and we fervently hope that the day will soon arrive when they will receive some recompence for the many privations and sufferings they undergo in the great cause of universal liberty. In the hope that we may soon see you at liberty, and our oppressors suffering condign punishment and all our fellow creatures enjoying the privileges of rational beings.

I remain, dear Sir, on behalf of the whole,

Your humble admirer,

JOHN HARPER.

Subscriptions from the Miles Platting Reading Society.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Charles Hawsworth	2	0	George Bertinshaw	0	6
George Webster	0	6	William Cochrane	0	6
Dawson Addison	1	6	C. a Friend	0	6
William Nelson	2	0	Charles Coyle	0	6
Three Carliles a match for three			John Greenwood	1	2
score thousand Priests	1	0	Jeremiah Connelly	0	6
Lupton Benn	1	0	John Manchester	0	3
A Lover of Truth	1	0	H. F. a Friend	1	0
A Sceptic	1	6	William Warburton	0	6
Elijah Ridings	5	0	Samuel Johnstone	0	3
Joseph Fitton	1	0	H. T. R. a Friend	0	6
Joseph Collinson	0	6	Bradildwand Taylor	0	6
John Tarn	1	6	Old Flaxenhead	2	0
J. T.	2	6	John Lee, Spinner	1	0
Charles Ridings	2	0	I scorn a lying Priest	0	6
An Enemy to the present Sys-			Four Friends to liberal Sentiments	4	0
tem of School Education	5	0	A Welshman	2	6
William Houton	0	6	A Friend to Freedom	0	6
Joseph Broadie	2	6	A Friend to Liberty	0	4

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Hindley	0	6	Franklin's Ephemeron	2	6
Thomas Sunderland	0	6	T. B. a Freethinker	2	0
John Tongue and Teeth	0	6	John Harper	8	0
Death to Tyrants	0	6	An Enemy to that Craft that can		
Isaac Ashton	5	0	render us no assistance when		
Haslingden	2	6	we stand most in need	2	0
Thomas Wood, a Friend to Deism	1	0	An Inspector of Religion	5	0
J. B. Mellor, Do.	1	0	Leo, or may the Lion tear down		
George Rainskar	1	0	all Hypocrites	0	6
John Rathbury	1	0	R. C. a Materialist	1	0
John Tute	1	0			

TO MR. JOHN HARPER, MANCHESTER.

WORTHY CITIZEN, Dorchester Gaol, May 5, 1822.

THE handsome support which I continue to receive from the members of the Miles Platting Reading Society, calls forth my warmest acknowledgment and gratitude, and strengthens my opinions of the importance of such associations as a union for the support of sound principles and free discussion; for I am not vain enough to imagine that I possess any distinct personal qualifications that command your esteem, or that have called forth your support. I aim at nothing more than a complete identification with the principles I advocate, and which you approve and advocate in your turn. Your subscriptions and my imprisonment should be viewed as equal sacrifices to procure an equal good, or a common benefit for all in practising and supporting the right of free discussion in opposition to the corrupt and tyrannical power that forbids it.

I daily become more and more convinced of the necessity of supporting all the political propositions of Thomas Paine, and I venture the prediction that there will be no real liberty, no stable government, no social compact, in this country, before a majority of the People shall determine to put these propositions in practice. There are certainly several men whom I could wish to see speaking out upon this matter, but I feel assured their silence cannot change principles, nor much retard the power of propagating those which we conceive to be the best, unless they can shew us how and where we are in error. I shall continue to speak all I think, as what I conceive to be the duty of every public writer, and the proper characteristic of manhood and of liberty. I never will confess myself a slave, although I may be compelled

to submit to a power that I have not physical strength to resist. I may submit until I can resist effectually, but I will not profess respect for the tyranny that persecutes and robs me, even if it be demanded upon pain of further penalties than those already imposed. The power that robs and persecutes me for the expression of an opinion, will apply to another, therefore it becomes the duty of all to assist in putting it down, for whilst it has existence there is no social compact inviolate, there is nothing like liberty.

We must derive sufficient power from the extension of our knowledge and our numbers to cope with the tyranny that oppresses us. This is the only clue to the acquirement of liberty, be it our duty to pursue it.

I am, respected Citizen,

Yours, in pursuit of the common weal,
R. CARLILE.

AN ADDRESS TO MRS. AND MARY-ANN CARLILE, FROM THE FEMALE REPUBLICANS OF MAN- CHESTER.

BELoved AND HIGHLY ESTEEMED SISTERS,
We, the undersigned Females, possessing liberal principles, and hearts of humanity towards our fellow females and sisters in the cause of Liberty, now suffering confinement in Dorchester Gaol for advocating truth and reason, beg you to accept both our condolence and congratulation: To Mrs. Carlile, for doing what every honest and virtuous woman considers to be her duty, namely, to obey the voice of her husband, according with what every married woman promises in her marriage ceremony, we offer our thanks for her good example. It is with horror and detestation we think upon the unmanly, unnatural and brutal conduct practised upon her while suffering from the birth of her infant son, Thomas Paine Carlile, by a set of monsters in human form, calling themselves Christians; and that too under a pretence of supporting the Christian Religion. If the Christian Religion is to be supported at the expence of inflicting tortures upon our fellow creatures; at the expence of robbing us of our homes, and every comfort of life, and placing us, our husbands and children, in dungeons and chains, then away with such imposition, bigotry and superstition, such knavery and priestcraft from the earth; and let a system of justice and humanity, that is more consistent with reason and common sense succeed it. A something that will make the idle, indolent and roguish priests honest and industrious; and the banditti of dronish, worthless, and op-

pressive tyrants humane; or banish them from the earth, as undeserving the society of men, and only fit companions for devils, if any such beings there be.

We consider the cruelty and diabolical conduct practised towards Mary-Ann Carlile during the disturbed state of the prison, at the time of the fire, to be another convincing proof of the necessity of a change of things. When felons and common prostitutes receive the approbation of men in power, so far as to give them liberty to assist each other, and all of them have the space of the gaol; while our sister, Mary-Ann, who possesses a mind of benevolence, and can boast of a life of moral virtue, is fast bolted by double doors, subjected to suffocation, and denied assistance by her Christian keeper. This, this alone is sufficient to convince the considerate mind of the necessity of a Republican System of Government, where justice will be administered to all, or redress obtained in default thereof.

It is the wish of the undersigned Females, by subscribing their mites together, as far as their situation in a land of oppression and taxation will admit, first to shew a token of humanity and respect towards you; and in the second place, to convince our enemies that we approve of your conduct, and glory in your spirit; we are not ashamed to come forward and prove to the people of England that there are yet women possessed of common sense and reason. We abhor with detestation, and protest that it is injustice to persecute, imprison, and rob, under pretence of fine, any person for publishing his or her principles on any subject. We believe that free discussion on all subjects, both political and religious, is the right of every creature living; and every effort to destroy free discussion is oppressive and tyrannical.

The small trifle of £2. 2s. enclosed, we wish you to accept as a token of our regard to you for your past conduct; and also with our sincere wishes that Mrs. Carlile may be brought through her approaching natural pain and sorrow with safety; and that you may both rise triumphant over all your enemies, is the sincere wish of your real Friends.

Signed, in Behalf of the Subscribers,

MARY WALKER.

Manchester, 9, back of Piccadilly,
April 30, 1822.

P. S. The Female Committee of Manchester received from their Friends of Bolton, the following articles to forward to Mrs. Carlile, which are requested to be noticed as follow:

Mrs. Ridgway, the wife of the incarcerated Ridgway, one Frock.
Mrs. P. T. Candlet, one Frock Waist.
Margaret Clarke, a real Deist, but hath

the misfortune to be the wife of a Christian, sends you the present of silk.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Mary Walker	3	0	Mary Varley	0	3
Rachel Thompson	2	6	Susanna Fairclough	0	6
Martha Nesby	3	0	Jane Aldred	0	2
Nancy Wheeler	3	0	Jane Moon	0	2
J. Foster	2	6	Maria Massey	0	2
Mary-Anne Tilford	2	0	Margaret Cooper	0	2
Mary-Anne Rhodes, daughter of Joseph Rhodes, now con- fined in Giltspur street Comp- ter for two years hard labour, as the only way to learn the blessings of Christianity	2	0	Martha Massey	0	3
Elizabeth Baker	1	0	Mary Mitchel	0	3
Elizabeth Nelson	1	0	Jane Mc Farling	0	3
Ellen Bottomley	1	0	Ann Bethel	0	2
Sarah Gratrix	1	0	Elizabeth Needham	0	2
Sarah Chatan	1	0	Alice Bradshaw	0	3
Abigail Longbottom	1	3	Isabella Lever	0	3
A Female Republican	1	0	Mrs. Harrison	0	2
Admirers of the Temple of Rea- son's Clock	1	9	Margaret Crowther	0	6
Mrs. Smith	1	0	Elizabeth Patten	0	1
Ann Oddey	0	3	Martha Rackley	0	2
Mace Darlington	0	6	Mary Chapman	0	3
Jane Owen	0	6	Mary Collings	0	3
Hannah Bethel	0	6	Catharine Digglen	0	2
Sarah Couter	0	6	Ellen Coker	0	1
Elizabeth Riddle	0	6	An Enemy to Superstition	0	2
Mary Berry	0	6	Jane Gradwell	0	6
Mary Whitaker	0	6	Friend Sarah	0	3
Mrs. Booth	0	6	Jane Lithgate	0	6
Mary Holland	0	3	Margaret Akers	0	6
Mary Macave	0	2	Ann Beswick	0	3
Mary Dodd	0	1	Near the old Church	0	4
A Friend	0	6	Elizabeth Teasdale	0	6
			Ann Reynolds	0	3
			Sarah Aberdeen	0	6
			Mrs. Hutchinson	0	6
			Mrs. Taylor	0	2
			Ellen Smith	0	2

TO THE FEMALE REPUBLICANS OF MAN- CHESTER.

Dorchester Gaol, May 4, 1822.

NOBLE MINDED WOMEN,

YOUR comforting address, with the very pleasing presents that accompanied it, have been duly and thankfully received, and have added much to the satisfaction we previously felt in knowing that though imprisoned, we had done nothing to disgrace ourselves as females.

Mrs. Carlile felt an inexpressible delight at the provision which you, in conjunction with her friends, the Republican Weavers of Bolton, have made for her *yet unborn* infant, and pledges herself that each article of dress shall always have the preference to any she has provided herself, and shall be first worn.

If we had not something like a protector with us, we cannot imagine what sort of treatment would be awarded us in this place: at present it is of the most unmanly, and even inhuman kind. Would you believe that if either of us walk out alone, during the hour we are allowed to walk, a man is appointed to watch us and dog us until we are locked up again. We are not only denied the satisfaction of sympathizing with or relieving any poor female in this place, but we are forbidden to speak or to give a compassionate look to any of them, and to effect this object, we are always, when unlocked, under the watching of a sentinel.

We have been here deeply impressed with the knowledge that there is no connection between the words Christianity and humanity, and that every supporter of a corrupt and tyrannical government is a tyrant within his sphere of rule.

The lurking priest who is paid as a chaplain in this prison, is incessantly impressing his stupid lore upon other prisoners, but he does not venture to shew us that we have done wrong. It may be judged from this simple case, that he can only practise his detestable schemes where ignorance most prevails. We often wish he would attempt to convert us, if it were but as a matter of amusement, for every thing is a dull, and often painful sameness here. We find nothing to relieve that powerful curiosity which is not unjustly attributed to our sex.

However, such kindnesses as you have shewn us, are quite sufficient to counterbalance every thing we find disagreeable here, and if by our sufferings we rouse into action some of the best feelings of the female mind, we have an ample reward.

Were we to say that we like imprisonment, we should not speak the truth; and being incessantly locked up in the same room with Mr. Carlile, whose affairs and duties often require a sort of silence that is not most agreeable to us, makes us feel it more than we otherwise should. Our periods of imprisonment are fast drawing to a close, and if we have effected any good we shall be happy in all our future reflections upon it, when the men of this country shall manage their own affairs and be in a condition to protect us from the tyrants by whom we are now oppressed. That this time may speedily arrive, and that you may long live to enjoy it, is the sincere wish of your affectionate friends,

JANE CARLILE,
MARY-ANNE CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND, Manchester, April 28, 1822.

A FEW Republicans of Manchester, out of the thousands it contains, request your acceptance of another portion of your fines, subscribed from their scanty pittances for one of the best purposes that ever human beings congregated their mites to support, namely, TRUTH opposed to all the corruptions and hypocrisy it is possible to plant upon the human mind.

The efforts of the enemies to Free Discussion are unavailing, for the very means they use to put it down form the surest means of exciting it. Where Knowledge has once dawned on the human mind, it pants instantly to be rid of the shackles of Ignorance and Superstition, and will rise and triumph over Bigotry and Fanaticism. Like the electric fluid, nothing can resist or repel knowledge; art may conduct and add to its powers and uses, but cannot change or prevent its acting somewhere.

We return our sincere thanks to our opponents in opinion for the erection of Sunday and Free Schools, and other seminaries of learning, for as different branches of knowledge increase, Christianity, Judaism, Mahometism, Paganism, and all other idolisms, must recede from the face of the earth, and man become what Nature has evidently fitted him for—a free and willing agent to all that is good and useful in society.

Express our grateful recollections to your Wife and Sister, and when your next young Republican has its birth, you must give it the best nursing you can in the difficult and disagreeable situation in which you are placed. We will not fail to assist you as far as it lays in our power.

From your Friend and Well-wisher,
JOHN BOTTOMLEY.

Allam Street, Manchester.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Citizen John Bottomley	0	1	0	Thomas Cope	0	0	4
James Cruthers	0	0	6	Peter Hand	0	0	4
Edward Jones	0	1	0	Samuel Hume	0	0	4
John Ashburn	0	0	6	Harry Wheeler	0	0	6
By Citizen James Thomson	0	1	0	John Gradwell	0	0	4
Charles Thomson	0	0	6	Joseph Gibson	0	0	4
James Besex	0	2	6	A Dairy-Maid	0	0	6
Mary Walker	0	1	0	Joseph Tilford	0	10	0
John Gratrix	0	1	0	Mical Paxton	0	5	0
John Chorlton	0	0	6	William Campion	1	0	0
Samuel Kenyon	0	0	6	James Wheeler	1	0	0
Joseph Chorlton	0	0	6	Charles Hawke	0	5	0
Elizabeth Gaunt	0	0	4	Enos Potts	0	5	0

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
The Subscriber's Mite for the brave, but suffering and injured Carlile, who very justly deserves the warmest acknowledgment and support of every sincere Friend to Freedom, for his spirited, zealous, and persevering Exertions in the Cause of Universal Liberty	0	5	0	J. S. a true Christian before he heard of Richard Carlile, but now a Deist and Republican	0	2	6
E. F.	0	5	0	Richard Brooks, a Republican and Deist	0	1	0
				John McConnel	0	1	0
				William Riddle	0	1	0
				Thomas Robeson	0	0	6
				William Gladson	0	0	6
				Thomas Thomas	0	0	6

Subscriptions received by GEORGE LONGBOTTOM, No. 7, Barrow Street, Salford.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
George Longbottom	1	6	William Davies	1	0
Abigail Longbottom	1	6	Sarah Davies	0	6
Samuel Crowther, a Friend to Liberty	0	8	A Bible Christian	0	3
Charles Aberdeen	0	6	A Quaker	0	2
John Treasy	0	3	A Widow's Mite	1	0
Arthur Irwin	0	4	Two Hatters	1	0

TO CITIZEN JOHN BOTTOMLEY, ALLUM STREET, MANCHESTER.

CITIZEN, Dorchester Gaol, May 5, 1822.
 THE Republicans of Manchester are determined to continue me their debtor, and to anticipate by their rewards more exertions and services than I fear it will be in my power to make in their cause.

However, I will endeavour to shew them that by their assistance I can proceed with an accumulated force and effect, and hope to convince them that their contributions have not been misapplied, nor useless.

Their congregated force is, at length, applied to the right source of Liberty, and by avowing themselves Republicans they embrace every thing that is desirable in social life. General public good is our motto for union; and we value no system merely because it has existence, but we approve or disapprove each according to its utility and tendency to cherish or destroy the liberties of the people, the industrious part of the people.

I have not yet noticed the late trial of an action for damages against the Manchester Yeomanry for the murders of

1819, but lest it should be thought it had my approbation, I beg decidedly to state, that I think it a most imprudent, ill-judged measure, and that it has been entirely the work of the lawyers connected with it. Where the funds for the action came from is not public, but I have always conjectured it was from the sum of £600 subscribed for Sir Francis Burdett, which the Baronet declined to accept, and preferred its application to the sufferers at Manchester from the murderous attack of the Yeomanry. I offer this only as my own conjecture, I have never received a hint of the kind from any other quarter. The proceedings on this action have given a false colouring to the whole affair of the 16th of August, 1819, and even the Judges of the Court of King's Bench have been made to pronounce the conduct of your Magistrates and Yeomanry as praiseworthy. All this we must not be surprised at, but those murders must eventually be avenged, in spite of all intrigue to cool or stifle the matter. Under this view, I have considered the proceeding by action for damages as contemptible, and not worth notice but for condemnation.

Let the Republicans of Manchester persevere in the good cause of a Representative System of Government; let them practice in every shape possible the right of Free Discussion; let them "*think, speak all they think, and violate not the human mind,*" as the late celebrated Stewart was continually recommending. A man who holds opinions which he fears to utter, is a slave, and had better be an idiot without opinions. Better not to think than to fear to speak what we think. If there be a power in existence that forbids us to speak what we think, we are slaves and persecuted beings. Pope says,

The mind's the standard of the man.

Byron says, *'twas made to sway*, he might have added, and *not to be swayed*. Then, if you value true Liberty, protect the mind from all untoward influence, and give it a free range. Where it is free it injures nothing, where it is shackled, Nature is violated and will be revenged.

I feel happy to be in open correspondence with the Republicans of Manchester, as that town forms the metropolis of the North, and gives a tone to a very populous district. I hope the union we are now forming will be upon such a principle, that it must increase and strengthen even so as to become indissoluble.

I am, Citizen, yours respectfully,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

London, Sunday, April 28, 1822.

We request your acceptance of the sum of £1. 1s. 6d. towards the payment of your Fine, being a second subscription of a few Republican Mechanics, and as a token of gratitude for your bold and persevering endeavours to eradicate that bane of human happiness—**Revealed Religion.**

	s.	d.		s.	d.
G. H.	1	0	A Friend to Civil and Religious Liberty	2	6
The Son of God, the same as Jesus Christ was	2	6	An Enemy to the Black Locusts that eateth the Tenth Part of the Husbandman's Labour	2	6
Mary, Mother of the above, but nevertheless a Virgin	0	6	T. B. Van	1	0
An Enemy to Cant, Hypocrisy, and Falsehood, consequently, to Priests and Kings	1	0	D.	0	6
My Mite for the brave Carlile	1	0	T.	0	6
Non-descript	1	0	A Friend to the Cause	0	6
G. M.	1	0	A true Deist	1	0
L. S.	1	0	An original Deist	1	0
W. P.	1	0	W. Z.	1	0
			An Enemy to Persecution	0	6
			E. B.	0	6

A FURTHER SUBSCRIPTION FROM STOKESLEY,
YORKSHIRE.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Coates, Naturalist	5	0	A prepared Man for the approaching Revolution	1	0
Amariah Batty, Castleton	5	0	A little Boy who laughs at Ghosts and Devils	0	6
Robert Armstrong	5	0	Mr. Fawell, of Stockton	1	0
A Female Republican and Deist	2	6	Ralph Lodge	1	6
A ditto, ditto	1	0			
Democritus from the Shades	2	0			

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND, Failsworth, April 30, 1822.
A FEW Republicans who live in the parish of Failsworth, near Manchester, send you the sum of 1l. 8s. 3d., as an acknowledgement of the benefits they have received from the perusal of your truly valuable publications. They regret that the ruthless hand of tyranny hath so circumscribed their finances, that they cannot

send you a greater declaration of their esteem, but they hope to send you another and much larger sum before the term of your imprisonment expires.

They congratulate you upon the noble stand, the effectual efforts you have made against the corrupt establishments of this enslaved and degraded nation. They feel assured that your past and present conduct is more praiseworthy, more deserving of the support of rational beings, than that of any other Reformer of the present day, and as such they will support you to the extent of their power.

Religion, which you have so ably exposed, hath been one uniform curse to the human species; it hath depraved the nature of man, contracted his energies, been a blur to science and a bane to the advancement of useful knowledge. Shall we then hesitate to rescue our degraded countrymen from its pernicious trammels? No! let us support those apostles and disciples of nature who are now incarcerated in the dungeon of the oppressor. Let us take care that their spirits be not cooled, their energies chilled by the icy hand of public ingratitude; let us award to them the meed of approbation and support, and industriously assist them in the cause of nature and of truth which they have so ably defended.

We send our most hearty thanks to your amiable Wife and no less amiable Sister, and feel confident that the time is fast approaching when you will be remunerated for the losses you have sustained by the royal robberies that have been made upon your valuable property. Trusting that you will acknowledge the sums subscribed in the pages of the Republican.

I remain, in behalf of the whole,

Your Friend and Fellow-Citizen,
ELIJAH RIDINGS.

s.	d.		s.	d.
John Blakely	1 6	J. Clough	0 6	
John Blakely, Jun.	0 8	William Aldred	0 6	
John Whitaker	1 6	Anna Smith, a Friend to those		
Joseph Whitehead	1 6	who are persecuted by Ty-		
I. J.	2 6	rants	0 6	
Daniel Wright	0 8	James Ogden	0 6	
Joseph Pollis	1 6	T. Orridge, no Christian but a		
Samuel Clough	2 0	Deist	1 0	
Henry Hilton	1 0	S. Taylor, a Friend to Humanity	0 6	
John Fletcher	1 2	John Travis	0 3	
John Simister	1 0	A Friend to Liberty	0 6	
Charles Collinson	0 6	Joseph Whitaker	0 6	
J. Whitehead	0 6	Robert Berry	1 6	
T. Barlow	0 6	William Ford subscribes to Mr.		
J. Smith	1 6	Carlike for his publishing the		
Peter Fletcher	0 6	"Age of Reason"	1 0	
James Swift	0 6	A Friend	0 3	
James Wilde, an admirer of the		A better Friend	1 0	
principles of Liberty,	1 6	A Draw-boy	0 3	

TO MR. ELIJAH RIDINGS, FAILSWORTH.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

BE pleased to return my thanks to the Republicans of the parish of Failsworth near Manchester, for this continued support, and assure them that I will strain every nerve to establish the right of free discussion; an object which, when once acquired, will make a complete change in the condition of the human race. It will annihilate tyranny and slavery and give power to the industrious, to whom power can alone properly belong! Slavery will ever be proportionate with ignorance, so that the man who does not studiously seek to improve his mind and his morals may be termed an habitual and willing slave. He is not a slave by nature but by sloth: Nature knows no slaves, nor does she encourage them in any shape; they are unnatural beings whose slothful habits fit them for a subserviency that often proves worse than the most laborious industry and defeats its own desires. To evade this, seek the power of knowledge which is the source of all power. A Castlereagh would tremble before a Cobbett if they could meet on equal terms, and where a question was to be decided by them alone.

I am happy to find that the Reformers in and about Manchester are at length upon what I will call the right scent. I perceive they are studying principles instead of names, and adapting themselves to merit the honourable epithet of Republican citizens. They are progressing in knowledge and acquainting themselves well with what constitutes a social or political philosophy: that is the means of freeing the mind from all shackles, and the body from all unprofitable labour; to rescue the one from the grasp of the tithe-gathering Priest, and the other from that of the tax-gathering King: this my friends is the right road to liberty and happiness, turn not aside from it but proceed straight forward.

Mrs. Carlile and my sister Mary Ann return thanks for your mention of them, and beg to say they will never be ashamed to look in the faces of their persecutors.

Yours, in civic esteem,
R. GARLILE

TO MR. R. CARLILE DORCHESTER GAOL.

FRIEND AND CITIZEN,

Bolton, April 27, 1822.

AT the desire of friends in Bolton, I request your acceptance of their second subscription towards the liquidation of the Christian fines imposed upon you, and which I have placed to your credit in the hands of Mr. Wheeler of Manchester, amounting to the sum of 2l. 13s. 10d.

Were it possible to accept the will for the deed it would have satisfied the hypocritic Shylocks for their bond, and have set your body as free as your mind is unshackled. Meanwhile, permit me to assure you that the persecution of your self and family does not like a summer cloud pass over without our special wonder, and will undoubtedly be handed down to posterity in the page of history, to the eternal disgrace of its perpetrators. What! in the enlightend 19th century, and in a land of Bibles and Humane Societies, to incarcerate an individual and his family for propagating opinions only.

The question naturally arises, are these opinions founded upon truth or error. If the former, they are never to be eradicated by coercion; if the latter, why do not the well fed bishops and church dignitaries expose them. They certainly have an interest in supporting the doctrine, by them called orthodox, but it is very difficult to perceive what interest you have in propagating opinions for which bonds and imprisonment await you. Surely in exposing the cant of hypocrisy—arresting the career of error and unveiling the beauties of Truth, there is a pleasure which none but patriots know.

I am desired by the subscribers to state, that their sympathy for the sufferings of yourself and family or their determination to support you, does not arise from a full conviction of the truth or expediency of all your tenets; they are fully of opinion that every man ought to judge for himself; they read your works and see no danger in your speculations. They are fully convinced that you are persecuted by men who make a cloak of religion, and a tyrant of their God, and have no doubt that if the principles you profess were supported by our temporal governors, Parsons H. and E. (we mean, if you think proper to print it, Hay and Ethelston) would very readily embrace and propagate the same, if their salaries were continued.

We offer your wife and sister our condolence and sympathy, and have sent them a few specimens of our workmanship, and beg their acceptance of the same, with sincerest wishes that your fortitude and courage may support you under all your unmerited privations for friends and subscribers, I remain

Yours, to command,

*Agreed at the Bolton Union Rooms,
April 27th, 1822.*

JOHN HEYS.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
John Heys	3	0	William Thompson	1	0
Oliver Nicholson	1	0	Edward Bowker	0	6
Robert Ellison	1	0	William Udall	0	6
William Whitelegg, Sen.	1	0	Thomas Settle	0	2
William Whitelegg, Jun.	1	6	Admirer	1	0
John Chora	1	3	James Lee	1	0
David France	1	6	A Friend to the Priest Pincher	3	0
John Kennerdall	1	6	One that abhors that Parson (at		
Ralph Kennerdall	1	6	any rate) that could be calmly		
Edward Kennerdall	1	6	viewing the countenances of		
Peter France	1	6	the 'Atheists, while the Yeo-		
John Kennerdall, Jun.	0	6	manry 'were murdering the		
Richard Wittam	1	0	People	2	0
James Smith	1	0	A Friend to Philosophical Society	3	0
Samuel Pollet	0	6	A Religious Inspector	5	0
William Cuerden	0	3	George Wood	0	2
John Hamnorton	0	6	William Butterworth	0	6
William Brown	0	6	Isaac Holden	0	3
Oliver Crook	0	6	Joseph Lee	0	6
Thomas Pickersbank	1	0	Richard Thompson	0	2
A Friend to Truth	0	6	John Heaton	0	6
Richard Fletcher	0	6	Friend to the Cause	0	6
James Holm	0	1	Joseph Edge	0	6
James Heaton	1	0	Peter Greenhalgh	0	6
More Faithful than Fortunate	2	6	William Smith	1	0
Ann Hallaway	0	6	A Friend	1	0
Mary Ann Thornly	0	3	James Barns	0	6
Ledy Thornly	0	3	John Swain Clark	1	0
Mr. Candlish	1	0	James Nevo	0	6
John Lee	0	6			

The Republicans of Bolton request Mrs. Carlile to accept the few samples of their manufacture, which the Weavers wished to forward with the second subscription; to prove that they have not forgot her merit or the delicate situation in which she is placed.

1. Victory and Tuck Frock. By John Wrigley, jun.
2. Frock, Mock Victory and Tuck. By William Clemment.
3. Frock, Japan spot and Mock Victory. By Jonathan Heaton.
4. Frock, Tuck with Lilac Cord. By Edward Kennerdal.
5. Jaconet for Caps. By James Thornley.
6. For Caps, Victory and Twill. By Richard Whittam.
7. 60 Reed Cambric. By Henry Hibbert.

This is the standard fabric from which all descriptions of Muslins in this district are calculated as to working prices, which were never lower than at the present moment; as for instance, in 1792, the Weaver received 3s. per yard; in 1802, 1s. 2d.; in 1814, 1s. 1d.; in 1817, 5d.; and in the present year (1822) are only receiving 4d. per yard. The Marquis of Londonderry is reported to have said that the manufacturing districts were in a flourishing state, and receiving 1s. for the same work which used to be done for 8d., and, on the other hand, that they could now purchase the same provisions for 8d. they used to pay 1s. for: The public, from this sample furnished by the great Thunderer, will be able to

draw proper estimates from any future statements of the kind which he or any of his coadjutors may attempt to palm on the country.

The apparent object of this gross falsehood is to shift the working of the system from the Agricultural Interest, who have always been prosperous till now. The Manufacturers have been ruined in great numbers, but for them there was no redress; the only answer to their numerous Petitions was that trade must find its own level, and though an artificial famine and consequent starvation will be the immediate result, which upwards of a million will have to suffer who are dependent on the Cotton Manufacture. Whatever may happen in this way, they seem fully determined not to petition the Thunderer any more.

JOHN HEYS.

TO MR. JOHN HEYS, BOLTON.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, May 3, 1822.

To the Republicans of Bolton, I beg to say that this further proof of their support of the right of free discussion is particularly cheering to me, as it strongly argues the decline of delusion and superstition in that town. I ask no man to subscribe to my opinions unless he fully comprehends them, but I tell every man that I value them as high as he may any that he may hold, and as a member of the community I demand and will assert the right of publishing, defending and propagating them in every shape possible, as I have no fear in having them controverted, nor interest in supporting them as opinions; I shall be as willing to change if they can, as I am determined to hold to them if they cannot, be controverted. This, according to my ideas, constitutes what is called free discussion.

I boldly pronounce to you, my fellow countrymen, that the Christian Priests cannot defend as true the doctrines they preach, and for preaching which they live in luxury upon the produce of your labour. I have challenged and do challenge any of them to the discussion, or to contend against me that all religion is not all idolatry. They were never challenged upon this point before, therefore, if they cannot support themselves against my attack by other argument than fines, robberies and imprisonments, their deluded hearers ought to ask themselves the question; Why they cannot?

I have ridded my mind of every thing to which the word *religion* relates. I have fully stated my reasons and inducements for this act of the mind, and I am prepared to

answer any questions from any sensible person upon the matter. Religion I have discovered to be a part and a main part of every corrupt system of government, and where a government recognises and protects any distinct system or systems of religion, that government cannot be free from corruption. It is a corrosion upon the industry of the body politic; it is the cankerworm of society.

Mrs. Carlile and my sister Mary Ann return their thanks to the Republicans of Bolton for their kind remembrance of them, and the presents of the different specimens of their workmanship, and beg to say that the solace of such an acknowledgment heightens that of the consciousness that their imprisonment has arisen from an act of duty and of right, and not from any misdemeanour either moral or legal.

I am, Citizen, your fellow labourer,

R. CARLILE.

TO MRS. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR MADAM,

It is with feelings of regret at the unparalleled situation in which you are now placed, that I venture to condole with you for what you endure from the infliction of those who preach passive obedience whilst they profess it to be in good will towards mankind. Where shall we look for the necessary examples of their morality and humanity to support their precepts? I can find them nowhere.

I am one of those who witnessed the blood-stained field of St. Peter's, and suffered eleven days incarceration in one of the Boroughmongers' Bastiles because I was exposed to the sabres of a ferocious Yeomanry Cavalry, whilst I was performing what I then conceived and now conceive to have been my duty: and even after this, I anticipate the day that will free you from the trammels of our tyrants.

That the God of Nature may assist you through the great pain and peril you must naturally endure, and that you may escape those very common and very alarming diseases, "an inflammation in the bowels," and "a hereditary cancer in the stomach," which attend those whom our tyrants wish to destroy, is my hearty prayer.

I beg your acceptance of the small present enclosed, being the work of my own hands, which I flatter myself will be more acceptable to you than if they were diamonds from a tyrant.

I am, Madam, yours with the greatest respect,

ELIZABETH GAUNT.

Manchester, April 29, 1822.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH GAUNT, MANCHESTER.

DEAR, MADAM,

Dorchester Gaol, May 4, 1822.

MY warmest thanks accept for the very handsome little Pair of Shoes you have been so kind to send me, of your own manufacture, and be assured they shall be the first on the feet of my daily-expected infant, whose birth shall be announced to the Female Republicans of Manchester as early as possible, if every thing passes off as well as I hope.

My spirits and constitutional strength are good, or I should have every thing to dread in child-birth in such a place as this, where humanity is a marketable commodity, and where, what is still worse, I am one of those excluded from the market, at any price.

My very close confinement has greatly augmented the sufferings of pregnancy, but my humane and very Reverend Keepers have nothing but inveterate prejudices for my accommodation. Up to this moment we are locked into one room, and such seems likely to be the case at the moment of my labour.

For the small presents of Cotton and Needles, which accompanied the Shoes, my thanks are offered wherever they are due.

The pleasure which is derived from such acts of kindness and affection from Females to whom I can be only known by name, is a complete balance to the mind for the pain of imprisonment. I cannot treat imprisonment with so light a heart as my husband does, as it has tended to disperse my children; to bring whom together makes me wish for liberty more than any thing else. However, the time will now soon arrive, and neither my children or myself will ever have occasion to blush at the cause of my incarceration.

I was neither a politician nor theologian before my imprisonment, but a sentence for Two Years has roused feelings in me that I might never have otherwise possessed. I have been made to feel the necessity of reforming the abuses of the Government; as I am sure, that under a Representative System of Government no Woman would have been sent to Prison for Two Years, for publishing an assertion that tyrants ought to be treated as dangerous and destructive beasts of prey. I have been made to think it, as well as to publish it.

I am, Madam, respectfully yours,

JANE CARLILE.

R. CARLILE returns thanks for the sum of ten pounds received from S. at Paris.

The friend who has subscribed this sum describes himself as a well-wisher to the cause of liberty and free enquiry, and an enemy to Kingcraft, Priestcraft, and Lawycraft. He admits that Kings are the most worthless part of mankind, and will, in the natural course of events, be expelled from Europe: yet he thinks the cause of liberty will flourish better if no person be forced to the acknowledgment that a Republican form of Government is preferable whilst Kings have so much power to do mischief, and therefore frighten and prevent many good men from a pursuit of a more extended liberty. He also thinks the question of Theology should not be pushed further than it was done by Mr. Paine, in his Age of Reason, lest a cry of Atheism be raised and many be deterred from all enquiry.

Another friend, on the same paper, has written the following remarks:

The person through whose means this is sent from France, and whom Mr. Carlile shall one day know, adds what follows: "I am decidedly of opinion that whilst a king or a priest shall exist on the face of the earth, mankind will never enjoy that degree of happiness of which their nature is capable. My creed is, "Do good to all; but at all events, never do to others that which you would not wish should be done to yourself." My worship consists "in the admiration and enjoyment of the works of Nature." As to a form of Government, I think a Republic in which *all* the offices are elective is the only form *fit for man to live under*. From this, you will see that I go as far in these matters as you can go; but I agree with my worthy friend in thinking that you are injuring our cause by *driving too fast*. Men's minds are not yet prepared for the blaze of light that you are letting in upon them; and by dividing the Reformers you weaken their ranks, and paralyze their energy. Let us but obtain a Reform (a radical one I mean) free discussion will immediately follow, and *Truth will prevail*. Wishing you and your amiable fellow sufferers all health and happiness, I remain, most sincerely, yours,

SIDNEY, JUN.

These remarks, upon a first view, may appear to carry some weight with them; but I feel perfectly convinced that they cannot be maintained by any sound argument. If it cannot be shewn that an open avowal of what the mind conceives to be the truth, or the best principles of Government, is a means calculated to defer or to defeat the end, then the propriety of speaking out, or rather the objection to the propriety of it, is nothing more than one of

the expedients of fear, and deserves not the appellation of a prudential or personal caution. It is my conviction, that if each person would speak out what he really thinks, a greater good, and a more speedy remedy for all abuses, would be accomplished, than by pursuing such temporising measures as the bulk of mankind now adopt. The best means to promote the end is always the proper object for consideration, and I cannot concur in the suggestion of my unknown friends, that too great a degree of truth or of light can be thrown upon the human mind at one time, nor can I concur in the idea that there may be an improper time for such a display of truth.

One of my friends observes, that a free discussion will be sure to follow a Radical Reform: him I would respectfully remind, that a Radical Reform will be sure to follow a free discussion, but never will nor can precede it. It is free discussion that must produce a Radical Reform. No other power can produce it. Free discussion is the emblem of a free people, and a people cannot be free without it; therefore, to constitute freedom is the work of free discussion. Radical Reform will be the effect of the cause—a free discussion of abuses. Distress may produce convulsion, but never yet produced a Radical Reform; this is the work of a free discussion of all principles. Very little reflection is necessary to comprehend that free discussion is the cause, and Radical Reform the effect, and that my friend has placed the effect before the cause. Therefore, I feel justified, from this conviction, which I trust I have here put in a proper light, in practising free discussion to the utmost of my power, even if it shackles my body.

To those who say my publications are too strong for the present state of the public mind, and think that more good may be done by publishing the freethinking publications of Locke, Middleton, Tindal, Chubb, Collins, and others, I ask what good did those publications effect when they first appeared? What effect or impression did they make upon the public mind, or have they made, up to this time? Did bigotry receive the least check from them? I think not. I am pretty well acquainted with all the publications called Deistical that ever were publicly published in England and Scotland, and although I have reprinted a few of them, such as the Doubts of Infidels, Annett's Miraculous Conception, the Life of David, and a few others, yet my firm opinion is, that none that appeared before the French Revolution are now really worth reprinting as calculated to

propagate sound Deistical principles. They were all written under an evident fear of persecution.

It is much to the honour of France that the best Deistical works have been written there. Perhaps Mr. Paine would never have produced such a work as the *Age of Reason* in England or America; that he did not we are certain from what has appeared so far.

I am an advocate for dashing at all prejudices without ceremony, and for paying no complaisance to falsehood, as Mr. Paine would say. The moment I perceived that Materialism was a clearer and more comprehensible system than Mr. Paine's Deism, I advanced without hesitation and avowed the former. To attack prejudices by a sidewind is very tedious, and in my opinion a trifling process, and if we can shew that such prejudices are erroneous, I think the best way to destroy them is to shock them by a bold denunciation of falsehood. Let ever so firm and conscientious a Christian stand before me, and let me tell him that his God or Gods are a mere idol or idols, and engage to prove it to him; even if he refuses to hear me, can he leave my presence with the same convictions as he held when he first came to me? No. He must inevitably doubt, or if he did not, he would be bold to dispute the point. This, then, is the ground on which I proceed. I pronounce the Gods of the Jews, Christians, Mahometans, and Pagans, to be nothing more than idols, and by this open pronouncement, I feel assured that I excite more doubt and enquiry in the public mind than did all the Deistical works written in England before "*The Age of Reason*" appeared. I challenge any priest or layman to dispute the point with me, and I have the satisfaction to perceive that none yet venture to do it. All talk about the evidences of Christianity is a trifling with the question; let us come to the fundamental point at once: is or is not the Christian Deity an idol? To all Christians I proclaim that it is, and am ready to refute every argument any one of them can bring forward to the contrary. I have just been reading some of Dr. Priestly's works upon this head, and the trammels in which he places himself by attempting to keep up the notion of such a God as Christianity embraces (although his is quite a new-fangled Christianity) makes him quite ridiculous and vulnerable on all sides. I shall go on to publish the best of the French works, such as "*Le Bon Sens*," of which I printed a few extracts last week, and the celebrated work of Dupuis on all Religions, and leave the old English freethinkers to

any person who will take care of them. I shall never lose sight of getting a more complete and effectual translation of the *Système de la Nature*. Although many editions have been printed of it in our language, I am informed by those who can read the original that it has never yet had justice done it by any translator, and that it has been both mangled and interpolated. Had I been so well acquainted with its importance in 1819, as I now am, I might have embraced a good offer by the translator of "Volney's Ruins," but I yet hope to come to terms with him upon this subject.

As to the point of my driving too far and too fast, being calculated to divide the Reformers, it must be settled upon the same argument as the question about publishing too much truth at one time. I find quite a sufficient company on the road to encourage me to drive on, and I know there are thousands before me, and quite up to their journeys end, whom I shall never leave behind. There are some who pronounce me tardy and would fain add an impulse to my motion. It is the Goal of Liberty we are in pursuit of, and if all exertions are to be reduced to some dronish standard we shall never reach it. Far better is it to apply the spur and the whip to those who are tardy, careless and indolent, than to check the ardour of those who are making all speed.

Further, I would observe, a combination of Reformers upon the rotten principles of what is called Moderate Reform, or even of what some men call Radical Reform, would be more calculated to retard the final and most important object than to accelerate it. What if there had been a means of Lord John Russell's motion being carried for lopping off one hundred of the rotten boroughs? Would it not have been a species of contract with the Crown and Aristocracy that the Reformers were to stop there? What would be said by the tyrants if an attempt were to be made to make a similar advance in the next session of Parliament? I have no objection to any species of Reform however moderate so as it be obtained without any stipulation for cessation from pressing it further; but it is deeply impressed on my mind that there never will be any partial Reform obtained in this country; a Radical Reform may be moderate or moderately obtained. Moderation is nothing more than the antithesis or absence of violence; therefore, what we ought all to aim at is, a moderate Radical Reform, and that it shall be obtained by one impulse, and not by degrees which will only tend to heighten dissatisfaction and incite to violence, or to banish moderation. To obtain this we

must first comprehend what is Radical and bring a majority of the People to do the same, then those who are divided and left behind are insignificant and of little consequence. There is no fear of divisions where the principles are sound; and combinations upon rotten principles are useless and un-availing.

R. CARLILE.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE Verses which Mr. John Reader has sent us as having received from a native of Ireland to get published, two years since, it happens Mr. Carlile printed in 1819, for the professed Author, and sold them under a seal. However, we have no fear of giving them insertion in "The Republican," and shall take an opportunity of doing it, and accompany it with a few remarks, shewing how an erroneous impression may be received from them and how it should be avoided.

Mr. Hunt's fresh and further abuse shall be taken up in a becoming manner. He began the game, and will never silence me even though he is to be aided by all the men in his employ. I will shew him the superiority of moral strength over mere abuse and rotten principles. I wait to see his man Wilde's, or wild man's Letter, in his "Memoirs." I shall stick to the Saint, and not notice the Knight Errant of the "Order of St. Henry of Ilchester!!!"

R. CARLILE.

The receipt of £1, as a second subscription, from a Friend at Richmond, Yorkshire, is acknowledged, with 5s. from another Friend in that town.

The Republican.

No. 20. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, May 17, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CITIZENS,

Dorchester Gaol, May 12,
Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

I FOLLOW up the enquiry whether any thing that was ever called the British Constitution is worth our notice as an example or a standard by which we may or ought to Reform our present Government. I noticed in my last, at the breaking off, the introduction of the Scotchman (Jamie Stewart) to fill the vacancy on the throne occasioned by the death of Elizabeth Tudor, without leaving heirs male or female.

I am firmly of opinion that the first James Stewart was the best King who ever sat on the throne of England, since the days of Alfred, and that there was more real prosperity and happiness among the People of England under his reign than before or since. He was decidedly averse to war, and as a proof that war is the game, the caprice, the whim and the pleasure of Kings, James kept the country free from it, and the people flourished and were happy in its absence. There was one exception to their happiness, and that arose entirely from the profligacy of the aristocracy. James, though a King, was but a weak and vain man, and had always his favourites who could practise any kind of intrigue with him, for their own peculiar advantage; these not only disturbed his Court, but, as they always have done, disgraced the country. The murder of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose sentence had been suspended and he at liberty and voyaging to America for many years, the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, and the insolence and extravagance of the Duke of Buckingham, all display the corrupt state of the Court, the Aristocracy, and the Judges of that time.

James brought a number of needy, worthless and flattering followers from Scotland with him, and, as they expected, enrolled them with the English Aristocracy, but to avoid

giving too much offence to the old English Barons, he created the order of baronets, and thus lessened the jealousy that would have arisen from creating an extensive horde of Scotchmen into English Lords, &c.

It was in this reign that the House of Commons first began to display a power independent of the King. James was haughty and wanted to reign as his progenitors had reigned, but the moment had arrived when the divine right and absolute power of Kings began to be questioned, and the members of the House of Commons, who then formed something like the representatives of the People of England, began to curtail the power and influence of the Crown, and the insolent Aristocracy, and to assert the rights and the powers of the People. This was something new in the annals of monarchy, and the otherwise naturally mild disposition of James was irritated into a sort of madness. There was also a disposition shewn in this reign to abolish Episcopacy, as the Scotch Reformers had done, but the King stood by the bishops and exclaimed: "No Bishop, no King." From this moment the decline of the English Monarchy and Episcopacy may be dated, for, although both were actually overturned in the next reign, they have but recovered themselves for a more effectual final overthrow.

In this reign, and in the succeeding reign of Charles the First, there was evidently something like a representation of the People of England in the House of Commons; but to what did it lead? To the overthrow of Monarchy and the Established Church, and this would inevitably be the case again if ever the House of Commons be purified under a Monarchy, Aristocracy and Established Church. It is a moral impossibility that a body so pure and powerful, as a real House of Commons would be, should exist in conjunction with so corrupt, and morally and naturally, so powerless a body, as composes the Monarchy, Aristocracy and Established Priesthood of this country. What guarantee then do our constitutional puritans offer to those bodies from whom they solicit a Reform? And how can any man play the hypocrite, so far as to say that all would be well, and that the King, Nobles and Priests would preserve all their present privileges and distinctions with a real House of Commons? The King, Nobles and Priests know better, and they would be the most arrant fools, as privileged orders, if they were ever voluntarily to place themselves in the paws of the lion, whom they have both hungered, muzzled, and enraged. That lion will most assuredly limb

and destroy them when he feels the power. Let me not be considered as defending the existence and conduct of those privileged orders, no, far be this from me; my object is to display the evident dishonesty of the minds and professions of those persons who talk about obtaining Radical Reform with the preservation of those privileged orders, and who, by propagating such a delusion, are doing a great deal of mischief and retarding the advance of real Liberty and Reform. These persons are actually doing us more injury than the privileged orders themselves, for they neutralize the effect of better principles, and whilst they profess attachment to those privileged orders, are treated with the most ineffable contempt in return by them, and are made the instruments of defeating the progress of any and every kind of Reform, and laughed at for their bungling notions and conduct into the bargain. They bring the cause of Reform into contempt by not proceeding upon sound principles, and contending for a complete Representative System of Government, centred in one body, over which there shall be no checks, and which shall periodically be reduced to an express likeness of the whole People.

It is not necessary that I detail what occurred during the reign of Charles the First, that part of the History of England I hope is well known to all who read the Republican, and respecting what was called the Commonwealth of England, it will suffice that I say, Cromwell the despot, though not a King in name, was conscious that he could not hold his desired authority in conjunction with a real House of Commons, so he allowed none even to share, or to have the opportunity of disputing his powers.

The reign of Charles the Second was a reign of contention between King and Parliament, although Kings had by that time learnt the necessity of corrupting the Parliament so as to meet their royal purposes; and it was more than suspected that many of the members of the Parliament were pensioned by the King of France and other governments. The reign of Charles the Second was a great disgrace to the country. There was nothing pure in King, Lords, or Commons, in Parliament assembled in that reign. All was corruption and licentiousness of manners, without any thing of a union between the parties themselves, and thus matters went on until James the Second was expelled from the throne and the country, and the Dutchman, his son in law, brought to the throne in his stead.

Up to this period, I presume, nothing can be found as a

form of government on which the British Constitutionalists can rest for a moment. There was not the least resemblance of what now constitutes a constitution in Spain or America in any of the reigns mentioned, though this brings us down to the period of the much boasted revolution of 1688. If there be any thing misstated here, or any thing neglected which these constitutionalists wish to fix on as an example, let any of them remind me of it, and I will fairly canvass the matter. It was not a Parliament that expelled James the Second, it was an offended Aristocracy, and the Parliament that beheaded Charles was not pure enough even to preserve its own powers and constitution.

If ever there was any thing like a real House of Commons in this country, it was during the reign of the Stuarts; for in no other period of English History was ever the House of Commons a check or controul upon the corrupt influence of the Crown and Aristocracy. The Stuarts avoided meeting the House of Commons as far as they possibly could, but they never met it without feeling its force and influence, which has never been the case since what has been called the glorious revolution, or the expulsion of the male line of the Stuarts. There would have been revolutions again and again since that period, if the House of Commons had not been corrupted to a resemblance of the King and Aristocracy instead of being a resemblance of the People. The history of the Stuarts proclaims the fact, that, REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE, AND HEREDITARY RIGHT CAN NEVER CO-EXIST. They are two opposite principles, and the one must naturally destroy the other. The history of the Guelphs proclaims the same fact, for they would not have existed with any but a corrupt House of Commons; nor is it probable that they will ever trust themselves to any other. It will be but candid to say that the Guelphs did not altogether create the corruptions of the House of Commons, but found them ready done to their hands. It is not a jot more corrupt now than it was a century ago.

But the argument of the talkers about the British Constitution is, that a form of government consisting of King, Lords and Commons, in a state of purity, is the best form that can be devised. In a state of purity? This is the rub. Did they ever, can they ever, co-exist in a state of purity? If the House of Commons was in a state of purity what need would there be of keeping checks over its every action? In any and in every view of the matter the hereditary bodies are perfectly useless, and instead of being necessary

as checks upon a pure House of Commons they must naturally clog and corrupt it, and if the House of Commons be not pure it is worse than useless. Ever since the Guelphs have been on the throne there has been one settled scheme of corruption with regard to the House of Commons. I do not say that the first Guelph was the cause of it—it was begun in the reign of the Dutch usurper, William the Prince of Orange, and brought to a climax by Sir Robert Walpole in the reign of George the Second. Doubtless there were some of the members of the House Commons bribed and corrupted under the reigns of the Stuarts, but not with the same view and upon the same principle as at present. There was no settled scheme to have majorities in every question that concerned the Ministers. Castlereagh can count the number and force of his regiment as effectually as a colonel of an actual regiment of soldiers. The first regiment is hired to impose, the second to enforce a compliance with a tyrannical imposition of taxes. Castlereagh is the real Commander-in-Chief of the whole host of Corruption.

It is not necessary that I here make any distinction between the several reigns since what is falsely called the Glorious Revolution of 1688. They have been uniform in their object and effect, and their system has been now extended to such an extremity as inevitably to destroy itself. It cannot exist seven years longer, and as many months may bring it to a close. There has been a uniform increase of debt and taxes since the Dutch usurper, William, sat himself down at Whitehall, and a uniform abridgment of the liberties of the people as distress has driven them to dissatisfaction and disaffection to the Government. The object of the Monarchy has been to introduce the German System of Absolute Power, but it will be defeated, more by its own rash imprudence and improvident character, the effects of revolutions in other countries, than by any real opposition on the part of Englishmen themselves.

Where, then, are we to look for the purity of the British Constitution? Where will our Constitutional Puritans direct our attention for an example? Nowhere can they find it in the history of England; and they will do more good to be silent than to propagate their false and deceitful lore about restoring the purity of the British Constitution, about restoring what never had existence!

There was never any thing like a pure House of Commons in this country but it led to a change of the Monarch, and such must inevitably be the case again, so long as an inso-

lent Aristocracy exists with an hereditary right to legislate, or to reduce all legislation to the standard of their corrupt minds and perverted reasons.

Republicans, be it our duty to seek a Representative System of Government, a House of Commons that shall exist in manhood, and not be continually in the leading-strings of Monarchy and Aristocracy. Let us look at the body of industrious people as the only supreme power, as possessing the only hereditary right to legislate and to rule for themselves and not for others; let us silence those prattling old women, who, with so much mock modesty and sham virtue, talk about restoring that which never existed in the British Constitution; and, above all things, let us determine to think, to speak, to judge, and to act for ourselves, and no longer leave these important duties to be performed by proxy.

R. CARLILE.

PROCEEDINGS OF A PUBLIC MEETING

HELD PURSUANT TO THE FOLLOWING NOTICE.

" LIBERTY OF THE PRESS AND FREE DISCUSSION.

" A Public Meeting will be held in a large Room, opposite the Spread Eagle, Meadow Lane, on Monday, March 18, 1822, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of supporting the Liberty of the Press and Free Discussion against the unjust Restrictions imposed, and the unparalleled Prosecutions heaped, on those who advocate the Principles of Liberty.

" And to take into consideration the unmerited treatment of Mr. Carlile, his Wife, and Sister, who are all suffering unjust Confinement, on account of supporting the Liberty of the Press: and for the purpose of devising the most effectual means of enabling them to pay the enormous Fines imposed upon them.

" The attention of the Female Friends of Liberty is particularly called to the present perilous situation of Mrs. Carlile, who has been sentenced to Two Years Imprisonment, on account of obedience to her Husband, and though she is now far advanced in a state of Pregnancy, her situation is rendered more dangerous, by being subjected to unjust Confinement.

" Subscriptions will be received at the Place of Meeting. The Chair to be taken precisely at Eight o'Clock.—Leeds, March 12, 1822."

Mr. W. BYERLEY was unanimously called to the Chair,

And addressed the Meeting at some length in favour of Public Liberty, and strongly urged the necessity of supporting Mr. Carlile, in order that he might be able to meet the enormous fines imposed upon him and his family.

J. BRAYSHAW spoke to the following effect:—Gentlemen, The subject of Free Discussion is by all parties allowed to be of great importance, and the Liberty of the Press is praised even by the most abject slaves amongst the Whigs and Tories. But in what way do they wish for Free Discussion and the Liberty of the Press?

They all wish to have it placed under some restraints; they all wish to have liberty to say and write whatever they think proper themselves, but they wish no man to be at liberty to dispute their assertions. The liberty I advocate is entirely of a different kind, it is founded upon the principle of allowing every one the same liberty in declaring his sentiments that I wish to enjoy myself. I wish to have the liberty of examining every thing; and I wish to have the liberty of calling in question every thing which I consider to be doubtful. I wish to examine every thing which relates to the happiness of our species without restraint, and to communicate the result of my examinations to the public. I consider that discussion ought to be perfectly free, and that the Press ought to suffer no restraint whatever in matters of opinion, nor indeed in any matter whatever except the restraining of personal slander. The degree of liberty which I now advocate is greater than the sectarian, or those who have exclusive interests to support, will ever be willing to allow; but I trust I shall be able to shew that it is necessary for the purpose of promoting the moral improvement of man, and securing his ultimate happiness. I am aware that those who live by supporting any particular set of opinions will raise a cry, that if this degree of liberty be allowed, men may attack the most sacred institutions, and overthrow opinions which have been cherished for ages. This I am willing to allow may be the consequence, but I have yet to learn that it would be an evil. When we take into consideration the variety of opinions maintained by different individuals, and that these opinions are many of them in direct contradiction to one another, we are certain that the greatest part if not the whole of them must be false. Who, then, shall determine which are true and which are false, or who can be justified, under present circumstances, in saying, this opinion or that opinion shall not be attacked? Opinions are the result of the circumstances in which individuals are placed, they depend upon the knowledge that we possess: and the opinion which to one appears sacred and even absolutely necessary for his happiness, will to another appear to be absurd and to be injurious to the happiness of mankind. Some, for instance, suppose that what is generally termed religion is the principal source of happiness; whilst, on the other hand, it appears to me highly probable that every system of religion must be exploded in order to make way for establishing the permanent happiness of mankind. Our knowledge is but yet in its infancy, and we are certain that amongst the vast number of conflicting opinions, many of them must be false. When the circumstances of any person are such as to produce erroneous opinions, a fair statement of the arguments which may be urged against them is the only proper mode of correcting his errors: force of every description, except the force of argument, is more likely to establish error than to convince any individual of his errors. Truth can only be established by such an examination of the subject to which it refers, as shall leave no possibility of error in any particular; and when the truth of any subject is thus established, the labours of any individual to make it appear false must be unavailing, and his exertions can never overthrow it. The importance of Free Discussion and the perfect Liberty of the Press will, I trust, be sufficiently evident to every one present. I shall now briefly call your attention to that part of the object of our meeting which relates particularly to Mr. Carlile. The confinement that himself, his Wife, and Sister, are now suffering, and the fines that have been imposed upon them on account of publishing matters of opinion, are well known. I need not detail the dauntless manner in which he has continued his exertions against tyranny and delusion even when immured within the walls of a Prison. The manner in which Mr. Carlile and his Wife and Sister are treated I shall not attempt to describe—the circumstance of their being excluded from the sight of their friends speaks sufficient. Who, I would ask, are the persons who thus take upon them to inflict punishment upon individuals on account of publishing matters of opinion? If we are to believe information which comes from one who is very likely to know, his persecutors are the Nobility and the dignified Clergy of the land. Yes, the Clergy, of all others! those dignified impostors, who live in idleness and luxury by deluding mankind! That horde of impostors, who shew in the collection of tythes, that they do not believe that three and one are the same number, any

more than they believe that God has a Son as old as himself: yet they have no objection to teach both those absurdities to fools, providing they can get a good living by it. Priests in all ages, and in all countries, have uniformly been the enemies of the human race; they have always formed a secret association with an interest opposed to the general interests of mankind; they have deluded mankind with the hopes of another life where all their wrongs should be redressed, in order that they might draw the people's attention from the happiness which is capable of being procured in this. That an individual who thus has to contend with the most corrupt body that ever disgraced society, ought to be supported by all who wish for the improvement of man, cannot possibly be disputed. The question is, How are we to act in order to give him the most effectual support? That his punishment is unjust there can be no doubt; shall we, then, petition the House of Commons to interfere in order to get his imprisonment and his fines remitted? To this I have decided objections, because Mr. Carlile's punishment is part of it owing to attacking the corruptions by which they obtain their seats, consequently, it would be like petitioning them to pass a sentence of condemnation upon themselves. Besides this, I consider that when that House is not chosen by the people, to petition it is to acknowledge the existence of a House of Legislature which has no existence. Where the Legislative Body is not chosen by the people, whatever form the Government may bear, it is nothing but a Despotism. Shall we, then, petition the House of Lords? In my opinion, every objection I have brought against the Commons is applicable to this House; besides that, the Members of this House may be considered as his direct persecutors, being the Nobility, and, above all, the Bishops. Shall we, then, petition the King? If we are to act the slavish part of petitioning, I acknowledge that in a Military Despotism it is best to petition the Chief Despot. But I object to petitioning him, because it is unreasonable to expect that a Tyrant should shew mercy to one who endeavours to enlighten mankind. Then, in my opinion, no good can arise from the farce of petitioning. If we would support Mr. Carlile, and through him our own liberty, we must depend upon our own exertions, and do the best we can by giving circulation to his Works, and by rendering that pecuniary assistance which is necessary to combat the common enemy.

Mr. J. Watson then addressed the Meeting as follows:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, After the very luminous and impressive speeches which you have heard from my friends who have preceded me, it is not necessary that I should occupy much of your time, but the motto at the head of our bill is of so powerful and weighty a nature, that I could not suffer it to pass by in silence. The Liberty of the Press is certainly one of the greatest bulwarks in the defence of Freedom that ever was discovered; it may justly be entitled the Saviour of mankind; it is one of the greatest engines for the destruction of ignorance, and one of the best for the extension of knowledge; it shews truth in its native dignity, and spreads a lasting portion on the human race. Need we wonder at the intentions of tyrants who combine for its destruction? No, Gentlemen, it is this, and this alone, that wafts wisdom through a thousand channels, dissipates the impostures of tyrants, and raises such a phalanx in its own defence, as makes the despots tremble. Kings and Priests unite for the most diabolical purposes, and shall we, who wish to expand and propagate sound principles in the human mind, see ourselves wrested of this powerful ally (the Press) without one effort to curb the tyrants' power? No! we will wrest this engine from their lawless grasp and place it in that superior station which it is so justly entitled to. If we are to pay homage, we will pay it to that which procures to man the greatest share of happiness—the Liberty of the Press. Gentlemen, the next thing that strikes our eye is a privilege not less valuable, the liberty of Free Discussion; it is by this and this alone that we shall be, and have been able to discern Freedom from Slavery, and Reason and Philosophy from Superstition and Bigotry—the demonstrable arguments of Philosophers from the imposition and fraud of Priests. Let us powerfully unite for its protection, for though the conflict be arduous, the victory will be more glorious. Free Discussion, combined with the Liberty of the Press, will utterly banish ignorance; and to ignorance may be attributed every evil with which man-

kind is afflicted. Why are our ears disgusted with the name of tyrant and slave? To a want of knowledge it may be attributed, for where is the man that durst impose upon his fellow-men if they were alike wise, and the wisdom can only be attained by discussion; it utterly exterminates falsehood and lets truth shine in its wonted vigour. We see the dreadful effects of ignorance by the present unhappy measures which distract Ireland. Gentlemen, it must be obvious to you and to every reflecting mind, that the Liberty of the Press and Free Discussion are two of the most powerful barriers in the defence of Freedom with which we are acquainted, and I would ask you who has been the most firm and the most consistent defender of those privileges? Gentlemen, that man is Richard Carlile, he has stood in the foremost rank in opposing the inroads which the Political and Religious Despots of our country are making upon our liberty. He has made a breach in the strong holds of our enemies, and it is our interest as well as our duty to give him that aid necessary to its entire demolition. The next question I shall call your attention to is that of Mrs. Carlile, one of the most intrepid females which history can boast of, who for her honesty and industry has been subjected to the merciless vengeance of a horde of unfeeling monsters, incarcerated within the walls of a gloomy Prison, for the term of Two Years, merely for acting under the controul of her husband, and that of obtaining subsistence for her children; with a Sister confined within the walls of the same Bastile for advocating the cause of Liberty and Free Discussion. Shall we suffer Injustice to triumph over Justice, Vice over Virtue, and the honest advocates of Liberty to want the common necessities of life? No, Gentlemen, we will not suffer such infamy to pass unnoticed, but will give them that pecuniary support which our circumstances will admit, for in supporting the case of Mr. Carlile we are giving our support to the Liberty of the Press and Free Discussion.

(To be continued.)

AN ADDRESS TO ALL THOSE WHO CALL THEMSELVES REFORMERS, PARTICULARLY TO A FEW OF THE LEADING CHARACTERS.

“Take care that ye fall not out by the way.”

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

I PRESUME to address you on a most important subject, a subject that is of the greatest moment, both to yourselves and to posterity. I need not inform you of the oppression that you labour under, nor of the unjust privations that many of you have experienced, but shall endeavour to point out the causes that have begotten these lamentable effects. First, then, you will bear in mind, that it has ever been the political craft of all corrupt and unjust Governments to keep the people at variance one with another. Some Governments have taken one plan and some another: but the leaders of our State have taken various methods; they have told us and our forefathers, that the Government of our land was the wonder and admiration of all surrounding nations, and that the privileges that we enjoy were of the most inestimable nature—that they allowed all men to worship their Maker as they pleased. Well, this must be very grand

indeed ! But for what purpose, think you, did the Church and State of this land permit the people to worship as they pleased ? I will tell you ; it was done for no other purpose but to keep the people in arguments and broils about religion, in order that they might rob them without any trouble, that they might live in ease, luxury, and extravagance, upon the fruits of their labour ; and, I am sorry to say, that their woeful schemes have succeeded but too well. At the time of what they call the Reformation they (the Church and State) drew a circle, and within the bounds of that circle the people might fight, might argue, and destroy themselves in broils : but, mark well, if any one had the honesty and boldness to stride over that circle, he was immediately taken hold of and lodged in a dungeon for a term of years. The reason is obvious why they do this, because they know, that if such are allowed to take such liberties, they will admonish others to do the same, by which means, the fraud and imposition of Priests would soon fall into general contempt.

When I look back for the last thirty years, and see how people are enlightened in the political state of the nation now to what they were at the commencement of that period, I cannot but conclude, that the time is not far distant when tyrants shall be hurled from their seats. But, on the other hand, when I still see that foul and ugly witch, Superstition, smiling upon the lap of Ignorance, when I see her still keeping her residence in the breasts of good men, and that to a pitch of persecution in some of our leading characters, I am lost in wonder and astonishment, and am almost ready to exclaim, that her chains and her bolts are so strong that they will never be broken. But, however, powerful as her chains are upon the human mind, I will endeavour to undermine her ; I will endeavour to search her to the very bottom ; I will strip her naked and expose her to open view, for she hath destroyed the comely character of Human Nature and Health, fertilized the earth with the blood of millions, and still she stalks abroad through the earth and invades the breasts of some of our good men ! Time will not permit to follow her through the different nations of the earth, and as such, I shall confine myself only to what is called the Christian world. First, then, in order to expose that deadly monster, Superstition, in the Christian world, we should begin with the contemplation of that Power that rules and governs the universe, and by so doing, we shall make the utmost use of human reason and combine it with demonstrable facts. Now, Reader, whoever thou art, I appeal to thy senses, to thy reason, and to visible demonstration, to witness the truths that I am about to advance. I say, then, that something must have existed from eternity, for since something now is, something always was, or else the things that now are must have sprung from nothing, without any original cause ; as plain a contradiction, both in terms and ideas, as ever presented itself to the mind of man. It is equally possible that nothing never should have existed, as that there should have been a time when nothing did exist. And from this it necessarily follows, that some one unchangeable Being

hath existed, without cause, without beginning, eternal and self-existent; and this eternal and self-existent Being, man, in the English language, calls God. Well, from this, what do the Christian Clergy tell us, or what is the foundation of the Christian faith? (Now, Superstition, beware of thyself!) The foundation of the Christian system is as follows: that God existed from eternity without doing any thing; and, at length, about five or six thousand years ago, he took it into his mind to make this earth, with the sun, moon, and stars. That after he had completed the earth, and furnished it with animals of various kinds, he, last of all, made a man and a woman, and placed them in a delightful garden, and told them to take choice of every thing there excepting the fruit of a tree in the midst of the garden; that he told them they must not eat of, or touch it, for if they did, they should surely die: that they did eat of it by the insinuations of a serpent that introduced itself into the garden, and that in consequence of this disobedient act, they ruined all mankind. That God seeing this breach that man had made in his creation, prepared a remedy for that breach, that the serpent being the first aggressor, God declared that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head and destroy both him and his infernal power; that this seed of the woman is nothing more nor less than the man Christ Jesus; and they say, that in order that this serpent and his power should be finally destroyed, the Great Author of Nature was under a necessity of giving up his Son to die an ignominious death upon a cross, in order that he might fully repair the breach that Adam, the first man, had made by his fall.

Yet, notwithstanding the uncontrollable power of the Great Governor of the universe; and notwithstanding the remedy that he, in mercy and goodness, prepared for fallen man; notwithstanding his giving up his only begotten Son to die upon a cross in order that man might be redeemed and the serpent finally destroyed; yet notwithstanding all that the great God of infinite goodness and wisdom hath done, or can do, the greatest part of his creation will be lost to all eternity, and that the head of the serpent will never be bruised, but will, contrary to the will and intention of God, torment the souls of far more than nineteen-twentieths of his creatures.

Now, generous Reader, pause for a few moments, and ask that reason that God has given thee, whether any thing can be more inconsistent with the attributes of the Almighty Power of the universe? That it is inconsistent with every attribute of the Deity is plain to the meanest capacity; and if it was not that men in general can be taught to believe any thing, they never would have given credit to such palpable contradictions. There is no way in which Christianity can bear the least scrutiny but as follows, that is, if man did fall in the way and manner as is represented to us; I say, if we admit this, and if we admit that God prepared a remedy to redeem all that fell by Adam's transgression, it will necessarily follow, according to almighty power and infinite goodness, that all will be redeemed, that all will be saved, that the serpent will be destroyed,

and that the powers of Hell will return to their non-existence; I say, if there be an uncontrollable Power existing in the universe, and if that Power is vested with unbounded wisdom and infinite goodness, if he from the beginning foresaw all things, both past, present, and to come, as the Christian Clergy say he is perfect in these things; I say, then, if that be the case, it is impossible that any one soul should remain in eternal torments. And if any of the Christian Clergy can prove to me that the greatest number of mankind will remain in eternal torments, or that any one soul shall remain in it, then I will prove that there is no such a Being as they represent existing in the universe. And though the Clergy, and many others, brand men of truth, of virtue, and wisdom, with Atheism, there is nothing proves Atheism equal to the pernicious doctrine of eternal torments, for the greatest number of mankind, nay, according as we have been taught, scarcely any will be saved. What does our Church say, that is called a very moderate Church, I mean the Protestant Church? What does she say? Why, she says, except men believe what nobody understands, they cannot be saved; that is the sum and substance of the Creed called the Athanasian Creed, for it says, "The Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and yet there are not three Gods, but one God." It also says, "The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible." I need say no more about it, only mark the last sentence well, which is as follows:—"This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved." It does not say he will not be saved, but he cannot be saved, that is, except a man believes faithfully what is incomprehensible to all mankind, he cannot be saved. Well, if this be true, all will go to the Devil without exception, for it is impossible for any man to be fully faithful in believing what no one understands.

But in order to expose these detestable dogmas a little farther, let us just take a peep at these torments that every man must fall into who does not faithfully believe what no one understands. The Clergy tell us, (and especially some of the Dissenters) that these torments are to last to all eternity. Well, let us see how far this will correspond with justice, not to say any thing of mercy or any other attribute of the Deity. We shall suppose, then, (for the sake of enlarging, or rather overwhelming our ideas) that admitting every grain of matter that composes this globe, and every drop of rain that ever fell, and the drops of water also that compose the vast ocean; I say, admitting these were all gathered together in one heap, and one of these were to be taken away every million years, even at the end of this inconceivable and incalculable length of time, eternity! eternity! vast, unbounded eternity! is only beginning!

Now, Reader, here make a full stop, and ask thy senses whether it is possible for any being upon earth to commit crimes that will merit punishment in a future state for such a length of time, and ten million times ten million more? But I wave the subject, and will not attempt to impose upon the human understanding by sup-

posing sober judgment capable of harbouring such horrible ideas a single moment. Yet, horrible as they are, such are the ideas that we have been taught in order to make us mean and servile. This is the way, the very way that the ecclesiastical and legal robberies and oppressions of this world have been guaranteed by the terrors of another.

If the people of the United States of America are pregnant with such ideas, if they are as superstitious as Mr. Cobbett hath said, in a Letter to Mr. Carlile, then I hesitate not to say, they may soon bid a final farewell to Liberty; yes, as sure as the sun ever shone in the region of space, just as sure will that country fall into slavery and degradation. It is impossible for either Liberty or Justice to exist where Superstition lifts up her towering head; and yet some of you tell us that we must not meddle with religion. I ask you what do you mean by religion? If you mean systems of faith, I must in justice tell you, there never was any true religion in any of them; if you are religious only through fear of going to some horrible place after death, your religion is founded in rottenness, and it can never be said to such, "Well done, good and faithful servant," because under the slavish idea of fear there cannot be the least merit. And as such, my Friends and Fellow-Sufferers, in the name of Reason and Justice, in the name of Truth, as it is written with the finger of God in the visible creation, in the name of millions that Superstition has slain in the field, on the gibbet, the block, and the rack, and by the tears of the widows and orphans, I entreat you to beware of the inroads of Superstition, and teach your children true virtue, that never-fading ornament of the human mind! Teach them to do justice and to love one another as far as is consistent with the well-being of society, and to endeavour to make their fellow-creatures happy! Teach them to do to their neighbour as they wish their neighbour to do to them! Teach them to extend their charity to the fatherless, the widow, and the distressed, and to keep themselves unspotted from the vanities and glittering toys of the world! Teach them to be bold, intrepid, and undaunted in all virtuous enterprises, and to resist all tyranny and oppression, as it is consistent with Nature's unchangeable laws! And, finally, to fear not death, but to look upon it only as a night's repose after a toilsome day! And you, my Friends and Labourers in the great cause of Freedom and the Rights of Man, some of whom are immured in Bastiles, I call upon you, in the name of intrinsic Virtue, "to fall not out by the way," but be united in one heart and one mind, and let not Superstition influence you to divide the people in their political career; but consider, that it hath been the bane of society in all ages of the world. And as the eyes of the whole nation are upon you, if you divide, if you shew the least animosity against one another, be assured you will divide the people also. I am very sorry that the least discord should appear amongst you, but, alas! it is that deluding monster, Superstition, that is the cause of it; she is a rock upon which millions have split; she hath spoiled all nations with

her witchcrafts; she hath caused the earth to teem with human blood; she hath caused mankind to hate one another by destroying human nature, and intruding herself and her inseparable companion, Ignorance, upon its ruins! And, my Friends, as long as she keeps her seat in the human mind, men never will enjoy their rights; neither will there ever be any thing heard of but luxury and extravagance, poverty and wretchedness, war and destruction upon the face of the earth! And, finally, ye Political Leaders of an insulted, degraded, and poverty-stricken people, I request you, in the most sincere manner, to join hand in hand, and let your hearts be united in one common cause and common interest; then will the people have cause to rejoice, and be enabled to claim those rights that are consistent with the unerring laws of the Great Power of the universe!

RICHARD MOORE.

Manchester.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

SIR,

As I know you and thousands more, as well as myself, have a great veneration for the writings and memory of Mr. T. Paine, it has induced me to send you the following extracts from "Memoirs of Sir John Dryden," published in "The Monthly Magazine," April, 1797, just to shew you how true a prophet the said Sir John Dryden was, as follows:—

"On Sunday, April 16, died, at his house in Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square, Sir John Dryden, Bart., of Canon's Ashby, in the county of Northampton. Sir J. D. was the second son of — Turner, Esq., formerly Knight of the Shire for the county of Oxford, and a very opulent and respectable gentleman. The contest of the father, as a candidate for a seat in Parliament, forms a very memorable epoch in the history of Oxfordshire, but in nothing is it more remarkable than in the circumstance of having brought the present Earl of Liverpool into notice. When this occurred, Mr. Jenkinson was a very young, and a very obscure man; it was his good fortune, however, to have a knack of ballad-making, and he actually composed one on the occasion, here alluded to, that led to all his future greatness, for the Member for the county of Oxford introduced him to Lord Bute, and the whole nation is acquainted with the rest of his history, as it is closely interwoven with that of their own."

[Here follows an account of his education, travels, and his marriage with the great grand-daughter of the poet, Dryden, uninteresting to us.]

Again it says — "During that short, but disgraceful period of our history, commonly known by the appellation of the 'Reign of Terror,' Mr. Turner, who had now changed his name to Dryden, be-

came High Sheriff of the county of Northampton; and in this capacity actually caused a *mannekin*, called Tom Paine, to be hung on a gibbet 30 feet high! Such an elevated instance of loyalty did not pass without its due reward, for he soon after was knighted, a circumstance which every body was astonished at, as his two sisters were Peereesses of Great Britain, both his brother and his uncle Barons, and he himself a man of figure. He was, however, speedily after created a Baronet, for he had raised a troop of Yeomen Cavalry, and been at great pains, not only to promote, but also to present a petition from Northamptonshire, approving of the present very '*just and necessary war!*' On this occasion he applied to Lord Hawkesbury, now Earl of Liverpool, stating his own services, and intimating that there was a *dormant* Baronetcy in his wife's family on which he had claims; he also hinted, in distant and polite terms, (for he was an exceedingly elegant and well-bred man) that his Lordship had formerly received many civilities from his father. The reply of the Noble Earl was equally short and satisfactory, he really 'had not interest sufficient to obtain such a favour, but he had the honour to be, with the most profound respect, attachment, and regard, his very humble and obedient servant,' &c. &c. Mr. George Rose, another child of Fortune, and the legitimate successor of the Jenkinsons and Robinsons, obtained instantly what the Noble Earl very ingenuously professed himself utterly *unable* to procure. In respect to politics, Sir J. Dryden was what he called an *old Whig*, or, in other words, a *modern Tory*. Notwithstanding this, it must be owned, that on many occasions he exhibited repeated instances of great liberality in politics, and was above all little personal enmities. On seeing two engraved portraits of Mr. Paine at the house of a friend, he begged one of them, observing, at the same time, that at the very moment he had ordered him to be burned in effigy, an *awkward thought* came across his mind, 'that he could be no common man whom Government was at such pains to hunt down; and that when the High Sheriff of Northamptonshire was perhaps forgotten, the Author of the *Rights of Man* would be mentioned in history with applause!'

Again—"He lived long enough, however, to express his abhorrence and detestation of a war he had once supported, and this circumstance gave him great uneasiness. He was accustomed, indeed, within the last three months of his life frequently to exclaim, 'That, like *Mutius Scaevola*, he would burn that hand which had presented a petition to the King, countenancing the present unhappy contest.' Sir J. D. was about 49 years of age."

From the above extracts it appears Sir J. Dryden apostatized. From this I have been led to compare the difference of prophecy between the late Bishop of Llandaff, who prophesied that Thomas Paine and his Works would soon be forgotten. But Sir J. Dryden seems to have been a better prophet than the Bishop; I think we may allow him to have been invested with the true spirit of prophecy. Of all the prophecies, or pretended prophecies of the Old

and New Testament, none have been more literally fulfilled than the above of Sir J. Dryden's; for few know or hear any thing of him—while the name of Paine is resounded through every part of Europe.

Should you deem the extract worth insertion in your "Republican," it may amuse many of your Readers who are unacquainted with the origin of the Jenkinsons, to know, that the great Lord Liverpool sprung from a ballad-maker.

I am, Sir, ~~with~~ great respect, your Fellow-Citizen,

T. R. BAYLEY POTTS.

Nelson's Row, Clapham,

April 18, 1822.

REASONS OF A DEIST FOR NOT BELIEVING IN CHRISTIANITY.

I. BECAUSE the authority on which it rests is doubtful; the mind cannot doubt and believe at the same time.

II. Because its doctrines are opposed to the divine perfections.

III. Because it is contrary to reason, and, consequently, not fitted for rational beings.

IV. Because it would be contrary to the character of an all-wise Being to propose that to the minds of rational beings for belief and reception, which, according to their natures, he knew could not be believed or acknowledged.

V. Because the authority on which it rests is in direct contradiction to itself—proposing two distinct modes of action, differing essentially from each other, yet each proposed as the ultimate ground of salvation—*Faith and Works*.

VI. Because it is contrary to justice, or what the rational mind can conceive to be so: and it would be equally unjust either to act unjustly, or so to pervert our powers that we could not discern between justice and injustice, and yet require a justice at our hands.

VII. Because it is, and ever has been limited in its operation and extent, yet necessary (if necessary at all) to be universally known—it is, therefore, imperfect.

VIII. Because it is opposed to the religion *founded on the same authority*, viz. Judaism, which, if of God, would never have undergone any alteration by his command. "God is of one mind."

IX. Because its leading doctrines, *Election and Predestination*, tend to the encouragement of vice, as moral responsibility is thereby destroyed.

X. Because its fundamental doctrine, that of the Trinity, a belief in which is stated as the ground of salvation, is a doctrine incomprehensible by the human mind, and of which it can receive no idea—it is, consequently, beyond the power of the mind to believe; to believe that of which we have no idea, is to believe nothing.

E. H.

A NEW CREED.

*The Human Soul substantiated. Its future progressive and obvious Existence
evinced.*

No mysteries here to stifle common sense ;
This Creed is orthodox—
Honi soit qui mal y pense.

Read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest,
Nothing immoral is herein exprest.

IN search of objects far from home,
How do we ourselves turmoil !
Round the universe we roam,
Till mental vigour sinks with toil.

Yet at our elbow often lays
That which no where else is found,
That which sought a thousand ways,
Yet with no success is crown'd.

The human soul we still explore,
And seek to find it, God knows where !
Into distant regions soar,
But never can we find it there.

Then try a little nearer hand,
And learn what Nature has decreed ;
If Nature is by Reason scann'd,
The soul of man is in his seed.

For know, 'tis there the human soul
Doth ever renovate in kind,
'Tis so with brutes, and fish, and fowl,
The soul with life is still combined.

Sow but the seed, the germ will find
The magic aid of Nature's power ;
The germ produces in its kind,
And renovates the blooming flower.

We plant ourselves ere we decay,
And for new life the means afford,
And with ourselves our souls convey,
And in our offspring are restored.

'Tis thus that Nature has decreed,
To place within ourselves the power
To plant and reap from our own seed,
What Death or Time cannot devour.

What Heaven can equal Love's delights,
When we enjoy what we adore,
The soul attains ecstatic heights,
And human nature craves no more.

Excited thus ourselves to save,
Through a strong passion wisely given;
A boon divine! which Nature gave
To make existence here a Heaven.

Granting to Heaven the soul ascends,
Whether of you, or of your brother,
It matters not, though constant friends,
You'll have no knowledge of each other.

Therefore that soul you call your own,
If into Heaven it can ascend,
Cannot in any ways be known
Either as relative or friend.*

An utter stranger in the crowd,
The flitting spirit none can see,
By whom acknowledg'd, whom allow'd,
To be the soul of you or me.

If otherwise, a sad turmoil
Would stun the peaceful throne of grace,
As old resentments would embroil
And make a bedlam of the place.

Then see how good thy God has been
To give thee still existence here,
Where thou art known, felt, and seen,
Nor yet to vanish into air.

Still vivified in fresh routine
To keep thee hers is Nature's care;
Thou'lt ever be what thou hast been,
Nor ever know another sphere.

Then, mysteries no longer try
To find thy soul departed hence,
There is no dwelling in the sky,
Or other place we know on high,
To make for this fit recompence.

MORAL.

Act well your part in this your place,
A Heaven or Hell is here,
'Tis vice that does the soul debase,
For vice is hell, and virtue peace,
Then take which you prefer.

"Like leaves on trees, the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
Another race the following spring supplies,
They fall successive, and successive rise.
"So generations in their course decay,
So flourish these when those have past away."

A—M B—T.

* So says Holy Writ.

These verses were published on a sheet by Mr. Carlile for the Author, who gave his name as Captain Bosquet, of the Navy, and called his publication the Bosquetian Creed, in the summer of 1819. Then, as now, we entertained but a light opinion of them, on the ground that we consider them as calculated to keep up a foolish and unfounded notion about a soul being something distinct from the body. The soul is a creature of the imagination, and has no existence beyond that sphere if it expresses any thing more than animal life. Animal life, like vegetable life, is nothing more than the result of a peculiar organization, and when the organization is injured, decayed, or destroyed, the life, or soul, goes with it, and is entirely dependent upon it. Death has no power beyond the immediate organization, which naturally dissolves and rises to life again in some other shape, or as a part of some other organization of matter. The French decree, that "Death was an eternal sleep," was not scientifically correct, although it was correct as to the sense of a resurrection of the same sensitive body. There is nothing idle in Nature, all is busily employed, and in motion for one purpose or another, or to one common purpose. The sluggard cannot still the motion of his body although he ceases his locomotion. Nature defies him, and the means he uses to preserve himself or procure happiness, she defeats, and hastens him to his dissolution. Life is a motion of fluids within an organic sphere, and the certain and invariable price of life is its dissolution! The seed is neither the life or soul of either animal or vegetable: it increases numerically the organizations that possess life; and, as such, may be called the germ of life to future beings, but not to the possessor. It was, therefore, ridiculous to apply the word *soul*, in its common acceptation, to the word *seed*. Since such insane notions have been applied to the word *soul*, it is better now to say that animal life is connected with nothing of the kind, but comes and goes without it.

EDITOR.

P. S. It is our intention to exclude all Poetry from the future pages of "The Republican," unless it be something very superior in its powers of instruction. We are among those who do not think it any ornament to common sense, and bad Poetry is calculated to spoil it!

REASONS FOR RENOUNCING CHRISTIANITY.

HAVING been in the habit of going about to preach the Gospel, whilst I was a Methodist, I think it proper that I should give some reasons for renouncing the religion of Jesus the Jew, on whom I once built all my hopes of happiness.

I. Because in reading the Bible I constantly found contrary doctrines, that raised doubts in my mind, and which doubts I could never get satisfactorily cleared up by those who were my "spiritual pastors and masters."

II. Because I found that all the various sects of which the Christian world is composed brought the proofs of the truth of their different systems from the Bible, and they all declare that their own is only right, and every other wrong.

III. Because I found, (upon watching closely the conduct of Christians, and those who denied Christianity,) more morality and consistency of conduct in those who denied the revelation of God, than in those who professed Christianity. This, in my mind, stript religion of its pretended divine power to effectually reform all those who heartily embrace it.

IV. Because the Christian doctrine asserts, that the heart of man is continually set to do evil; that he is prone to evil as the sparks fly upward. This I deny, because I find in my own nature more propensity to do good than evil, and that satisfaction arising from doing good is to me a constant incentive to virtuous actions.

V. Because I found in Christianity a most baneful influence in setting the interests of the people at variance, thereby giving occasion for a set of lazy Kings and Priests to lord it over them to their great distress.

VI. Because having been told by Christians that "The Age of Reason" was a stupid, vulgar, and blasphemous production, and having read it, and found it quite the reverse, and also found it to contain the most convincing proofs that the book which Christians call the word of God would dishonour any man to have it ascribed to him. I think this a sufficient reason alone to renounce the Christian mythology.

VII. Because, though Atheists, Deists, and Sceptics are all willing to be convinced by fair argument and reason—the supporters of the Christian system not being able to do it, resort to the unconvincing arguments of fine, imprisonment, and brute violence.

VIII. Because I am convinced, had God chose to reveal his will, he would have done it in a manner that would have satisfied every man that it was the production of a Divine being: whereas the book that is imposed upon us as the word of God is so full of absurdities, contradictions, inconsistencies, not to mention the obscenity of it, that if any other book which has been handed down to us from antiquity had had but one-third of the palpable contrarieties in it as the Bible has, it would have long ago been condemned and held as nothing worth. And I believe God has not made any revelation but what we see in the works of Nature.

W. V. HOLMES.

Giltspur Street Compter,

April 19, 1822.

TO MR. RICHARD CARLILE.

SIR,

Halifax, May 4.

A few admirers of your valuable publications, in Halifax and its neighbourhood, aided by some Reformers at Ripponden, desire

your acceptance of the following subscription as a mite towards your unreasonable fines, which the men in power, or rather men that would be in power, have thought proper to impose upon the true advocate of the rights of the people.

I subscribe myself, Sir, in the name of your friends,

Your constant Reader and Well-wisher,

JAMES MOORE.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
<i>From Northwram.</i>				John Booth, an Enemy to			
Joseph Moore, sen.	0	9	8	Delusion	0	1	0
Joseph Moore, jun.	0	9	8	From Halifax and Rippon-			
Isaac Moore	0	1	0	den	1	3	6
James Moore	0	9	8				

TO MR. JAMES MOORE, HALIFAX.

FELLOW CITIZEN, Dorchester Gaol, May 10, 1822.

I AM happy in the opportunity you have offered me of extending my correspondence in the county of York, and beg you to return my thanks to my friends in Halifax and Ripponden for the sums they have subscribed towards my fines.

Nothing bespeaks a liberality of the mind more expressively than a voluntary sharing of the burdens or fines imposed upon those who advocate its freedom, and for advocating that freedom. This you have done, and yours is the meed of having performed a duty you owe to yourselves as men, as liberal minded men, and mine the possession of the approbation of such men.

You have yet a further duty to perform as advocates of freedom and the general happiness of mankind—it is your duty to improve your own knowledge and extend it, to as many of your neighbours as possible. I do not complain that you have not done it—it is upon the general subject that I address you, and not under any partial view or application.

Free discussion is the emblem of mental freedom, and mental freedom must necessarily precede that of society as a body; be it our duty therefore, to put in practice the right of free discussion in every shape possible, and stimulate others to the same task.

I am, Citizen, gratefully yours,

R. CARLILE.

MARY ANN CARLILE.

Star Chamber Practices revived in the Case of Mary Ann Carlile, fined £500 for selling what the Practice of the Court, but not the Law, calls a Libel.

IN 1632, in the reign of Charles the First, of *blessed memory*, Mr. William Prynne, an eminent Barrister, was, at the instance of Bishop Laud, a wretched Court sycophant, prosecuted for a libel, and fined £5000 in the Star Chamber—fined, like Mary Ann Carlile, without being heard. He was otherwise punished and kept in close confinement.

In 1637, Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, a Physician, and Mr. Burton, a Clergyman, were all brought before the Court of Star Chamber, and there fined £5000 each, for what the same Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the Council, chose to call a libel—the Archbishop, who was the principal mover against the people, sitting as Supreme Judge.

The sentences, besides the fines and close imprisonment, were barbarous and malignant in the extreme. But we have here only to do with the fines. Yet it should be observed, that the cruel sentences passed on these men, for no crime at all, were all signed by the King himself and the whole of his diabolical Council.

The proceedings of this precious King and his Council at length roused the nation, and a new Parliament having been called, the House of Commons began to set the miscreant King and his abominable Council to rights, and the friends of Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton, having petitioned the House in their behalf, they were all set at liberty and brought from their prisons to London in triumph. Soon afterwards they petitioned the House of Commons for redress, and, among other things, for a remission of their fines. The ground taken by them may be judged of by what Mr. Prynne alleged respecting his fines. It is as follows:—

“ That the two fines of £5000 a-piece are against law.

“ The statute of Magna Charta, chap. 14, enacts, that a free-man shall not be amerced for a small fault, but after the manner of the fault; and for a great fault, after the manner thereof, saving to him his contenment or freehold. And a merchant shall likewise be amerced saving to him his merchandize.

“ By statute of Westminster, 2 & 3 Ed. I. c. 6. this is fully concurred in, and re-enacted. And if any man be immoderately amerced in any inferior Courts, the law provides a writ of *moderata misericordia* for his relief, grounded on this statute of Magna Charta.

"The ground of these Acts and writ was this, wherever the law for any offence (as for treason or felony) takes away a man's life, then it *forfeits all his lands and goods*; because the life being taken away, there needs no lands nor goods to support it. But where the offence is not capital, to take away men's lives, then the law for the most part (*except in some special cases by provision of Parliament*) imposeth only such a fine and a moderate amerciamment as shall not swallow up all their estates, but leave them a *competency*, both to *maintain their not forfeited lives*, and support them in their callings for the public good, which might else suffer by their loss of trade and employment, in which the commonwealth hath interest.

"Since, then, these two fines of £5000 a-piece exceed my offences and state, and are directly contrary to these two Acts, they must be altogether illegal."

Whereupon the Parliament directed the fines to be remitted; and as the parties had suffered grievous injustice, and sustained heavy losses, the Parliament further directed:—

"That the sentence given in the Star Chamber is illegal, and ought to be reversed.

"That the imprisonment of Mr. Prynne by the Lords of the Council (naming them) is unjust and illegal, and that they ought to give Mr. Prynne satisfaction for the damages sustained by that imprisonment."

Mr. Prynne having been returned to Parliament, was by the Commons made, in some degree, the manager for the House in impeaching the villainous Judge, *Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*, and so well did Mr. Prynne stick to him, that he was convicted, and, as he richly deserved, beheaded.

It is needless to say the same act of justice was afterwards performed upon the King.

Let us now see how the cases of Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton, apply to Mary Ann Carlile. First, she was not the writer, but merely the seller for another, of the book. Had the selling of the book been really an offence at law, which it was not, still the sentence should have been a mild one.

The fine on Mr. Prynne could no doubt have been raised by him and his friends, and thus although he and they would have been most shamefully robbed, still he would not on this account have been confined for life: but in the case of Mary Ann Carlile, who had nothing wherewith to pay, and no friends to pay the money for her, her sentence, so far as respects the fine, is more severe than the infamous Court of Star Chamber, in the plenitude of its power, ventured to inflict on the victims of its tyranny. So infamous, indeed, did the conduct of the Court appear in the case of Mr. Prynne, that the King's own Council were ordered to make reparation, and the Archbishop, high, and mighty, and all powerful as he had just before been, lost his unworthy head.

The fine imposed on Mary Ann Carlile is, then, a revival of the practice of that infamous Court in one of its worst features; of that Court which was put an end to and extinguished by Act of Parliament, as being an engine of Court tyranny, and a disgrace to the country.

But we cannot at the present moment hope to see a House of Commons which will speedily give relief to Mary Ann Carlile, but we can if we choose do our duty towards her and save her from the perpetual imprisonment which the Judges of our times, no less arbitrary than the Council of former times, seek to inflict on those who by their acts do that which has a tendency to open the eyes of the people, that they may see the folly and the iniquity which oppresses them, which impedes them in their course towards happiness, cheats them of their understanding, and plunders them of their property.

“ WE CAN PAY HER FINE!”

Nothing more easy, nothing so just, since, as the old English proverb says, “ Many can help one, though one cannot help many,” and as the no less useful Scotch proverb says, “ Many a little makes a mickle.”

One of Richard Carlile's Correspondents has sent him 40s. observing, that the £1 is the one thousandth part of one of his fines, and that 10s. is the one thousandth part of another of his fines, and the other 10s. a thousandth part of his Sister's fine. Thus we see, that if only one thousand of those who are able to give 40s. at once, and who think him an ill-used man, were to give the money, these fines would be paid. But the body of the people cannot give 40s. at once, but they can do the business quite as effectually by smaller sums.

WHY, THEN, SHOULD WE NOT PAY ALL THE FINES OF RICHARD CARLILE, HIS WIFE, AND SISTER?

Mr. Prynne, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton, were fined in very large sums, and as one was an eminent Lawyer, and a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, another an eminent Physician, and the other a popular Preacher, it is very probable, that each without the assistance of their friends could have paid the fine. The tyrant Charles, the vindictive Archbishop, and the villainous Privy Council, when assembled in the infamous Court of Star Chamber, did not in this particular venture to proceed the same length as the Judges of the present day have proceeded in the case of Richard Carlile and his relatives. They did not seize and destroy the property of their victims in order to prevent them from having the means of paying the fines. Not so, however, in Richard Carlile's case; his property has been seized more than once, and the very bed on which his wife lay in a state of indisposition all but taken from under her, not, as it now appears, to raise money to pay his fines, for upon application to the proper persons he was told he must

pay the full amount of his fines, notwithstanding he had been plundered of all the property they could lay their hands on under pretence of the law, allowing them to seize it to pay his fines. *Thus is the conduct of the Government at the present time worse than that which brought Charles and his Archbishop to the block.*

But the ends of those who seek to imprison Richard Carlile, his Wife, and Sister for life, ought not, must not be permitted. **THE AMOUNT OF THEIR FINES MUST BE RAISED—nothing so easy.**

The Bible Society in one year raised £92,000 by penny subscriptions, and the way it was done was this :—Every person who became a member of the Society undertook to collect from 12, or 24, or 36 persons, a penny each, once a week, and £92,000 was in one year collected in this way. After this, no one will surely contend that there can be any difficulty in raising £2000 to prevent the perpetual imprisonment of Richard Carlile, his Wife, and Sister. If but half even of those who wish them to come forth from the Gaol, will but do their duty, as the girls and boys even of the Bible Society do theirs, the fines will be paid. What man is there, what woman is there who cannot afford a penny a week? What man is there, what woman is there who cannot collect a shilling a week? And if Ladies and Gentlemen, and the children of Ladies and Gentlemen, were not ashamed to beg pence, why should any one else be ashamed to beg pence? The less so, as the money is to be applied in the cause of humanity and to defeat injustice.

But this is not all. It is their bounden duty to do more. Where is the man who would not for a time deprive himself of some trifling gratification to assist Carlile in a case of extreme oppression, in which he cannot help himself? Who would not go without a pint or two pints of beer a week to serve him? How many ways are there by which from a penny to sixpence, or a shilling a week may be saved for such a purpose, and how easy the collection. In work-shops one man may be made treasurer; the same in factories; the same in streets, or towns, or villages; in clubs and societies. Only let us set about it each for himself, not waiting for others. **"LET EACH MAN DO HIS DUTY."** *The fines will be paid, and Tyranny will lose its victims.*

London, May 7, 1822.

THE foregoing article is an appeal from a distinguished character whose situation and connections forbid the publication of his name. He is one of those who does good by stealth. Mr. Carlile has received considerable benefit from him in different shapes since the commencement of the prosecutions to which he (Mr. C.) has been exposed. Notwithstanding

this, the appeal would have looked much better had it appeared in any other publication than the Republican, particularly, as it is anonymous. Further, the readers of the Republican have not been remiss in their subscriptions, but have done all that might have been fairly expected from them as far as we know them. Many of them are steadfast in periodical subscriptions of various sums, others have subscribed liberally, although in no instance has our subscription been disgraced with the name of a known Priest or of a member of the Aristocracy. This we regard as a mark of its purity and of their fears and guilty consciences. Much more agreeable will it be to us to see the amount of the fines raised by the resources of honest industry than made up from any corrupt support. We appeal not to the titled aristocrat and those who are rich in the corrupt application of the hard earnings of the industrious, but we ask the cheerful contributions of the mites of industry itself. The cause we advocate is the cause of the industrious part of the community; to no other source have we ever looked for support, nor will we ever allow any corrupt body or party to purchase our praise and support. We know the way to the purses of the rich and the haughty, but it is a path we detest and never will tread.

Mr. Carlile has no present fears but that his fines will be settled in due time. He has not neglected the necessary legal steps towards accomplishing that object in the present term, and unless he is disappointed by those in whose hands he has trusted his case by improper delays he hopes to announce a favourable result before the 16th of November; the day on which his period of imprisonment expires according to the present sentence.

EDITOR.

TO MR. CARLILE.

Bred first a Churchman,
Brought up Methodist,
Last turn'd Baptist-man,
Now I'm a close fist,* . . . 2 0

*To the amiable and praise-worthy Mrs.
Carlile.*

I've sav'd pence for pew,
To present to you,

* It is probable you may say what religion is that, what merit in the appellation, or any thing but to gingle rhyme. I answer I mean much, though I had, and hope I still have, a heart susceptible of tender feelings, yet to open my fist without grudging, it is not now so open, as once was to the imposing deceitful request of the priests, who have solicited me for the poor and drank it out in wine for their own ungodly appetites.

For your spirit, your duty, your love
To husband so just
Truth's champion first,*
I will shew your conduct I approve.

2 0

To the no less worthy and dutiful Mary
Ann Carlile.

My subscriptions, no more
To priestcraft will I pour,
Or listen to their mysteries,
But subscribe unto thee,
Mary my saint shall be,
Praying vengeance on your enemies.

2 0

Though fallen by despotic power
Curs'd be the man—would for an
hour
Stab that breast—
Like Caroline's with lingering smarts
May their own hell its vengeance
pour,
Broil gently their d—d conscience
sore

Recoil base daggers
And pierce their coward hearts.
Come fair ladies of this land,
Like an Amazonian band,
Defy the English cowards' tricks,
Come forward in her just cause,
The victim of the barbarous laws,
Shew them they're kicking against
bricks.
Subscribe and make their cares the less
If you have faith God will you bless,
Or do as wish to be done by
"It is but heathen honesty."

To Messrs. Holmes, Rhodes and Barclay,
Mr. Carlile's shopmen.

We've seen Trio Juncta in Uno,
Motto for dupes that you and I
know.
No honour deserv'd, but idle show,
Yet the industrious trio would not bend,
Would serve Carlile and family con-
fin'd
By hosts of cowards all combin'd
Would crush by force the people
blind,
But you will gain great laurels in the
end.
Could it be thought that you could
e'er stand
'Gainst an infamous, and hidden
band,

Whom, all ranks, with execration
brand?

For you were honestly gaining daily
bread,

A crime with them, that is very
great

To those reptile laws who strut in
state

That steal and plunder from each
man's plate,

And pine because they cannot tax the
dead.

Something to you the people surely
owe,

Their prompt exertions use and be-
stow

Their gifts and let the foul despots
know

'Tis vain to try to break the peoples'
hearts

The ignobles, and their alias's
The clergy and their lying passes,

To t'other world the stupid asses,
Turn justices and fain would stab with
darts.

Huzza! my boys, hear the dying
groans

Of public paupers, and the idle drones
Who have robb'd and plunder'd by
the loans,

Beggar'd industry, once England's great
pride,

They are dropping like a rope of sand,
Weak, savage, now desperate, then
bland,

Like Dick in Crown, and with sword
in hand

Till Crown and head by one bold stroke
divide. 3 0

Sympathetic Address.

I want no thanks from any view
That I have done is your just due,
I'm sorry so late I've begun
When so many before me run,
Should like the rich, put forth their
mite
Whose pounds would make my shillings
light,
'Twould soon pay fines and sore appal,
Rankle the despots wormwood and gall,
Not yours alone, it's the good of all.
Times are such, our gains leaves us
bare,
I've a heart to give though none to
spare.

* I do not pretend that you are originally the first. Because history furnishes us with other champions that have gone before you.

These are the political sentiments of the Republican.

But there is another point equally important and equally Republican. From all the facts we can gather from historical records it is evident, that the majority of mankind have been the dupes of impostors, who, to their own peculiar gain, and to the loss and misery of the multitude, have inculcated idolatry. Every nation on the face of the earth has had its idols to impose on the ever ignorant and credulous multitude, and every nation has still its idols from the corporeally visible Jugernaut to the spiritually invisible Jehovah and Jesus. To endeavour to abolish this idolatry, to enlighten the multitude, and to shew them that every species of religion is idolatrous, immoral, and both mentally and corporeally mischievous, shall be the peculiar object of "The Republican."

Its Editor will shrink from nothing that is calculated to exhibit truth to the mass of mankind, and more particularly his fellow natives of this Island, whatever pains and penalties may follow the act. He says that robbers masked and robbers unmasked, pray upon the productive labour of the multitude, and he will endeavour as far as in him lies to expose and destroy the former and enlighten and protect the latter.

Printed and Published by R. Carlile, 55, Fleet Street; and sold at the Koran Society's Office, 5, Water Lane, five doors from Fleet Street.

TO THE READERS OF "THE REPUBLICAN."

In concluding the Fifth Volume of this Work, I cannot do better than review it and correct a few glaring errors that have accidentally crept into it.

The first error of any note is to be found at page 42, in the speech of Mr. Brayshaw, where the Compositor overlooked a figure of 9, and stated that the earth was only 5 million miles distant from the sun, when it should have been 95 millions, and that Sirius, the nearest fixed star, was but *eighteen thousand* times more distant, when it should have been *four hundred thousand* times more distant than the sun from the earth. This error may be attributable to the reporter who took the speech down, for what we know, but it is such as ought not to pass uncorrected.

In the first page of the 14th Number the word *south of Spain* is substituted for *north of Spain*. Whether it was a slip of mine or not, I cannot now say, but there is no part of Europe south of Spain, in a comparative point of view. In the same paragraph the word *north* is misplaced for *south*, as even the Republicans of Poland must be south of Russia.

- These, with the blunder connected with the reports of the Leeds Meetings on the subject of addressing Sir Charles Wolseley, form the main errors in this Volume, although there are a multitude of verbal and literal errors, which are evidently the errors of the Printing-Office.

I omitted to notice a list of names connected with a subscription at Leeds on Mr. Paine's birth-day: two lists came up at the same time, and I concluded that the smaller amount was involved in the larger, but I have been reminded that it was not so, and that another list of nearly the same names, with a subscription to the amount of £1. 10s. 6d., should have been noticed. I am anxious to do justice to the name of every subscriber, even if it be but for a penny, but as the names connected with the above sum have been repeated again and again as subscribers, I must beg the favour of an excuse for their omission in the present instance. The long lists of names which I have the satisfaction to print do not leave me without some fear that a majority of my Readers will deem it too great an intrusion on the pages of "The Republican." I am thankful towards all and anxious to please all; and as yet I have printed every list of names, with the above exception, that has come to hand; that also would have been printed had not the misconception taken place. The very liberal support that I have received and continue to receive from Leeds, makes me anxious to avoid the least misconception, and to meet the wishes of all my friends there as far as possible; and with justice and impartiality to all friends in other parts of the country.

Many articles of correspondence have been delayed, for which an apology is made, and the cause of it hereby explained. I make a practice of keeping the largest stock of matter possible in the Printer's hands for "The Republican," so that immediately on receiving any thing intended for insertion, I prepare it and forward it to him, leaving him to make the best arrangement he can for each Number; and by keeping a surplus quantity in hand, some pieces are occasionally delayed longer than may be wished on my part or on the part of the correspondent. No partiality is shewn to any pieces of correspondence that are thought fit for insertion as to priority. I hope that this Number, being the last of the Volume, will work up all that remains on hand.

A Title-page and Index for the Fifth Volume will be stitched up with No. 1, Vol. VI. and a new Catalogue of my Publications will accompany the same Number.

The Koran Society will commence its operations immediately, and the First Sheet of the Koran will be ready for delivery on the 24th instant. Each Sheet, free of all note or comment, will be sold for Threepence: the revelation will be given as pure as Mahomet received it from Heaven, and the subjects of many distinct revelations will be often sold for the small price of Threepence. This revelation will be found much to excel that in the Jew Books, and to be much superior both in piety and morality. It is sincerely hoped that it will tend to improve both in this country among the idolators, as it is much wanted. The price of the

whole will not be more than one-third of the price of the former editions with notes and comments.

The Koran, as a book of history, can never be more entertaining and instructive than at this moment, when the sword is likely to decide the superiority of the two religions, the Christian and Mahometan, by the approaching war between the followers of Christ and Mahomet. I tremble for Mahomet and the Koran, and only wish I could get into the Divan at Constantinople. By a small portion of its resources I would render the Czar of Muscovy and the whole Holy Alliance as powerless as it is now powerful. Cannot some friend to the liberty and happiness of mankind suggest to the Turkish Government the propriety of furnishing resources to the Republicans of the South of Europe, for the purpose of diverting and distracting the motions of the Holy Alliance of Christians? It is of the greatest import to both.

R. CARLILE.

TO THE PUBLIC, NOT TO PUBLIC ROBBERS, BUT TO THOSE WHO ARE CONTINUALLY ROBBED.

On Friday, the 31st inst., a Public Meeting will be held in Back Miff Street, opposite No. 14, top of Great Ancoats Street, Manchester, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of raising speedy subscriptions for the most worthy and incarcerated Mr. R. Carlile, to enable him to pay two enormous Fines that the Eagles of Despotism hath unjustly saddled his back with for publishing the truth.

The Friends of Truth, (both Civil and Religious) of Manchester and its vicinity, are strenuously solicited to attend and to do their utmost endeavour to redeem from Dorchester Bastile one of the most honest and most undaunted of men. None have combated Corruption to its teeth like him, nor have any like him gone to the root of Tyranny and Oppression; none have erected such formidable batteries against the strong walls of Superstition, neither hath any family like the family of Mr. Carlile been so unjustly dealt with.

And, Fellow-Citizens, it is a duty that you owe to yourselves, to the rising generation, and to that Noble of Nature, to use every means in your power to redeem such ornaments of civil society from the infamous fangs of the lawless oppressor, and finally to attack the causes that have brought such lamentable effects upon a suffering country in all its various deformities.

The Meeting to Commence at Five o'Clock in the Evening.

CONTINUATION OF THE LONDON SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR
MR. R. CARLILE AND FAMILY.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
The Ropemakers of Shad-				A Christian who abhors			
well	0	12	4	Persecution—J. C.	0	2	6
Mr. Watts, Regent Street	0	4	10	<i>Received at Water Lane.</i>			
W. Stote	0	1	0	A few Republicans and			
R. Humphrys	0	1	0	Freethinkers at Canter-			
The Holy Ghost	0	0	2	bury, 2d Subscription	1	10	0
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R. Kenzie	0	0	8	to the Supporters of the			
J. Parry	0	0	8	Manchester Massacre	0	0	6
W. Cole	0	0	8	Q. W.	0	5	0
T. Stanley	0	0	8	A Coalheaver	0	0	1
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By the Same	0	1	0	Griffin	2	0	0
The Ropemakers of Shad-				Second Subscription of a			
well	0	12	0	few Republican Me-			
Mr. Watts and Friends	0	4	4	chanics	1	1	6
W. H. a Republican, (2d				W. H.	0	0	6
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Flies that eat up the				Two Friends to the Truth			
Tenth of the Farmer's				at Waltham Cross	0	1	0
Produce—W. Ford	0	2	0	W. M.	0	5	0
A Poor Man, who saw a				Hammersmith Republican	0	2	0
Poor Woman have her				From a few Friends at			
Breast cut off by a Yeomanry Butcher on the				Enfield	1	0	0
16th of August	0	0	6	F. Evans, 6th Subscription	0	1	0
C. Brown, of Bermondsey	0	1	0	Thomas Middleton, of			
W. Cole	0	0	6	Crayford, Kent, (3d			
For Mr. Carlile, down the				payment) a Republican			
Spout	0	1	0	and Deist	0	2	6

W. V. Holmes, J. Rhodes, and J. Barkley, gratefully acknowledge the receipt of 1s. each from "A Tradesman who sometimes hunts Vermin;" and W. V. Holmes returns thanks to S. Waddington for the sum of 3s. 6d. and to Mr. Reilly for 1s. 6d.

END OF VOL. V.

Printed and Published by R. CARLILE, 55, Fleet Street. All Communications (post paid) are requested to be sent to Dorchester Gaol, until a further Address to some House or Shop be given.—Orders, with remittances, or references for payment, will be punctually attended to. Country Agents will find the most liberal Terms for prompt Payment.

The Republican.

No. 21. Vol. V.] LONDON, FRIDAY, May 24, 1822. [PRICE 6d.

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, May 18,

CITIZENS,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

HAVING, I trust, satisfied you that there is nothing pure in the heads of those who call themselves Reformers; and talk about nothing but restoring the purity of the British Constitution, I shall this week enquire into the nature of some delusions which are as incessantly dinned into our ears about the right of property, which, in other words, I will explain to you to mean the right of every rogue or thief to hold what he can once grasp or catch.

If any pity be expressed for the Irish labourer, and it be said that the tithe-gathering Priest ought to leave him some of his potatoes to keep him from starving, there are men who rise with vehemence and exclaim, "Oh! profanation, blasphemy, and sacrilege! will you not respect and protect the sacred property of the Priest?" They assert that the tithes are as much the property of the Priest as the land is the property of the landlord, or as the produce of labour is the property of the labourer.

If it be said again that the debt of the Monarchy and Aristocracy is become so enormous as to render it impossible to collect a revenue equivalent to the payment of its interest and other pensions and sinecures, and a talk be made about reducing the amount, the Fundholder cries out, "You must respect my property even if it starves you: my property is sacred, and your possessions or your labour are pledged to its security. I will not hear any thing about reducing interest or principal; I will have the whole nominal amount, let who will work and starve, or what will be the consequence." The King's taxes are also sacred property, and the amount must be raised whatever sufferings it occasions. Royalty must be splendid both at home and

abroad, and a shew of glitter must be kept up: it is the sacred property of Royalty to be so; and the sacred property of the King to collect taxes for the support of his sacred Majesty, even if he strips naked the individual assessed. There must be show, says Castlereagh, both at home and abroad, if there be no substance.

The King, the Priest, the Pensioner, the Sinecurist, the Placeman, and the Fundholder, all exclaim to the Landlord and the Labourer, "Our property is as sacred as your freehold or your produce; and as a point of honour, your every thing is pledged to pay our demands upon the State, before you venture even to take the necessaries of life:" whilst the luxuries and extravagances of the former increase far beyond the means of supply by even the increased industry of the latter. There is a revenue now extracted from the industry of the country which it cannot bear to be continued: every year renders it less able to meet it, whilst the nominal amount demanded increases as the means of meeting it decreases. This, then, is an unnatural and conflicting state of things, and cannot proceed. There must be checks, there must finally be a total stop to the system, and vain will it be for any of the above-mentioned locusts to prate about the sacred rights of their property. Their property is nothing more than the phantom of corrupt minds, and robberies legitimized by corrupt powers. It has no moral base, therefore to put a stop to the possession will be an act of morality and not of immorality.

What right has a Priest to his tithes of certain produce? The answer is the right of long-established custom. By what authority was that custom established? Here no other answer can be given than that it originated in fraud, and a delusion upon the ignorant multitude. This, then, is a robbery, and not a right; it is an act of corrupt power which every man has both a moral and a natural right to resist. It is the duty of every honest man to resist the payment of tithes to the Priest, as much as it would be his duty to assist his neighbour in a case of difficulty and distress, to protect his own or his neighbour's property from thieves, or to drive an invading enemy from his house or land. The Priest is his enemy, in every sense of the word, and not his individual enemy only, but a common enemy. The Priest is a beast of prey that destroys but produces nothing, and lives but to keep you in a state of mental terror and unprofitable industry. The Priest can have no right to prospective property; or, in plainer words, the Priest has no right

to tithes of any produce, and should be resisted in his every demand or attempt to take them. Let those who talk about tithes being the sacred property of the Priest shew us how it originated, and if it be said even that my father consented to the payment, I would answer, that the promises of my father are not binding upon me if they tend to my injury. My father may have believed that the dogmas of the Priest were founded in truth, but if I discover the contrary, if I discover that the Priest is an impostor, I am by no moral means called upon to behave towards him as my father did. The Priest of my father's time is not the Priest of my time, and even if it were so, I dispute the right of my father to entail a debt upon me, or to pledge the produce of my labour to pay it. In my own labour I have an individual right. Nature prompts me to provide for my children who cannot provide for themselves, or to assist an aged and helpless parent; but from the follies of my parent, if I can throw them off, I am not bound to suffer, either in a natural or a moral point of view. This is what I will call individual right and individual liberty; and if any person can shew me a better argument than this on the behalf of the Priest I shall be glad to attend to it. His right to be a Priest can exist only by individual or a general sufferance, therefore his right to tithes can exist on no other ground. No man is a Priest to me, because I will not receive him as such, therefore what right can any man have to ask me for tithes of my produce that I have not the moral right to resist if I can? If I am to be told that the Parliament has sanctioned the tithes of the Priest, I answer that I am not morally bound by that Parliament, because, it is a despotic and tyrannical power, unjustly founded, and in no instance expresses my will, or the will of the majority of my fellow-countrymen. That Parliament has no moral right to be in existence, therefore it has no moral right to decree tithes of my produce to the Priest. I may be told that the right or the power is in existence, and that it will make me submit; this I acknowledge, but as an individual, or as a component part of the community, I will resist its decrees in every shape possible, and destroy it if possible.

But this is not altogether the best view of this important case. What is property? The only real and stable property I take to be the produce of industry; every other property is perishable, that alone is imperishable, because like every other thing in Nature, it is constantly renewed. The produce of labour, then, is the only natural property.

Now, let us take an instance, and suppose a farmer to hold a small freehold estate, upon which he raises a certain quantity of corn, breeds and feeds a certain quantity of cattle, and so on. Now, first, the King sends his tax-gatherer to this farmer for the full half of all his produce, as necessary to support his (the King's) splendour and what are called the expences of the State. Now, mind, the farmer has accumulated this property by toil and by anxiety, and he feels a moral and a natural right in its possession; would it not be prudent, then, for him to ask himself what benefit he receives from this King and this State, that he is required to sacrifice the half of his property to their support? Is not this King and this State a part of the farmer's affairs, and ought not he to ask himself if that part of his affairs may not be better managed, so as not to sweep away a full half of his whole produce? Is it right, is it moral, that he should say this is not my business, I must leave this to others who know more about it? What! leave it to those who are interested in living in idleness upon your labour? Well done, Johnny! If you do not trouble or begin to think about it, the persons to whom you leave it will never do so, but for the purpose of taking more from you. The advocate for the King and the State may say, "We take so much of the produce of this man's labour as is necessary to enable us to rule him, and to preserve to him the rest." Then comes the Priest, or the advocate of the Priest, who says, "We take so much of your property as is necessary to enable us to pray for you, and to provide for your welfare in this, and your happiness in another world." By this time the labouring farmer has but little left, and for that little there is another demand; the Overseer of the Parish, or the Collector of Rates, comes, and says, "The distress is so great, occasioned by what the King, the State, and the Priest take from you, that the persons whom you would otherwise have employed are thrown upon us for support, and we must have what you have left for that purpose, for these poor injured creatures must not starve because you cannot find them work." So here are the King, the Priest, and the State figuring away in splendour, and making every thing about them, or the circle in which they move, look prosperous, whilst the farmer and his labourers are starving amidst hard labour and a bountiful produce! Ought not, then, this farmer and these labourers to look into these matters and see if they cannot get them managed better by taking them into their own hands? Kings and Priests are

but men of the same stamp, the same organization as the farmer and his labourer, and who can shew me why they ought not to toil and labour as well as other men, and live by their own industry?

I lay it down as an axiom, that there is no property so sacred as that which is the produce of the industry of the possessor. The tithes are not the produce of the Priest, and to them he has no right, in them he can have no property. If he takes them it is a robbery. The present state of society renders certain taxes indispensable, but then those taxes ought to consist of the smallest sum that the well regulation of society requires. What is called the National Debt; but which, in reality, is the debt of the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, and the Church, must and will be abolished. As far as what is called the property of the Crown, the Aristocracy, and the Church, will go to defray that Debt, it is just that it should be so applied; but it is both unnatural and immoral that the produce of labour should go towards even paying a shilling of the interest of that Debt. That Debt was not contracted for the benefit of those who labour, but for the aggrandizement of those who do not labour, and as a means of continuing an enormous tax upon the industry of the country. It was contracted to preserve the robberies of Kings, Nobles, and Priests, therefore the only property morally applicable to its payment must be such property as those orders may now hold. The industrious part of the people cannot pay it if they would, therefore a time must come when a stoppage of payment must take place, and the Fundholder may go bawl to those who have robbed him, if they have robbed him, about the sacred right of his property. I will not acknowledge that he has any property in the produce of industry. He lent his money for a bad purpose, and it would be even just that he should lose it all. I would violate every species of property that deprives the industrious man of the means of labour, or of the produce of his labour, whatever it be called. It is right, it is moral so to do. There can be no property so sacred as that which industry produceth, and in this country, at this time, that is the property most violated, and the industrious producer is left almost to starve. Yet, in the midst of this flagrant violation of all just property, the Robbers are crying out, "Our property is sacred and must be protected!" King, Priests, Placemen, Pensioners, Sinecurists, and Fundholders, you have no moral, no natural property in the country. The industrious part, the property-producing

part of the people disown you, and will as early as possible stop your robberies upon them.

Supposing that I had half a dozen sons growing towards manhood, and about to support themselves by labour, have I a moral right to pledge their produce for my benefit? I cannot perceive that I have any such right. The same thing applies to what is called the National Debt, the *fiat* of the nation is at any time a sufficiently moral and just power to extinguish it. The property-producing part of the people, those who now pay the interest of that Debt, have had nothing to do with, nor any benefit arising from its contraction, therefore they are neither bound in honesty, in morality, or in justice to pay a farthing towards it; and that this will be the final resolution of the present generation, I am well convinced.

The futile right of fictitious property cannot be better illustrated than in the following case. Supposing a Bank Company to issue slips of paper, promissory of paying on demand certain sums of money: if I am by any means (whether wise or foolish) induced to exchange my labour or any other property for twenty of those slips of paper, or Bank notes, or if they are given to me for corrupt purposes, I have the right of property in them just as long as I hold them and they continue of any value: but if the credit of the Bank Company fails, if they have not wherewith to give me the value I seek for these notes, these promises to pay, and no other individual will exchange his labour or his other property with me for them, my right of property has ceased in these notes, for as paper they are valueless, and as any thing else I can obtain no exchange for them; and all that can be said is, I am the dupe of this fictitious property; I have been deluded and robbed by the rogues and sharpers who issued it, and first gave it a nominal when it had no real value. This is the case and state of the Fundholder, the Priest, the Placeman who has purchased his office, the Pensioner, the Sinecurist, and even the King. They have no real property in the country, they cannot *justly* expect any industrious man to support their ideal claims, when he has never received any benefit, but perhaps much injury from them.

Away, then, with all talk about the sacred right of any other property but that which is the produce of industry, and to produce which is essential to the well-being of the community. The Fundholders may talk about closing their eyes with horror at the breaking up of the funding system;

but could they, if they were humane and moral men, open their eyes without horror, and witness the distress and misery that funding system occasions? If the distress to be occasioned by breaking up the funding system were to be greater than that which now exists by its preservation, it may be a question with the philanthropist as to its propriety, but as the existing distress has reached its climax, the abolition of the Debt, the funding system, and all unjust imposts upon the industry of the country, is become absolutely necessary to prevent anarchy and bloodshed, and to place the country itself on a respectable and powerful footing among the other nations of the earth.

Down with the Debt; down with the funding system; down with the tithes; down with all taxes that are not necessary to the well-being of the community: and up ye, the property-producing part of the people—manage your own affairs—govern yourselves by legislators and magistrates of your own choice, and no longer suffer your property, which alone has any pretensions to be called sacred, to be wrested from you by the merciless grasp of the King, the Priest, the Fundholder, the Sinecurist, the Pensioner, and the corrupt Placeman. Do justice to yourselves, and you will command it from others.

R. CARLILE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE REPUBLICAN."

SIR,

May 5, 1832.

IN No. 17, Vol. V. of "The Republican," James Humphrey professes to prove, and actually to demonstrate, that "matter is not eternal." That, indeed, will be doing something for the accommodation of the Priest of the Church of England and the theologians in general; they may then tune their lyre and sing his praises; for to demonstrate that "matter is not eternal," is what no one has ever yet done: so far from it, that the theologians, both ancient and modern, acknowledge that matter is eternal, in those words, "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end." Now, if the world be without end, whether it be our earth that is meant, or the whole universe, (as it is all material) then they must believe that matter must be eternal, for how is it possible to conceive that that which has no end can have a beginning? There be some theologians that believe (although they cannot prove it) that matter is capable of annihilation, but that the smallest atom cannot be annihilated without a miracle. However, if Mr. James Humphrey, of

Springdale, can, and will demonstrate to me, that "matter is not eternal." I will give him my vote of thanks, because that will put me beyond a doubt that matter must have been created, and, of consequence, must have had a creator. But this he has not done, with all the chimerical and abstract reasoning made use of in his Letter, dated April 14, 1822. Perhaps your Correspondent will say it is owing to my shallow capacity, or my wilful blindness, seeing it is actually as plain as two and two make four.

It is evident that your Correspondent has a very fertile imagination, and is very ingenious, but is too dogmatical in his assertions. He has undertaken to prove and to demonstrate, that "matter is not eternal." Let us see how he proves it. He says, "that if matter were eternal, its form could never change." This is an assertion which has neither reason nor probability to support it, yet he calls upon you to mark it, and to refute it, bidding you defiance! His next assertion is still more wild and ridiculous—"that if matter were eternal, every grain of sand would be infinite in extension." Next he attacks some of your observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters, which he calls "your infinite variety in matter," expressed thus—"ever varying indestructible matter, which is in itself both Nature and Nature's magazine of endless varieties." This, he says, implies an express and palpable contradiction in terms—that endless varieties is an absolute impossibility! These, he says, amount to a proof, that "*matter is not eternal*;" that to you it is a cutting fact, "that which is eternal can never change." I ask, then, if that which is eternal cannot change, what ideas can he have of his abstract Almighty Power? Surely, he will not deny that to be eternal? But to say that Almighty Power cannot change, implies that it is without motion, and therefore without action, which is a self-contradiction, as much as it limits Almighty Power. Yet he makes his Almighty Power and unlimited necessity to be one and the same, an abstract actor. I will give it you in his own words; where he charges you with making your motion and his necessity one and the same thing, he says, "But my necessity precedes in the order of Nature all existence: but your motion, Sir, follows, or results from, something in existence."

Again—"That which is eternal can never change." To demonstrate which, he says, that if matter were eternal, every grain of sand *would be infinite in extension*. Now, Sir, let us apply this to his abstract eternal Almighty Power being infinite in extension, must be capable of change, for if infinite in extension, he must have filled all space, therefore, under the necessity of contracting himself into smaller compass, in order to admit the existence of immense globes or material bodies which form the universe and all the beings they contain, and which your Correspondent must believe to be the work of that Almighty Power.

He does not sufficiently explain who his abstract Almighty Power is, whether it be a sensible, intelligent Power, or not; in my opinion, he keeps that in the back-ground on purpose to baffle you

or any one that might be disposed to attack his assertion. However, as he professes to be a Methodist, if he be not a hypocrite, he must believe his eternal Almighty to be intelligent; therefore, this abstract Almighty Power must act from motives, and motive must necessitate his will to act: that there must have been a time when he had a will to act, and another period when he had a will not to act, if matter be not eternal; which I think must be to your Correspondent a cutting fact!!!

Now, Sir, to finish my remarks, I will endeavour to illustrate your Correspondent's "grain of sand of infinite extension." As there is no doubt that something has always existed, instead of a grain of sand, we say that matter has of necessity always existed, and is of infinite extension, and within that extension is contained all the variety of bodies and beings, which is of necessity the production of those eternal properties common to all bodies. And here I will define what I think of matter, which is nothing more than a collection of those eternal properties common to all bodies and beings, always in motion, and of necessity existing in those properties. Therefore, I conceive that necessity, matter, and motion is coeval, co-existent, and co-eternal, and must be self-existent, independent, and all-sufficient, to produce all the phenomena which we behold.

Sir, at present I have not time to make further remarks; what I have made they are at your disposal to do with, or make what use you please of them.

I remain yours, &c., a consistent Materialist,

J. B. L.

I have received another Letter from Mr. Humphrey for insertion in "The Republican," insisting that he is not answered, and referring to what he calls his demonstrations that matter is eternal, in his pamphlet. To finish this matter fairly, I promise to print his Letter, to copy all the pages he says I have failed to answer in his pamphlet, and make such further observations as may appear necessary upon the whole correspondence. As I have sent his pamphlet to London as a loan to a friend, I must delay a few weeks until I get it back again. Mr. Humphrey, I perceive, grows angry upon being pressed, therefore I shall spoil his temper altogether by a concluding effort.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, May 12, 1822.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR,

Oakham Gaol, April 20, 1822.

It is the particular wish of the individuals who assisted me with the under-mentioned, that they should be acknowledged through

the medium of "The Republican" and "Dwarf." You will, therefore, have the kindness to say in your next Number, that I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following sums:—viz. £1 from the Lynn Union; £1 from the Leeds Union; and £1. 12s. from the Reformers at Leicester.

I must really take shame to myself for not writing to you since my incarceration, but how to excuse myself I know not, for I have found my time fully occupied since my *abstraction* (as my Lord Castlereagh would call it) from home. However, I have now the pleasure of stating, that my health has never been better than at present, and I am in hopes that by pursuing the course I adopted on my arrival I shall continue to enjoy it, notwithstanding the domestic troubles I have had to encounter. About three months since, Mrs. D. lost her father; about a month since, she had the misfortune to break her arm, which has precluded the possibility of her attending to business; and I now understand that my dear little girl is most seriously indisposed.

You saw, I dare say, my advertisement for the publication of a work entitled "*The Truth of the Bible put to the Test*;" which I purposed bringing out in a half-guinea volume, but I find my circumstances are so dreadfully crippled, that I shall not be able to accomplish it in the manner originally intended, so I shall introduce it in one shilling Numbers. The Author's name is Fowler; he was a particular acquaintance and bosom-friend of the erudite Palmer. I do not suppose you ever saw the work. It is sure to be prosecuted; and for that reason I wish to bring it out in a private manner till my liberation, as I don't wish Mrs. D. to encounter any prosecution.

I have in preparation two or three publications which will make the Bigots stagger—" *The Three Impostors; or the Lives of Moses, Mahomet, and Christ*;"—" *The Axe at the Root of the Tree*;" and a republication of Peter Annett's celebrated tract, "*The Resurrection of Jesus considered*."

You will remember me very kindly to Mrs. C. and Mary Ann; and trusting we shall still live to see our object accomplished,

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

T. DAVISON.

I take the liberty to print this Letter of Mr. Davison's, as I conceive it will best answer his object in conveying its information to the public. It was not received until the 3d of May.

R. CARLILE.

JOSEPH SWANN.

THE following Letter is from Joseph Swann, under sentence of four years and a half imprisonment, in answer to an enquiry of a Leeds friend as to his real situation, reports having circulated that he was in great distress, and almost perishing for want:—

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Chester Castle, March 19, 1822.

I CANNOT be accountable for all that report may say concerning me, however, what statements have gone from this place are true, to the best of my knowledge, and as my situation has been rather trying, I will, in compliance with your kind request, give you a brief statement of my circumstances.

“ In 1819 I was repeatedly arrested and thrown into prison, together with my wife and family. In January, 1820, I was dragged to the Quarter Sessions at Chester to plead to several indictments, one for attending the Public Meeting at Macclesfield, and others for selling “ The Republican,” said to contain sedition and blasphemy, and was sentenced to four years and a half imprisonment.

“ I have weathered through nearly one-half of my sentence, with an irregular and sometimes a scanty support. My health was very precarious for some time, but, thank God, it is at present tolerably good. My family is living at Stockport, and consists of my wife and four children, the oldest ten years of age. They receive some support from the Stockport people, but cannot say how much. I chiefly receive my money through the medium of Mr. Harrison’s letters; but sometimes we receive our supplies separate.

“ If you, Sir, think the publication of this statement necessary, you are at liberty to do with it as you please,

“ And remain, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

“ JOSEPH SWANN.”

Let the Subscribers to “ The Great Northern Radical Union” reflect for a moment how much better it would be to support such a man as this and his family, than to buy up the corruptions of the House of Commons, or enough of them to gratify two or three individuals with a seat. Let them place themselves in the situation of this man and his family, look at their scheme for Boroughmongering, and take shame to themselves.

EDITOR.

LEEDS PUBLIC MEETING.

Continued from Page 617.

Mr. MASON then addressed the Meeting as follows:—Gentlemen, I doubt not but all of you will cordially agree with me, in admitting the propriety of the sentiments we have this evening heard, respecting the importance of the liberty of the press and the right of free discussion, for my own part I am perfectly satisfied that they are the most likely if not the only means of emancipating the human mind from the thralldom of bigotry, superstition and priestcraft, and it will be then very difficult if not impossible to tyrannize over a people whose minds are thus emancipated; for God's sake then, Gentlemen, for the sake of liberty, for your own sakes as individuals, for the sake of society and for the sake of every thing which is dear to you exert yourselves to the utmost in behalf of these invaluable rights. And now, Gentlemen, permit me to speak a word or two on Mr. Brayshaw's remarks respecting the utility and propriety of petitioning in favour of suffering patriots, I dare say that I think no higher of the honourable house than that Gentleman does, but when our friends are suffering and unjustly suffering too, we ought not to neglect any means which afford but a glimpse of a possibility of alleviating such suffering, and I think that petitioning in this instance affords such a possibility. We have heard of individuals being plundered by robbers who have succeeded in praying their plunderers to return them a small portion of their property, and should any of us meet with a similar disaster, doubtless we should try the same expedient and especially if we should fall into the hands of a gang who made pretensions to humanity and honour. For the sake of their credit they might be induced to give us back a little, and if a general outcry was raised against them, policy might then induce them to return us a portion least they should be compelled to part with it all. If then in a case of this kind, petitioning might avail, surely we may indulge the hope that in petitioning the honourable house in favour of our suffering countrymen, that we shall not always pray in vain. We have seen in the case of Mr. Hunt it has not been altogether unavailing, as his sufferings have been alleviated a little, and we indulge the hope that they will be rendered still lighter. I have made these remarks by way of combatting the arguments of Mr. Brayshaw against petitioning, and as that Gentleman has so ably advocated the right of individual opinion, I am sure he will bear with me in thus expressing mine; at all events, Gentlemen, I trust we shall all of us use every exertion in behalf of public liberty, and not only corporeal liberty, but also in behalf of the liberty of the human mind, and above all I trust that we shall strain every nerve to alleviate the sufferings of those brave patriots who are now suffering for advocating these invaluable rights.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

RESOLVED, 1. That free discussion and the perfect liberty of the press, on all matters of opinion, are absolutely necessary for the discovery and promulgation of truth.

2. That all attempts to prevent any individual publicly expressing his opinions, are unjust, and give certain indications of a tyrannical disposition.

3. That all punishments inflicted upon any individual on account of his opinions on religion, politics or science, whether those opinions are expressed by public speaking, or by the publication of books, those punishments are unjust; being directed against the progress of truth and the moral improvement of man. On which account all who attempt by any means to prevent the free expression of opinion are the enemies of the human race, and it is the duty of every friend to humanity, to endeavour to counteract the efforts of such enemies.

4. That Mr. Carlile, by his exertions in behalf of free discussion and the liberty of the press, merits the support of every friend to humanity, truth and justice.

5. That the confinement to which Mr. Carlile is now subjected, and the enormous fines that have been imposed upon him are unjust and tyrannical.

6. That the treatment of Mrs. Carlile is highly inhuman, she being confined for two years, for endeavouring in obedience to her husband, to support herself and family by honest industry, after having been deprived of the assistance of her husband by her unfeeling persecutors.

7. That a subscription be now entered into for the purpose of enabling Mr. Carlile to pay the fines which have unjustly been imposed upon him.

8. That subscriptions be received at Mr. Byerley's, Brunswick Street, Water Lane; by Mr. Senior, jun., Greenwood Street, Hunslet; Kershaw Crowther, Mr. Man's Yard, Holbeck Lane; Mr. Scholesfield Shoe-maker, St. Peter's Square; Mr. Hewson Shoe-maker, Marsh Lane; Mr. Gill No. 4 Water Lane Bank; Mr. James Man's shop, Briggate; and by Mr. Watson, Treasurer, in his room, every Wednesday evening at eight o'clock; and on Sunday evening at six o'clock; and that the acting Committee for Mr. Carlile's subscription, be empowered to nominate persons to collect subscriptions until his fines are paid.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

FELLOW CITIZEN,

London, May 9, 1822.

I AM desired by your friends in ———, to forward to you one pound, being our sixth subscription, and still heartily determined to continue our exertions on behalf of you and your very much persecuted family.

The cause you have so bravely and determinedly undertaken is as much our cause as yours, we are, therefore, in duty bound to render you every aid in our power, and grateful thanks for your truly patriotic sacrifices in the cause of genuine freedom.

Your exertions have wonderful effect: if you had lived in the saint making days, and had written as you now write—what more holy work could have been performed for the cause of Christianity, than to unjoin you by piece-meal and burn you afterwards.

You see the stupid quacks of the state, (as it is called) and the cheating hypocrites of the church, are in a dilemma: they are bewildered: they must be *radically released*, for they cannot release themselves.

The leading article of the *Republican*, for a considerable time past, has increased the admiration of your friends, and struck terror and despair into our enemies; they feel the effects of your herculean pen. I hope it will induce them to mend their ways.

We hope your Sister Mary Ann, has recovered from the effect of her alarming situation when the Gaol was *accidentally* on fire. Your comments on the above fact, in the *Republican*, is considered by impartial men, to be a fair statement of what then occurred, let any one contradict you if they can.

That Mrs. Carlile, Miss Mary Ann, and yourself may preserve good health, and live to see your enemies brought to justice is the sincere wish of your subscribing friends, and

Your Fellow Citizen,

ROBERT ROBINSON.

TO MR. ROBERT ROBINSON.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND,

Dorchester Gaol, May 13, 1832.

THAT the genuine principles of liberty form the surest bond of union, is a fact verified by the full and generous support I receive from you and friends who meet at the _____.

The ground work of popular liberty must be popular knowledge, and the ground work of knowledge is free inquiry and discussion. It is under this impression and with a conviction that my publications, if they do not immediately instruct, at least, stimulate to inquiry, that I flatter myself induces you and friends to yield me your steadfast support. It is upon this principle alone that I can hope to deserve it.

By whatever physical means a pure administration of government shall be obtained in this country; to be kept pure, and strong, and lasting, its basis must be moral virtue, and its form of the most simple kind. The complex forms of many of the old European Governments are like a multitude of useless wheels, and springs, and clogs, in a useful piece of mechanism, introduced for no other purpose but to make it intricate, expensive, and troublesome, slow in its process and ineffectual in its operations; which must be necessarily simplified as the proprietors extend their knowledge and improve their science, for the profit and convenience of all parties. Absolute Monarchy was formerly considered the most simple form of government, and perhaps much the best for an unlettered people: but now almost every man is fit for a legislator, the only simple form of government is become the representative, as alone tending to mutual and general satisfaction and confidence: and from this representative system let us clear away all the useless springs, wheels, and clogs; or, in other words, hereditary legislators and priests: let us begin to think and act for ourselves, and, like prudent men, manage all our own affairs or get them well managed at the least possible expence. The hag Superstition I can perceive from a Gaol is fast receding, but it is yet likely that she may seek revenge where she feels power. Such a monster will be sure to straggle for life to the last gasp. We must follow up our blows upon her filthy carcass and redouble them both in force and number as she grows weaker. The Hag has no moral support, and the distress she brings upon her votaries in these times of increasing knowledge on the one side, and increasing misrule on the other, will be sure to hasten her exit.

My thanks and those of Mrs. Carlile and my Sister, are particularly due to you and friends. My Sister has recovered her fright and is improving in health, as the season of the year breaks off some of the severities of her confinement. We have at length obtained the use of two rooms instead of one, which enables us to keep up a better atmosphere to move and breathe in.

I am, Citizen, most respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

REFLECTIONS ON MAN AND HIS DUTIES.

WHAT is man but a being of circumstances? Nature sends him naked and destitute into the world, and leaves him to cultivate and render himself a fit object for society. He passes from a state of infancy, expands, blossoms, and brings forth fruit. Man hath been compared to the seasons of the year; the spring his infancy and youth; summer his full state of perfection; autumn his decline, and winter the close of life and death. We see man like all other animals and vegetables, subject to the same laws, from which he cannot deviate for a moment. Is it then not surprising to see man render himself wretched and miserable? O no! you see man refuses to study nature, he is a slave to his own imaginations, and the dogmas of the priest; he quits the only road which can lead him to true happiness, and render him comfortable; to meditate on chimeras, things of which he has not nor can he attain any knowledge; he quits the road of truth and flings himself into a labyrinth of difficulties, out of which he can never extricate himself, he does not cultivate his reason because his priest says that it will lead him into guilt! Poor infatuated mortal dost thou not see that it is the interest of that demon to render thee miserable and lead thee from that path in which true happiness can be found, by representing to thy bewildered imagination that trouble and anxiety in this life will ultimately make thee happy in a world to come. O man! if thou wilt be happy cultivate thy own reason and do not be led astray by the delusions of thy priest, whose only object is to make thee miserable, and rob thee of that which ought to make life desirable. Shun the priest as thou wouldst shun the asp, for he has got the poison under his deceitful lips. If thou beholdest thy fellow man superstitiously ignorant use thy endeavours to render him wise, and represent to him the path of virtue as that alone which can make him happy. Do not fill his mind with fanaticism so as to render him a slave to bigoted error, and lead him to actions injurious to society. Will mankind never see the object of those pests to society? Will they be forever prevented from searching for those objects most conducive to their own happiness and the welfare of all around them? Will man never contemplate nature and the resplendent beauties she offers to his view? Will

man still refuse her kind embraces? Will he for ever sup the gall of bitterness, when she is so pressing in her goodness and so desirous to render all happy? The moment man quits the path of nature he stumbles into an abyss of difficulties, his imagination leads him astray. Error is an enemy to nature and always prejudicial to man. To this error we may attribute every thing; by this error are the present nations duped into that slavery inflicted upon them by those united enemies of man, kings and priests. Unacquainted with the powers of nature man attributes all the phenomena which he beholds to supernatural agency. Instead of seeking beyond the world he inhabits, for beings who can procure him no happiness, let him study nature—contemplate her energies—observe the immutable laws by which she acts—let him apply these discoveries to his own conduct and submit in silence to her precepts which nothing can alter—let him cheerfully consent to be ignorant of causes hid from him under the most impenetrable veil—let him yield to the decrees of that universal power which can never be brought within his comprehension, nor ever emancipate him from those laws imposed on him by her essence—and finally, let him consider that all beings are subject to this great and universal law. Let him cultivate virtue and morality in himself and others, for virtue is the only means of rendering himself and fellows happy. Let him practice virtue in the sphere in which he is placed, let him set an example to others by doing justice to all, relieving the oppressed and rendering every good which he finds possible. It will be said, and perhaps proved, that under the present constitution of things virtue so far from promoting the welfare of those who practice it, frequently plunges them into misfortune, often places obstacles to their felicity, that almost every where it is without recompence, that in almost every country it is hated, prosecuted and obliged to lament the ingratitude of human nature. The greater number of societies are misled by those whose ignorance makes them abuse their power, and whose prejudices render them enemies to virtue; such rulers, flattered by sycophants, reward those only who are enemies of every noble and virtuous principle, and never accord that justice which is unquestionably its due. Man is happy in having some virtuous men in the most degenerate nations who are sufficiently enlightened to know that virtue exacts homage even from its enemies; he hath advocated the cause of the oppressed, resisted the encroachment of tyranny, and has dared to stem the torrent of corruption.

Return back to nature, O man! and view the beautiful productions set before thee; observe the order with which she governs the great whole, and with what unerring wisdom every particle and atom of which the universe is composed fulfils the object she has in view. Why then should man wander and accuse the decrees of fate, when he is forced to undergo the changes allotted to him like every other production of nature. If man will look into himself he will find that he is a being to whom motion is always necessary, he must therefore always desire it. To feel happiness he must make efforts to obtain it. The multiplied pictures which his imagination forms to him supply his brain with that motion for which it has occasion. Action is the true element of the human mind. An Alexander requires the destruction of empires, nations to be deluged with blood, cities to be laid in ashes to satisfy his false ideas of glory; while a Socrates wants nothing but the pleasure of forming disciples to virtue and humanity. What is so dangerous to the happiness of mankind as false ideas of glory, and men who desire to drench their swords in the blood of their fellow creatures? Let us then use our endeavours to plant the noble quality of virtue in the hearts of every rational creature, represent the benefits to be derived from it, and utterly exterminate from the earth all wars and tumults, and all the delusions of Priests and Kings.

T. W.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Ashton-under-Line, May 14, 1822.

RESPECTED CITIZEN,

In the name and on the behalf of the generous Republicans of Ashton-under-Line, and its vicinity, I send you, through the medium of Mr. James Wheeler, the sum of £6. 5s. subscribed for the purpose of assisting you in liquidating the enormous and Christian-like fines imposed on you by four Christian Judges, presiding in a Christian Court of Justice, in Christian England, governed by a Christian King, in order to promote Christianity. What an improvement in robbery for a Turkish Bashaw! Generous subscriptions and a rapid and extensive sale of your publications appear to us the most rational mode of bringing you out of thralldom; both these means have been increased in proportion to the rancour of your persecutors.

I am glad to see that *profound metaphysician*, Mr. Humphrey, of Yorkshire, endeavouring to extend your sale greatly amongst a
Vol. V. No. 21.

new class of customers, namely, the religious class, with whom he congregates to teach and preach, by asserting, he is more and more convinced of the truths of the Gospel in proportion to the number of Deistical works he reads. If he can persuade his hearers of this, it will become a kind of two-edged sword in your hand; providing the unbeliever, on one hand, with arguments to oppose the Religionists, and, on the other, to strengthen and confirm the Religionists, by encouraging them to read as he reads your publications. But in either case it will be beneficial to you by increasing your sale; and perhaps this is the means that some of your professed religious friends, (enemies of persecution) intend to use to assist you in liquidating your fines, though some of your old sceptical friends, who have been used to contemplate the meek and humble smile frequently seen on the countenances of the Religionists, while the poison of asps was rankling in their hearts, are apt to doubt their sincerity, as, like the Persian Priest, they have hitherto offered only their prayers and not an asper beside; knowing likewise that prayers were not admitted sterling currency in the Court of King's Bench, whatever they might be in the Courts above. I am persuaded, that if ever they do any thing effectual towards relieving you, it will be by their prayers, as it is the least expensive process. And if they should get a mandamus from the Courts of Heaven to throw open your prison-doors, I hope you will be as brave as St. Paul, and not come out until the whole of the Vice Society and Bridge Street Gang come willing and with hat in hand to fetch you out. Then, in order to satisfy your captious enquiries as to where Heaven is, I would have them get a further order to send you to the third Heaven of Paul, and if, after seeing "things unutterable," you are so stupid as not still to believe, I would have you sent through the whole of the ninety Heavens of Mahomet, and if you do not then believe in one, the Devil must be in you, and I should then recommend him to take you, when and in what manner he pleases. I have no doubt but a petition to this effect from a few of these pious, praying souls, signed by Judge Bailey, and sent to the Courts above, would be as well attended to as any the Reformers have humbly presented to their legislators.

But to become a little more serious. That you may proceed in the bold and dignified path you have entered, and nobly persevere in assailing Superstition and Priestcraft, and defending and maintaining the rights of free discussion; and that you may not demean your dignity of mind, whatever others may do, by being warped to the right hand or to the left; nor by any ambitious desire of popularity, enter into any little and unbecoming bickerings on that account, is the sincere hope and wish of all your friends at Ashton-under-Line, and none more so than yours, respectfully,

CHARLES WALKER.

Subscribers' Names.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
J. S. a Hater of Superstition, and an Admirer of all those who have the Courage and Virtue to oppose the Inter- ests of Priestcraft	5	0	Edward Hobson	1	0
Three Enemies to Political and Religious Persecution	13	6	Joshua Hobson, a Republican in Politics, a Believer in the Divinity of Mirabaud, a sincere Friend to R. Car- lile, and an avowed Enemy to the whole Host of his Persecutors	1	0
William Mellor	2	6	Sarah Walker	0	6
William Batty	2	6	Ann Clayton	1	0
John Hibbert	2	6	Jonathan Davenport	0	3
T. W. one that thinks the term Methodist synonymous with Fanatic	2	6	John Booth	0	3
Samuel Hibbert	1	6	John Eckersley	1	0
Samuel Aveyard	1	0	Ralph Kebington	0	5
A Friend to R. Carlile	1	6	Samuel Morris	0	6
John Taylor	1	0	Thomas Foster	0	3
W. A. freely bestows his Mite towards enabling R. C. to defeat the Vice Society and the Bridge Street Horde	2	6	Abraham Matley	0	7
James Higson	1	0	Joseph Edge	0	5
James Cheetham	0	6	John Broadbent	0	4
H. L.	0	8	William Edge	0	5
Samuel Lees	0	6	Samuel Clayton	0	7
R. Higson	0	2	A Friend	0	3
Charles Walker	2	6	Robert Hurst	0	6
Robert Bottomley	2	6	Ernest Whitworth	0	5
James Fletcher	1	6	John Cropper	0	5
James Dransfield	1	0	Robert Williamson	0	5
Thomas Kenyon, an Enemy to all Tyranny	1	0	Josiah Matley	0	4
James Taylor, an Enemy to the Bridge Street Gang	0	6	Richard Smith, a Friend to every Man who endeavours to unshackle the Mind	1	0
An Enemy to all canting Priests	1	0	Samuel Wardle	0	3
J. C. a Friend and Admirer of R. Carlile's undaunted Cou- rage	1	0	William Jones	0	3
Cresswell Baraclough	1	0	Jonathan Tetlow	0	6
John Fletcher	0	6	George Mitchell	0	6
Jonathan Ogden	0	3	Richard Holland	0	3
James Newton	1	0	William Markland	0	6
Joseph Knott	1	0	Thomas Hartley	0	6
Peter Whitehead	1	0	James Hadfield	0	6
George Hurst	1	0	John Buckley	0	6
An Old Painite	1	0	Thomas Fowler	0	4
A Female Convert to Mr. Carlile's Principles	1	0	James Collier	0	4
Samuel Hadfield	0	6	Joseph Hibbert	0	4
Isaac Pendleburg	1	0	James Broadbent	0	2
Alice Kenworthy	0	6	James Boyle	1	0
			John Bell	0	6
			Joseph Travis	0	3
			James Andrew	0	6
			John Whitehead	0	2
			Henry Whitehead	0	2
			John Jackson	0	2
			Richard Ashton	0	3
			William Alldritt	2	6

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Edward Hall	1	0	Thomas Kay	0	6
Abel Tomlinson	1	0	James Bird	0	6
Thomas Broadbent	1	0	John Broadhurst	0	6
Thomas Pownall	0	6	Thomas Torkington	0	6
J. N. if the Rights of Man			From a few Friends of R.		
must be Extinct, he has not			Carlile at Stayley Bridge—		
a Wish to survive the Ruin	1	0	Thomas Cook	1	0
John Lees	0	3	John Fletcher	1	0
James Bardsley	0	6	John Fielding	1	0
William Russell	0	6	Aaron Cheetham	1	0
Alexander Duke	0	6	Joseph Kenworthy	1	0
James Duke	0	6	Jonas Robinson	1	0
James Moss	0	3	Thomas Stanley	1	0
Abel Hardy	0	3	Henry Faulkner	1	0
William Taylor	0	3	Jeremiah Marsland	1	0
Samuel Broadbent	0	4	James Fielding	0	6
William Stanley	0	3	Samuel Whitehead	0	6
A few Subscribers from New-			Abraham Winterbottom	0	6
ton Moor, a small village in			Ralph Tillsley	0	6
the county of Chester, who			William Boardman	0	6
approve of the conduct of			Lot Lees	0	6
R. Carlile—			James Swindells	0	6
Edward Hulme	5	0	John Cook	0	6
John Park	5	0	Matthew Cook	0	6
Thomas Wood	2	0	James Ashworth	0	6
William Bowler	1	0	A Friend	0	6
William Shaw	1	0	Samuel Bates	0	6
Thomson Owen	1	0	Samuel Sidebottom	0	6
George Garlick	1	0	William Swale	0	6
Betty Cauley	1	0			

TO MR. CHARLES WALKER, ASHTON-UNDER-LINE.

CITIZEN,
Dorchester Gaol, May 18, 1822.

In conveying my thanks to the generous Republicans of Ashton-under-Line for this extensive support, I feel the same congratulation I wish to make to them in noticing the wide-spreading knowledge of the importance of sound Republican principles. The ambiguous epithet of *Radical*, as an appellation for certain professed advocates of Reform, is fast receding before that of *Republican*, with a manly avowal of Republican principles, or a System of Government that is thoroughly representative by election to every office, and that shall not recognise nor support any established Priestcraft.

Be assured, Citizen, that the fretful dispositions of those who aspire only to be called Radical Leaders, shall never

swerve my mind from the important task it has undertaken, further than to repel all false imputations and make them recoil upon their authors—a circumstance I know and feel I can effect without neglecting my duty in other respects. I never will commence any thing in the shape of a bickering, nor will I join in any further than is necessary to effect the above-mentioned object. I want none of the assistance of the persons alluded to, although I really wish to see them advance and give it to me, or let me add mine to theirs: I only ask them for fair play; let me proceed quietly, or let my principles be openly and manfully impeached instead of being met with half-expressed, slanderous imputations and private slander. I must, however, caution you and all friends in the North against a trick that I have been informed, from two distinct channels, is playing off against me. It is a profession of persons who are not in my confidence to read private letters as from me, wherein I am made to express myself quite opposite to the sentiments I print in "The Republican." The first tale I heard of this kind was from Yorkshire, and before I could believe it, I received information that a similar thing had been done at Stockport by a person from Manchester, with whom I have broke off all connection for these six months past. Now, I know there is an existing link between the two persons who have been impeached to me as having done this, and I know that they are the express agents of all the schemes to prop the expiring Radical faction in their different districts. I must, therefore, caution all friends against this trick, and I hereby challenge any man to produce a line of private correspondence from me that is not in unison with the sentiments I make public, or that will contradict what I have written to another.

A list of 133 names from Ashton-under-Line, and its vicinity, is a proof that you stand in need of some of the Home Missionaries which the Bourbons and the Guelphs are employing in France and in Britain; as such a glaring falling off from idolatry, connected with the sacrilegious emptying of a church foundation-stone of its pecuniary deposit, is not to be borne with in this Christian land. You were ironical in some parts of your address, but I am serious with you. The very Priest of your church we were lately told was the proprietor of your theatre, and by way of making both profitable, he would announce his performances in one place by denouncing them in another! Is it possible that all this can be true and Ashton-under-Line not be served as Jehováh

served Sodom and Gomorrah? But I presume you have a sufficient number of Methodists and Shakers, Ranters and Quakers, in the town, to appease the wrath of Jehovah, or woe to Ashton-under-Line! If ever I get any thing revealed to me from above, unless I have special orders to the contrary, the first object of my mission shall be the inhabitants of Ashton-under-Line, for most certainly you evince a need of something new there to prevent your running after those *false* Gods called Nature and Reason, and abandoning all those who for so many centuries, by right divine, have ruled with absolute and hereditary sway, and also setting at nought the awful assertion of the first of the family, who said, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God!" A proof of which the Christians afford us by saying that one of their Gods trepanned the other into an ignominious death from mere jealousy of a third, or the God Satan. Let me caution you to beware how you ask questions about these gentry that cannot be answered, as I see you have done in another place, lest Jehovah be jealous of you, and make you feel his wrath. He is not always to be brought into a repenting mood. Some of your neighbours in Manchester call themselves Bible Christians, and you ought, out of respect to them as neighbours, to have taken care and not have asked them questions they cannot answer.

With a request that you will not bear so hard upon the idolators again, I subscribe myself their opponent, and your obliged friend,

R. CARLILE.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

May 15, Y. C. W. S. 1822.

RESPECTED FRIEND AND CITIZEN,

I HAVE the pleasure of forwarding the sum of five pounds, being the subscription of a few friends of liberty in Wisbeach, as a further proof of their approbation of your truly patriotic endeavours in the cause of Truth, Liberty and Justice, feeling conscious that to propagate sentiments of whatever kind or nature they may be, by any other means than the use of reason and natural eloquence, amounts to an usurpation of the undeniable rights of man: And that the liberty of the Press is as essential to the well being of society, as is food for the nutriment and sustenance of the body. Convinced as we are that the labours of a man like you, cannot be too highly estimated, nor praise more deservedly bestowed, than upon one whose

indefatigable exertions have raised the standard of liberty beyond the power of bigoted priests or tyrannic despots. Did your ingenious persecutors think by robbing and plundering you of your property, depriving you of liberty, loading you with heavy and enormous fines, they should hush and crush the principles you advocate? If they do, they are greatly mistaken. Do they think because they have locked up the great champion of liberty in a sort of bastille, they can lock up the minds of millions determined to be free? No, it cannot be. The standard you have raised by publishing the invaluable works of the immortal Paine will be rallied round when corruption's hosts shall have breathed their last. For the many useful publications of your own, you are entitled to all the support the advocates of free discussion can give you. That you may live to see the period when a real Representative System of Government shall be permanently established is our ardent wish, for this must be the basis of any government that has for its object the general good, the national welfare, and prosperity to all. May your exertions in so grand, so noble, and so glorious a cause be ultimately crowned with success, a cause which has for its object the emancipation of the human mind from mental bondage, bigotry, and superstition, on the one hand, and political slavery and degradation on the other. For be assured, Sir, that truth will finally triumph in spite of all the efforts resorted to to check its progress: it will flourish in spite of all the machinations of Vice Societies or Bridge-street Gangs: it must, it will reign triumphant, because it is eternal.

Give our best wishes to Mrs. Q. and sister, and assure them we think their conduct highly meritorious.

You will notice this in the Republican as soon as possible, for the satisfaction of your friends whose names are annexed.

For whom I remain your Friend and Well-wisher,

W. C.

THE ADDRESS.

REPUBLICANS.—At a time like the present, when prosecuting Gangs, the agents of merciless and tyrannic bigots, are using every means in their power to suppress every thing like free discussion, and to plunge into a dungeon any individual who is honest enough to speak the truth, and fearlessly to disseminate it, in order to counteract in some degree a power so injurious to the best interests of society, you are called upon to aid by subscription, Mr. Carlile, the persecuted yet zealous and undaunted champion in the cause of Truth and Liberty; for be assured, these prosecutions are not against Mr. Carlile, as an individual, but against the cause and principles he advocates. Seeing this, it is the duty of every friend to the Rights and Liberties of Man to do what he can in furtherance of a cause so truly glorious and praiseworthy.

List of Subscribers.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
J. C. one who hates both				Susannah Moore	0	1	0
King and Priestcraft	0	15	0	A Sunday Subscription	0	2	3
Two Friends of Liberty	1	0	0	J. J.	0	1	0
I. R.	0	2	0	John Howard	0	1	6
An Enemy to Priestcraft	0	2	0	P. J.	0	1	0
W. T.	0	2	0	Mr. J. W.	0	1	0
A Freethinker	0	5	0	A Female Patriot	0	2	6
Anti-Bridge-Street	0	2	0	Veritas	0	1	6
No Bigot, but a Friend				John Clarke	0	0	6
to Truth	0	5	0	A Lover of Truth	0	1	0
John Blanchard	0	3	0	A Friend to Reason	0	1	0
Mildred Blanchard	0	1	0	Do.	0	0	6
William Thacker	0	1	0	Humanity	0	0	6
A Friend to Truth	0	1	0	A Deist	0	1	0
One who hates Perse-				William Clark	0	1	0
cution	0	10	6	Tell	0	0	6
A Friend to Freedom	0	2	6	Truth	0	2	6
T. H. an Enemy to				S. A.	0	1	0
Priestcraft	0	1	0	T. Paia	0	0	6
A Friend to Free Dis-				Buonaparte	0	0	6
cussion	0	1	6	F. Truth	0	0	6
Joseph Moore	0	1	0	A Republican	0	2	0

JOHN BLANCHARD, *Collector.*

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF WISBEACH.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, May 19, 1822.

THE extended correspondence and support which daily increases upon me, breaks in like new lights upon my mind, and seems to drive back the walls, bolts, and locks that surround me, so as to make me forget altogether that I am a prisoner. Though the reptiles that have me in safe custody, have done every thing they could to annoy me, and to make my imprisonment severe, their measures have been all counteracted by the steady support the Republicans throughout the country have afforded my mind; for with me "the mind's the man." I trouble but little about the body, beyond an endeavour to keep it in health, and free from pain, as an administration to the comforts of the mind. I am among those who were not framed to captivate personally, so I must get over those defects by trying what I can exhibit mentally.

I am very happy to find that I have scattered some good seed in Wisbeach, and that it hath taken root. A friend who writes me from Canterbury assures me, that my publi-

cations are acting upon the people throughout the country like yeast upon dough, and that the principles I advocate can never again be rooted out without destroying the whole batch, or dough and all. I have daily proofs that such is the effect, and now I begin to feel the effects of what I have done I shall proceed with redoubled zeal. All my enemies stand powerless, for they have at length discovered that the omnipotence of a British Parliament is impotence itself when brought to act upon or controul the mind of a people.

You, Republicans of Wisbeach, have rested upon the pinnacle of political wisdom: you declare that nothing short of a complete Representative System of Government, with free discussion, will suffice to procure prosperity to all, or, in other words, the greatest portion of happiness to the greatest number; which forms the sum and substance of Political Economy.

I rejoice to find those sentiments echoed back to me, for although I was not the first to promulgate them, I have been left almost alone to do it for these last two or three years. It is a ground upon which I have made up my mind to stand or fall; and I will not fall back an inch to meet the views of any man or set of men. I may not meet the accomplishment of my desires, but I have children whom I have no fear will see it fully in practice, and for my own part I am so far from despairing, that I am really cheerful upon the matter, and full of hopes of its speedy accomplishment. There are other causes, besides my press, at work, powerfully at work, in bringing about that event. I verily believe there is not a town or village in the country, but has its Republicans—its true Political Economists.

Republicans of Wisbeach, I return you my thanks for this support, and although I know you have done a full share in circulating the Works of Thomas Paine, I hope you will not relax, but endeavour to extend the boundaries of your exertions, and communicate your knowledge to all whom you may find deficient.

In civic esteem, and the cause of all mankind,

I am, yours, &c.

R. CARLILE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

A few plain Questions addressed to those Connoisseurs of Revelation, Judge Bailey and Mr. Humphreys, or any others who feel themselves able satisfactorily to answer them :

1. Where were the guardian angels of this terrestrial sphere, or that omnipresent, almighty, preserving and protecting Power which pervades all matter and all space, when Satan got possession of this world ?

2. Did Satan make good his footing by force, by stratagem, or by permission ? If by force, where then was that almighty power ascribed to the Deity ? If by stratagem, where then his infinite knowledge and perspicuity ? But if by permission, how then are mortal finite beings to be accountable to their Creator for the deplorable consequences of that event ? Would it be fair impartial justice for a just, benign and impartial Deity to require it at their hands, seeing their powers, both mental and corporeal, are by himself so nicely limited, that even the issues of a moment are to himself only known to a certainty ?

3. Did not the Almighty know when he created this world and man to inhabit it, that the man he made would not be able to keep the law he imposed upon him ? If you say no, you limit omniscience ; and if you say he did, it may then be asked why he made a law which he before knew man could not keep, and then punish him for not keeping it ? Would that be just ? But if he knew not whether man would keep it or not, it is saying he made a machine, and when he had made it could not tell its powers, inclinations and faculties ; so that which ever way you turn it it appears repugnant to infinite perfection.

4. Man, it is said, created not himself, nor yet sin ; it found him in the world, and proved to be an ingredient inseparable from human nature ; therefore, to punish him for it in an eternal sense of the word, would it not (instead of impartial justice) be indiscriminate revenge ?

5. If sin is displeasing to the Almighty, and Satan be the cause of it, is it not in the power of the Almighty, if he pleases ; (like a skilful and wise physician) to remove the cause that the effect may cease ? If you say no, you not only limit the Deity, but deny the infinity of his power ; and if you say it is, it may then be asked why he suffers it to exist ? was it not his desire, will, and pleasure, that it should exist, and what vain mortal will dare to say, " his will shall not be done ?"

That you will insert the above in your valuable publication, in order that it may meet with a rational solution from some of these connoisseurs, is the wish of yours, &c.

Ashton-Under-Line.

CHARLES WALKER.

TO MR. R. CARLILE,

SIR,

Manchester, May 2, 1822, of Fanaticism.

HAVING, in one of your Numbers of "The Republican," noticed a Letter addressed to you by Mr. Cobbett, wherein he has made an attempt to injure the American character, by an insult offered to its understanding; as a native of that land of freedom, I feel myself called upon, in justice to my own feelings, as well as to those of my fellow-countrymen, to come forward and confidently declare that Mr. Cobbett's assertions are unfounded. Did necessity require it, I would undertake to prove circumstances that would remove every doubt that might arise in the minds of the unprejudiced part of Mr. C.'s readers, from his Letter; but the well-known liberality of principle in the major part of my countrymen, will render those proofs unnecessary, therefore I will content myself with merely taking notice of one that came immediately under my own observation. About eight years since, while I resided in Charleston, South Carolina, I had the curiosity to visit a Methodist camp-meeting, and witnessed a very warm dispute between several preachers of that connection and some gentlemen; among the latter was an English gentleman, who very ably maintained his side of the question upon the principles of that great man, Thomas Paine. Some allusions having been made to the Bible Society of that place, this gentleman made them a present of a publication entitled "Ecce Homo," and accompanied it with a letter, dated in the year of the Carpenter's Wife's Son; now, Sir, Mr. Cobbett has presumed to tell you, that if you wrote under that date in America you would have a suit of "tar and feathers" placed upon you! Did Mr. C. make any exception? Did he not apply to the whole people of the United States? I declare to you, Mr. Carlile, there was no "tar and feathers" in this case, nor do I believe Mr. Cobbett ever had the least authority for such a presumption.

Now, Sir, pray have we not heard Mr. Cobbett declare, that the Americans are a free people, quite independent, and tolerating all opinions? Do not his many eulogiums on the state of society in the United States go far to contradict the promises made to you if you pursued the same line of conduct there as here? Certainly he has himself written his

best answer : but I could not refrain from laying this one case in contradiction before the British public, as I felt a wound from his description of the general character of my countrymen in this instance.

I heartily congratulate you, Sir, on the flattering prospect of a speedy promulgation of the principles of the immortal Paine throughout the unprejudiced part of the British people ; and, at the same time, look forward with hopes of their being able to act upon them ; let these hopes cheer you up in your present situation, and when you are at liberty to face the enemies of humanity and your country, in a more conspicuous point of view, they will animate you to prove, that Liberty wants not the aid of would-be popular men to settle her on a firm and solid foundation. With my greatest respects and well wishes to Mrs. Jane and Miss Mary Ann Carlile, and all incarcerated friends, I subscribe myself yours,

W. H. MYERS.

Note.—The above formed but a small portion of Mr. Myers' Letter, but as the omitted part was an attack upon Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Hunt, upon Republican principles, I have thought it prudent not to give the whole insertion for reasons before stated, or because I wish to exclude all attack of that nature but what I write and sign myself.

I have expected and do now expect that persons acquainted with the United States, or some of the inhabitants of that country, will notice and repel the extreme fanaticism and intolerant character in which Mr. Cobbett has depicted them, by giving me a ride in "tar and feathers."

R. CARLILE.

To the British Patriots and Deists, Holmes, Rhodes, Barkley, Jones, Wright, and the nameless Man, in Newgate, from a Friend to Dumb Animals—6s.

ON THE ABSURDITY OF RELIGION.

(Written for the Republican.)

IN those dark ages of the world, when Religion reigned in all her native gloom and terror, without even a solitary being to oppose her misery-producing progress, the human mind seemed as if it were changed to an unexpressive blank—a lamentable indication that the Priest, with the aid of Religion, can reduce the faculties of man almost to annihilation. If we take a retrospective view of the state of man in those ages we shall perceive that he faithfully observed the duties, implicitly obeyed the dogmas of a supernatural system, founded entirely upon a vague and gratuitous hypothesis, which hath no relation to Nature; nor can we deduce from it any reasonable inference. Yet the Priests, the supporters of Religion, demand the greatest confidence in every creed they hold forth, pretending that Reason may lead us astray; that at best she is but a frail guide; that their holy books are, in every point of view, superior to the productions of man; because, forsooth, Jehovah inspired his Prophets and Saints to write them. But, if we examine these writings, we shall find that their authors were not inspired with talent, with wisdom, or with truth; but, on the contrary, with ignorance, with folly, and the most egregious falsehood. A more absurd and contradictory work never issued from the pen of a modern novel and romance writer. Thousands of men in the present day are both able and willing to write a truer history of the events related in the Bible, and accompany it with reflections more solid and sublime, comprising a better moral code, were they not deterred by the dread of fine, imprisonment, and the most glaring robbery. Still the advocates of Religion are continually eulogising this Book, at the same time vociferating the words—sin, redemption, grace, Jesus Christ, God, glory, and a multitude of other phrases equally unintelligible. They demand that faith the most profound, belief the most conscious, should be given to these fallacious and contradictory doctrines, assuring their deluded hearers that this blind and senseless faith is the certain passport to a heavenly kingdom, which they have fabricated for the base purpose of imposing on them in this.

Thus are they in possession of that which Archimedes only wished for, another world to move this about at their own will and caprice. The saints and disciples of the fictitious Saviour of the World were incessantly preaching about this heavenly Kingdom, this Elysium of the Christians, wherein they were to enjoy uninterrupted felicity in the company of their crucified God; who, when on earth, frequently promised them it should arrive at a stated period: but at the appointed time at which the promises and assurances of

Christ should have been fulfilled, and the hopes of the Jews realized—

“ Oh! what a falling off was there!”

No Kingdom of Heaven appeared, consequently the Jews disbelieved the existence of Christ, and rejected the doctrines which his followers held forth; and had it not been for the crafty disposition of Kings and Priests, his name and his system would long ago have been consigned to the shade of oblivion. But I cannot believe that the reality of the Christian tale ever occurred, because history is silent upon the subject. It appears to have been fabricated by prophets, seers, or priests, to enable them to live upon the charity of the credulous multitude. If we attempt to trace its origin, we shall find that the writings of Plato were the source from which, in all probability, it has been drawn; since Plato had depicted a character similar in all its parts. The visionary and delusive doctrine of the immortality of the soul flowed from, or at least was greatly modified by this distinguished dreamer. Probably, the Christian would only say,—Have you read attentively the writings of Plato? I answer, that I have carefully perused some portions of his work, which warrant the conclusions I have drawn. Voltaire says, his works swarm with fables and fictions which abound with notions erroneous and puerile. Lord Byron too, in his *Don Juan*, inveighs very strongly against him and his fabulous theories, thus:

“ Oh Plato! Plato! you have paved the way
With your confounded fantasies, to more
Immoral conduct, by the fancied sway
Your systems feign o’er the controlless core
Of human hearts, than all the long array
Of poets and romances;—you’re a bore,
A charlatan, a coxcomb, and have been,
At best, no better than a go-between.”

But it matters little who were the founders of these fabulous theories, it is sufficient if we can prove them unreasonable and absurd. This has been ably done by various authors; and were they not protected and enforced, by the *iron arm of despotic law*, they would vanish before the increasing power of scientific knowledge, like the dew before the morning sun.

That system must be false and corrupt which needs the aid of fine and imprisonment for its support. If nothing but the most cruel persecution can support Religion from being overwhelmed by the inroads of Science, then, I say, let Science pursue her onward march; let her maintain her peaceable course till Religion loses its power, and persecution falls nerveless to the ground: let the standard of Science and Philosophy be raised in every country of the globe: let the sons of Liberty rally round and support it with all their strength: let them never cease their glorious exertions, until the hideous fabrics of Monarchy and Religion be crumbled into harmless dust, and nothing of them remain but their scattered ruins,

to tell a tale to after ages that they once insulted the dignity of man. This state of things must arrive before the sons of Freedom will have gained ought worthy of their sacred name. The exertions of the *intrepid Carlile*, have advanced the standard of Nature and Reason, further than those of any other Englishman of the present day; the principles he so nobly advocates are the only artillery with which we can safely war against *all delusion*. The base of a pure Representative Republic, is the safest ground for man to rest upon, Monarchy hath ever been his greatest foe; but it is a consolation for man, that it is now fast losing ground, being entirely dispossessed of its power in some countries, whilst others are preparing to drag it from its blood-stained throne; where it hath so long reigned in gloomy triumph, over a fallen and degraded world.

Newton, near Manchester, May 14, 1822.

EPICURUS.

BOLTON LAW.

So great is the alarm existing among the Hays, the Ethelstones, the Fletchers, and the Hultons, of this town, at the decline of idolatry, that the inhabitants are actually forced into the Church by violence, and the women who remain at home to provide dinner for their families are denied water from the wells during the hours the Priest is holding forth in the Church. The industrious artizan, who is confined to his room or his factory 14 or 16 hours each day for six days, is denied the benefit of fresh air on the seventh, and is threatened with penalties and persecutions if he does not enter the pestilential atmosphere of the Church. This is one way, indeed, to prop Christianity! In the reign of Charles the First, to keep up the farce, the people were allowed to have books of sports and pastimes read to them from the pulpit, and a proclamation was issued by the King that his good people of Lancashire should not be denied the amusement of cock-fighting and bull-baiting on the Sunday. The Blessed Martyr's scheme having failed, the supporters of his successor are trying others, and now, like the Dutch Parson to his sleeping congregation, if the good people of Lancashire will not willingly hear the word of God, they are to be made to feel it, not by throwing the Bible or sermon at their heads, as the Dutchman did, but by putting a sentinel over each of the wells and over each infidel, and forced into

the Church to see that he listens!!! Go on, Priests, and, above all, you the respectable unpaid Magistracy, do your duties, and Christianity shall not fall!

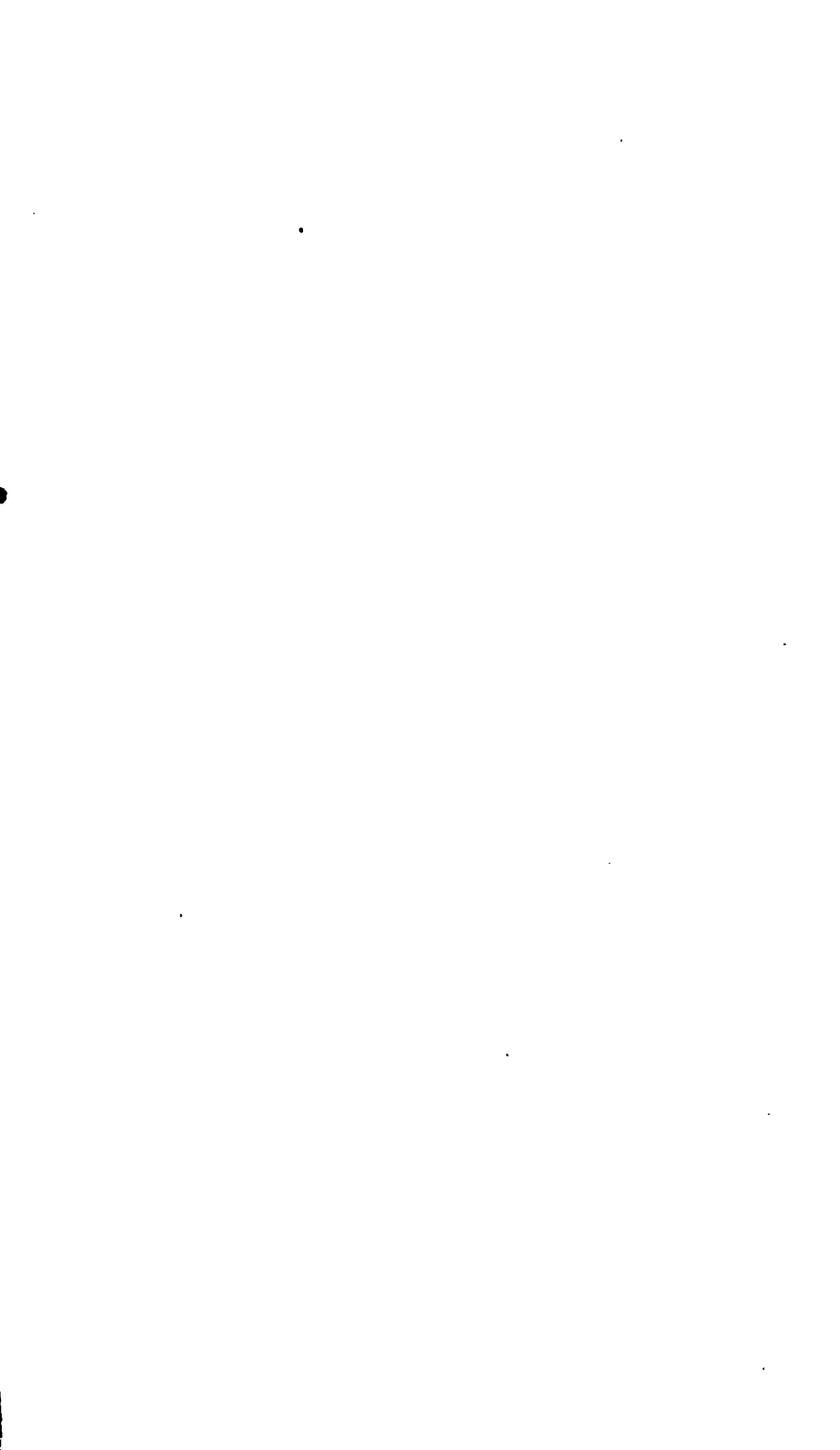
TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Letter from Mr. Thomas Shepherd, of Huddersfield, has been received, and shall be duly noticed with the last of Mr. Humphrey's.

Total amount of subscriptions towards Mr. Carlile's fines up to May 18, 1822—£54l. 11s. 1d.

END OF APPENDIX TO VOL. V.

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